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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JULY, 1834, ... JANUARY, 1835.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1834.

No. CXXI.

ART. I.—*Philip Van Artevelde; a Dramatic Romance.* By HENRY TAYLOR. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

READERS of poetry are indebted to the author of 'Philip Van Artevelde' for something more than temporary amusement. He is entitled to their acknowledgments, not only as a good poet, but as a useful experimentalist. In a period of marked indifference to poetical productions, he has brought forward a work which is at once a test whereby to prove whether a taste for poetry is dead or only dormant,—and a remedy for that over-excited and unhealthy tone of feeling of which this marked indifference is the result. It is such a work as the public needed—such a work as he who would 'minister to a *taste* diseased' should be anxious to recommend. At the same time it is not such a work as is likely to be hailed with acclamations of astonishment and pleasure. To some it may appear that the languid indifference of a satiated public requires the stimulus of novelties more attractive, of originality more startling, of a style more brilliant and exciting than Mr Taylor's work can offer. But such judgments would be founded on a misconception not less of the causes of the present indifference towards poetry, and of the remedy which that indifference requires, than of the peculiar species of merit in relation to that state of public feeling, which the author of 'Philip Van Artevelde' has brought into the literary field. That he has been the brilliant originator of something novel and startling in poetry, is not the praise that we are either able, or should, *à priori*, have been most anxious to accord. To open a new field in literature is not always the best and safest attribute in a

'supported, will never make a poet in the largest and highest sense 'of the appellation.'

Let it not be thought that the soundest judgment is incompatible with the loftiest exercise of poetical genius. Let it not be thought a startling proposition, that the only sound basis of poetry is truth. Poetry is not lowered by an association with good sense; nor is imagination unwarrantably restricted in its flight by limitation within the realms of truth. Shakspeare and Milton, the loftiest of our poets, are perhaps those in whom good sense is most apparent—those in whose most imaginative flights truth is ever most rigidly regarded. It would be an error to suppose that a regard for this quality may not attend the poet in his widest excursions, even among personages and situations purely fictitious—even in the dreamy land of spirits. Let it be remembered that wheresoever the poet's fancy may lead him, he can, strictly speaking, create nothing. Johnson, in a tone of venial exaggeration, said of Shakspeare, that he 'exhausted worlds, and then 'created new;' but this rhetorical flourish is to be taken only as an illustration. The finite faculties of man can add nothing to the materials of nature. He can only arrange and combine the existing phenomena of mind and matter: and this he can do, either in accordance with those immutable principles of analogy and congruity, of which our minds have cognizance, or in violation of those principles. But it would be an error to suppose, that those principles will not reach wherever the imagination of man can soar, and that a violation of them will enable us to take a loftier or a wider flight. They are essential ingredients of all that we can conceive—and let our fancy travel where it will, we cannot disembarrass ourselves of a sense of their being either violated or observed. An observance of them is *that truth*, an adherence to which we advocate in poetical writings, and which is perfectly applicable, even to the supernatural. When Shakspeare's preeminence in the exhibition of fairies and other supernatural productions of his fancy was extolled in the assertion, that he makes us feel that if there were such beings, they would resemble his descriptions—what is this but to say, that in this most fanciful department of his art he is guided by an adherence to truth? Even here, that homely quality 'good sense' does not desert him, and he charms our imaginations most, when at the same time he satisfies our reason.

The poetry which will produce the most permanent effect is that, in reading which, we mentally exclaim, not only 'how 'beautiful!' but 'how true!' and the highest and most enduring species is that which is not only felt to be true, but which is rendered the vehicle of knowledge. In saying this we do not

mean to advocate what has been often called 'didactic poetry.' We do not desire that it should convey what is termed 'information.' We do not wish that other Darwins, or Dyers, or Graingers, should bring botany, or chemistry, or the processes of agriculture, or the mysteries of sugar-making before us in a rhythmical form. Science and the details of art are foreign from the legitimate province of poetry; and foreign too are all such circumstances as produce no gratification or emotion. Yet the knowledge which poetry may and should impart is sufficiently various and extensive. It should impart a knowledge of ourselves —it should unfold to us the great book of human nature—it should quicken and make clear our perception of the phenomena of thought and feeling—should teach us to trace the workings of our own minds, and comprehend more perfectly our relation to others. The soundest philosophy may be conveyed in a poetical garb, and may be rendered attractive, if the requisite skill be not wanting in the writer. Again, a more extensive and accurate acquaintance with the phenomena of external nature, is another kind of knowledge which poetry may impart; and although this is less useful than a knowledge of our own nature, yet the poetry which conveys it has, like the other, this advantage—it opens to us sources of pleasure which can spring into action when the page is closed. The intelligent reader of descriptive poetry cannot look forth upon the face of nature, without a gratifying recognition of those beauties, to which the writer had directed his attention; and the reader of moral and philosophical poetry may ever carry with him the pleasing power of comparing, with the written page, the workings of his own mind, and the characters and actions of his fellow-beings. The descriptive poetry of the present century is for the most part greatly to be admired. Our censures are to be applied, not to this, but, almost exclusively, to that other great department which comprehends as its subject-matter, human passions, thoughts, and actions. It is in this department that an extensive class of modern writers, at the head of whom we may place Lord Byron, are censurable both for an excess of what is wanting, and a deficiency of what is true. Writings of this class cannot be said to contribute any thing either to our self-knowledge, or to our knowledge of mankind in general. Their representations are striking, not from their likeness, but from their exaggeration; and they have sometimes a dreamy vagueness which seems philosophically profound, when in fact it is only obscure. They excite no thoughts that we can carry with us into the commerce of everyday life; they rather seem to unfit us for it. They not only absorb, they *disturb* our minds. The mental vision becomes familiarized with false glare,

till, like the dazzled eye, it sees a coloured *spectrum* mingled with the image of all that it beholds. It is true that the temporary pleasure derived from poetry of this kind is great—that it transports us into another sphere, and we feel a glad sense of emancipation in quitting for a while, in fancy, the dull realities of common life. But this mental intoxication, though it gratifies for a time, can no more increase our permanent stock of pleasurable resources, than can the degrading vice to which it is in some sort analogous. In producing distaste for the affairs of life, and for mental aliment of a more useful and invigorating kind—it diminishes rather than augments our pleasures—it renders us dissatisfied with a position from which we cannot escape, and with duties which we may not neglect—and it offers, as a substitute, only an excitement of which the pleasurable effect is progressively weakened, and ends in satiety and disappointment.

With Mr Taylor's estimate of Lord Byron's poetry we cordially concur; and equally, with his opinion of the poetry which may be considered to have sprung from the example of that brilliant prototype. It consists, as he truly says, of little more than a poetical diction, implying a sensitive state of mind, and therefore calculated to excite corresponding associations; but addressing itself to the sentient rather than to the percipient qualities of the mind, and displaying, for the most part, merely types of feelings which might exist with equal force in beings barren of understanding. In truth, Lord Byron has added little or nothing to our knowledge of the human heart. What he has introduced, is a more extensive and familiar use of the vocabulary of passion. He has enlarged this portion of our poetical diction; he has furnished abundant formulas for the expression of strong emotions; and has rendered it comparatively easy for inferior writers to convey in words what they cannot feel. But the public is at length satiated with the counterfeit language of extravagant emotions. Even the transcendent energy of Lord Byron's verse would have palled with repetition—and how then is it to be expected that we should receive with favour such poor substitutes as can be offered by inferior writers of the same school? That which the public now requires to give a new impulse to its taste for poetry, and to establish that taste upon a more substantial basis, is, not a poetry which shall still address itself, though by some novel mode, exclusively to our sensibilities; but a species of poetry which, while it affects our sensibilities, shall at the same time address itself chiefly to the understanding. Of such a species is 'Philip Van Artevelde;' and we congratulate the author and the public on the success of this *coup d'essai*.

When we consider this work as an experiment, we do not like

it the less, on account of some qualities which, in any other light, may be viewed as imperfections. We mean its unattractive air —its form—its subject—its disregard of ornament and effect—an apparent disdain to humour the conventional tastes of the great bulk of the readers of poetry, and a certain sturdy reliance for success (even at the risk of unpopularity) on the more essential ingredients of poetical excellence.

Among the difficulties which Mr Taylor has voluntarily encountered, is the form which he has given to his production. A Dramatic Poem is a literary hybrid, combining in one both play and poem, without possessing the completeness, or fulfilling the purposes of either. Unlike the play, it cannot be represented on the stage—unlike the poem, it excludes all description and sentiment, except such as may be conveniently placed in the mouth of some of the *dramatis personæ*. Philip Van Artevelde, as Mr Taylor tells us, 'is properly an historical romance, cast in a 'dramatic and rhythmical form.' To the elevation which metre affords, there can be no objection; but in the dramatic form, with its exclusion of all save dialogue and soliloquy, and its division into acts and scenes, we see no advantage, independent of its applicability to scenic representation. One generally deviates from good sense when one loses sight of an original intention. Now, the original intention with which the dramatic poem was devised, had reference solely to the stage. Among the ancients, and in our Elizabethan age, plays were no more composed for mere perusal, than essays are written to be acted. It is only in these later times, when the spectacle-loving public of the seventeenth century has been succeeded by a reading public, that the drama has been not unfrequently accommodated to the altered habits of the community. But the authors of such works, influenced, we suppose, by associations, and reverence for precedent, have omitted to disenthral them from forms, of which, when the destination was altered, the utility ceased. 'Dramatica Poesis,' says Bacon, in a passage which Mr Taylor has placed as a motto in his titlepage, 'est veluti Historia spectabilis.' The dramatic poetry which Bacon had in his mind when he wrote these words, must have been very different from 'Philip Van Artevelde;' for, with no propriety could the epithet '*spectabilis*' be applied to a work, of which, according to its author, 'it is almost unnecessary to say, that it 'was not intended for the stage.' Its length, which, as the author tells us, is equal to 'about six such plays as are adapted to repre-'sentation,' is alone a sufficient obstacle; but length is not the only cause of its unfitness. Though it bears much evidence of dramatic talent, and contains some scenes which would be highly effective, yet it is too slow in its development, and often too

precise in its details for the impatient humour of a playhouse audience. They would not listen to the herald's summons.

> 'Thus saith the puissant and mighty lord,
> The earl's affectionate kinsman, Charles of France;
> Thou from before this town of Oudenarde
> With all thy host shalt vanish like a mist;
> Thou shalt surrender to their rightful lord
> The towns of Ghent, and Ypres, Cassel, Bruges,
> Of Thorout, Rousselart, Damme, Sluys, and Bergues,
> Of Harlebecque, Poperinguen, Dendermonde,
> Alost, and Grammont; and with them all towns
> Of lesser name, all castles and strong houses,
> Shalt thou deliver up before the Feast
> Of Corpus Christi coming; which undone,
> He the said puissant king, Sir Charles of France,
> With all attendance of his chivalry,
> Will raise his banner and his kingdom's force.'

They would scarcely tolerate Sir Fleurcant telling them,

> 'With my own eyes I have not viewed the Scheldt
> Higher than Oudenarde; yet what I know
> More sure than common rumour I may tell,
> That reach by reach from Elsegem to Kam,
> At sundry stations, say Kerckhoven first,
> 'Twixt Berkhem and Avelghem, where the Ronne
> Its tide contributes elbowing Escanaffe,
> At Pontespieres and Pecq, and divers points
> Betwixt them interposed, strong piles are driven
> Deep in the belly of the stream athwart.
> Thus neither up nor down can make their way
> Boat, raft, nor caravel.'

Nor would they show a due appreciation of the admirable discussions of the Council Chamber. The uncouth names which, even now, are probably a stumblingblock to many readers who attach to sound an undue importance, would be almost fatal at the theatre; and box, pit, and gallery, would alike rebel against such cacophonous appellations as Van Muck, Van Ryk, Van Whelk, Sir Simon Bette, and Sir Guisebert Grutt.

Among other difficulties which Mr Taylor has encountered, we also consider his choice of a subject. The event on which this drama is founded, is undoubtedly an important portion of history, when viewed, not as an isolated fact, but in connexion with the contemporaneous spirit of resistance to feudal tyranny which displayed itself in France and England. But this connexion is not obvious or notorious. Froissart is less read than he deserves to be; and few know or care any thing about Jacques Van Arte-

velde the Flemish brewer, his son Philip, and the Whitehoods of Ghent. If Mr Taylor had dramatized any well-known portion of our own history, or even any portion of foreign history with which the public is better acquainted, we have no doubt that the success of his work would have been more immediate and unqualified. But at present it is certain, that to the majority of those who look at the titlepage, and the '*dramatis personæ*,' the effect will be repulsive; and unless they hear the very high character which the book deserves, they will not be invited to proceed further.

Though the disadvantageous circumstances above mentioned are not to be counted as merits, they may reasonably enhance the author's satisfaction in the approbation which his work has gained. They also enhance its value as an experimental work, in which is tried how far good poetry, of a different kind from that with which the world has long been pampered, may hope to win the public favour, even when not presented in an attractive form.

It is not our intention to offer any analysis of the story of 'Philip Van Artevelde;' but, merely premising that the work consists of a drama in two parts, a poetical interlude, an historical introduction, and a critical preface, (in which we find no fault but its brevity,) shall proceed to remark upon the general characteristics.

'Philip Van Artevelde' belongs to that class of poetry, which, to use the author's words, addresses itself to the 'percipient,' rather than to the 'sentient properties of the mind.' Among its most conspicuous merits, is the vein of thought which runs through it. Reflections frequently occur, not startlingly singular, nor yet trite—reflections to which we instantly assent, although we feel that, till expressed, they were not obvious. They may—we think they *must*—have already passed through the minds of thousands; yet, when we see them clothed in words, we call them 'original' at once. We call them so, though they are perhaps familiar truths which floated undistinguished in our minds till, like the burning-glass collecting sunbeams into one brilliant spot, the pen of the writer arranges and concentrates, and gives them a vivid and indelible existence. The following detached passages are among those which seem to justify our commendation:—

'He was one
Of many thousand such that die betimes,
Whose story is a fragment known to few.
Then comes the man who has the luck to live,
And he's a prodigy. Compute the chances,
And deem there's ne'er a one in dangerous times
Who wins the race of glory, but than him
A thousand men more gloriously endowed

Have fallen upon the course: a thousand others
Have had their fortunes foundered by a chance,
Whilst lighter barks pushed past them; to whom add
A smaller tally, of the singular few,
Who, gifted with predominating powers,
Bear yet a temperate will and keep the peace.
The world knows nothing of its greatest men.'

* * * * *

'Lightly is life laid down amongst us now,
And lightly is death mourned: a dusk star blinks
As fleets the rack, but look again, and lo!
In a wide solitude of wintry sky
Twinkles the re-illuminated star,
And all is out of sight that smirch'd the ray.
We have not time to mourn.

FATHER JOHN.

The worse for us!
He that lacks time to mourn, lacks time to mend.
Eternity mourns that. 'Tis an ill cure
For life's worst ills, to have no time to feel them.
Where sorrow's held intrusive and turned out,
There wisdom will not enter, nor true power,
Nor aught that dignifies humanity.
Yet such the barrenness of busy life!
From shelf to shelf Ambition clambers up,
To reach the naked'st pinnacle of all,
Whilst Magnanimity, absolved from toil,
Reposes self-included at the base.'

* * * * *

'The heart of man, walk it which way it will,
Sequestered or frequented, smooth or rough,
Down the deep valley amongst tinkling flocks,
Or 'mid the clang of trumpets and the march
Of clattering ordnance, still must have its halt,
Its hour of truce, its instant of repose,
Its inn of rest; and craving still must seek
The food of its affections—still must slake
Its constant thirst of what is fresh and pure,
And pleasant to behold.'

* *

'Life—life, my friend,
May hold a not unornamented course
Wherever it shall flow; be the bed rocky,
Yet are there flowers, and none of brighter hue,
That to the rock are native. War itself
Deals in adornments, and the blade it wields
Is curiously carved and gaily gilt.
For me, let what is left of life, if brief,
Be bright, and let me kindle all its fires;
For I am as a rocket hurled on high

But a few moments to be visible;
Which ended, all is dark.'

* * * * *

'That Providence which makes the good take heed
To safety and success, contrariwise
Makes villains mostly reckless. Look on life,
And you shall see the crimes of blackest dye
So clumsily committed, by such sots,
So lost to thought, so scant of circumspection,
As shall constrain you to pronounce that guilt
Bedarkens and confounds the mind of man.
Human intelligence on murders bent
Becomes a midnight fumbler; human will
Of God abandoned, in its web of snares
Strangles its own intent.'

* * * * *

'The wonder lies
In the mind merely of the wondering man.
Treading the steps of common life with eyes
Of curious inquisition, some will stare
At each discovery of nature's ways,
As it were new to find that God contrives.
The contrary were marvellous to me,
And till I find it I shall marvel not.
Or all is wonderful, or nothing is.'

* * * * *

'Tis time and circumstance that tries us all;
And they that temperately take their start,
And keep their souls indifferently sedate
Through much of good and evil, at the last
May find the weakness of their hearts thus tried.
My cause appears more precious than it did
In its triumphant days.

ELENA.

You prize it more
The more it is endangered.

ARTEVELDE.

Even so.
A mother dotes upon the reckling child
More than the strong; solicitous cares, sad watchings,
Rallies, reverses, all vicissitudes,
Give the affection exercise and growth.
So is it in the nursing a sick hope.'

These passages are quoted not as the gems of the work, but as good average specimens, which may serve to afford a fair idea of that reflective character which forms, in our opinion, one of its distinctive merits.

We must, at the same time, not fail to notice its poetical beau-

ties of a descriptive nature. There are, however, few long descriptive passages. This faculty shows itself, for the most part, in short incidental touches—in a single line—perhaps a word—and there is not much unmixed description. Among the little that can be cited, we find such passages as the following:—

> 'The gibbous moon was in a wan decline,
> And all was silent as a sick man's chamber.
> Mixing its small beginnings with the dregs
> Of the pale moonshine and a few faint stars,
> The cold uncomfortable daylight dawned;
> And the white tents, topping a low ground-fog,
> Showed like a fleet becalmed.'

Or this other short picture of approaching day:—

> 'The night is far advanced upon the morrow,
> And but for that conglomerated mass
> Of cloud with ragged edges, like a mound
> Or black pine-forest on a mountain's top,
> Wherein the light lies ambushed, dawn were near.'

More frequent are those passages in which description and reflection are so blended, that we scarcely know in which class to place them, and which sometimes contain allusions and illustrations of great poetical excellence. Such is Artevelde's description of his departed wife:—

> 'She was a creature framed by love divine
> For mortal love to muse a life away
> In pondering her perfections; so unmoved
> Amidst the world's contentions, if they touched
> No vital chord nor troubled what she loved,
> Philosophy might look her in the face,
> And like a hermit stooping to the well
> That yields him sweet refreshment, might therein
> See but his own serenity reflected
> With a more heavenly tenderness of hue!
> Yet whilst the world's ambitious empty cares,
> Its small disquietudes and insect stings
> Disturbed her never, she was one made up
> Of feminine affections, and her life
> Was one full stream of love from fount to sea.'

Such, too, is this,—

> 'These hands are spotless yet,
> Yea, white as when in infancy they stray'd
> Unconscious o'er my mother's face, or closed
> With that small grasp which mothers love to feel.'

But perhaps the most satisfactory specimen of the author's power is the following, in which the foregoing beauties are strikingly mingled in a narrative of considerable pathos. Even

Dante's well-known scene in the Tower of Famine, finds no mean competitor in the following description of a famishing family in a besieged city :—

'I paid a visit first to Ukenheim,
The man who whilom saved our father's life,
When certain Clementists and ribald folk
Assail'd him at Malines. He came last night,
And said he knew not if we owed him aught,
But if we did, a peck of oatmeal now
Would pay the debt, and save more lives than one.
I went. It seem'd a wealthy man's abode;
The costly drapery and good house-gear
Had, in an ordinary time, betokened
That with the occupant the world went well.
By a low couch, curtain'd with cloth of frieze,
Sat Ukenheim, a famine-stricken man,
With either bony fist upon his knees,
And his long back upright. His eyes were fix'd,
And moved not, though some gentle words I spake:
Until a little urchin of a child
That call'd him father, crept to where he sat
And pluck'd him by the sleeve, and with its small
And skinny finger pointed: then he rose,
And with a low obeisance, and a smile
That look'd like watery moonlight on his face,
So weak and pale a smile, he bade me welcome.
I told him that a lading of wheat-flour
Was on its way, whereat, to my surprise,
His countenance fell, and he had almost wept.

ARTEVELDE.

Poor soul! and wherefore?

CLARA.

That I soon perceived.
He pluck'd aside the curtain of the couch,
And there two children's bodies lay composed.
They seem'd like twins of some ten years of age,
And they had died so nearly both together
He scarce could say which first: and being dead,
He put them, for some fanciful affection,
Each with its arm about the other's neck,
So that a fairer sight I had not seen
Than those two children, with their little faces
So thin and wan, so calm, and sad, and sweet.
I look'd upon them long, and for awhile
I wish'd myself their sister, and to lie
With them in death, as they did with each other:
I thought that there was nothing in the world
I could have loved so much; and then I wept;
And when he saw I wept, his own tears fell,

And he was sorely shaken and convulsed,
Through weakness of his frame and his great grief.

ARTEVELDE.

It was a thousand pities he deferred
So long to ask our aid.

CLARA.

It was indeed.
But whatsoe'er had been his former pride,
He seem'd a humbled and heart-broken man.
He thank'd me much for what I said was sent;
But I knew well his thanks were for my tears.
He look'd again upon the children's couch,
And said, low down, they wanted nothing now.
So, to turn off his eyes,
I drew the small survivor of the three
Before him, and he snatched it up, and soon
Seemed quite forgetful and absorbed. With that
I stole away.

ARTEVELDE.

There is a man by fate
Fitted for any enterprise of danger.
Alas! of many such I have the choice.'

The principal merits of this dramatic poem are not strictly of a dramatic kind; yet there are some parts which are entitled to this praise. The dialogue is frequently eloquent and impressive, and, without being epigrammatic, is terse and pointed. When action is introduced, the words which accompany it are short, strong, and appropriate, suitable to the situation, and equally to the character of the speaker. The shades of character are cleverly discriminated, and many personages who say little, and of whom scarcely any thing is said, are made to display themselves by a few dexterous touches, and render us familiar with their habits and nature. How admirably does the following plain, concise, unexaggerated dialogue, unfold to us the venomous influence of a tyrant's confidential tool and adviser!—

GILBERT MATTHEW.

No sooner had his highness reach'd the palace
Than he sends back for me.

D'ARLOS.

And me the same.

GILBERT MATTHEW.

His highness is not happy.

D'ARLOS.

That is likely,
But have you any private cause to think it?

GILBERT MATTHEW.

I have observed that when he is not happy
He sends for me.

D'ARLON.

And do you mend his mood?

GILBERT MATTHEW.

Nay, what I can. His highness at such times
Is wishful to be counsell'd to shed blood.

D'ARLON.

'Tis said that he is counsell'd oft to that.

GILBERT MATTHEW.

It is my duty to advise his highness
With neither fear nor favour. As I came,
The bodies of three citizens lay stretch'd
Upon the causeway.

D'ARLON.

How had they been killed?

GILBERT MATTHEW.

By knocking on the head.

D'ARLON.

And who had done it?

GILBERT MATTHEW.

The officers that walk'd before the Earl
To make him room to pass. The streets were full,
And many of the mean-crafts roamed about,
Discoursing of the news they heard from Ghent;
And as his highness pass'd they misbehaved.
And three were knocked upon the head with staves.
I knew by that his highness was not happy.
I knew I should be sent for.

Enter an USHER *from an Inner Chamber.*

USHER.

Ho! Master Gilbert Matthew to his highness.
(*Re-enters the chamber, followed by* GILBERT MATTHEW.)

D'ARLON.

There's some men of their bloody counsels boast,
As though the heart were difficult to harden.'

Admirable, too, is Mr Taylor's sketch of the boy-king, Charles VI. of France—very slight, but most felicitously conceived and executed. The following short scene will furnish an amusing specimen:—

' THE KING.

Well, uncle, here we are! Get supper ready.
How fast you rode! I galloped half a mile—
But then St Poule, he blew—oh, he's too fat;
Is not the bastard of St Poule too fat?

THE LORD OF SAIMPI.

May't please your majesty he's grossly fat.

THE KING.

I galloped——uncle, what is this? Lo me!
A span-new sword—by God, of Spanish steel,

And longer than mine own—uncle, by God,
A king's sword should be longer than a duke's;
I must have this; this is a royal sword.

DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

Cousin, you are not tall enough to wear it.

THE KING.

Not tall enough, indeed! Is supper ready?
When shall we get to Rosebecque? Here's St Poule.

Enter ST POULE.

So, here you come, you broken-winded bastard,
You're always left behind. How far to Rosebecque?
Tell me, my lords, shall we be there to-morrow?

SIR OLIVER OF CLISSON.

Your majesty, with weather to your wish,
Might lodge at Rosebecque with your vanguard force
To-morrow night.

THE KING.

And when shall come the rear?

SIR OLIVER OF CLISSON.

On Wednesday morning.

THE KING.

And on Thursday night
The bastard of St Poule. Hurrah for Rosebecque!
Remember, uncle, when the armies meet,
I am to make the knights; four hundred of them,
The constable himself will tell you so.
Four hundred fire-new knights there should be made
Before the battle joins, and I'm to make them;
My lord of Clisson am I not? Thwack, thwack,
Thwack, thwack, thwack, thwack, will go my sword,
thwack, thwack.
You, Tristram of Lestovet, kneel you down,
And I will—thwack—I'll try my hand—thwack, thwack.

DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

Come, cousin, come, you're wanton. Go within
And eat your supper.

THE KING.

What, is supper ready?
Lights, lights here, ho! Come, bastard, come along.
The first of a feast and the last of a fray
Has been a wise word for this many a day!'

We are also frequently reminded of the caustic sardonic humour of our old English comedy. Van Stockenstrom's story of the craw-fish is an instance of this kind; and so too is the following dramatic sketch of an interrupted bargain about blood-money.

'Van Artevelde must die, you understand me.

(*A pause.*)

VAN RYK.

Why, if he must, he must, and there's an end.

OCCO.

The earl must have his life; who hath the guerdon
Is not material save to them that get it.
But truly, were the money on my head,
And I as sure to die as Artevelde,
I'd rather that such men as you should have it,
Than see it snatch'd by luck. When die we must,
'Tis better that thereby good men should thrive
Than snatchers.

VAN RYK.

Saving your displeasure, sir,
'Tis said good men ne'er thrive but by good deeds.
Now, were it but the slaying Van den Bosch,
Or Peter Nuitre, or Frans Ackerman,
There's husbands, widows, orphans, all through Ghent,
Would say the deed was good; but Artevelde
Has, as it were, a creditable name,
And men would say we struck not for revenge,
But only lucre, which were scandalous;
And also, sir—

OCCO (*to a* SERVING-MAN, *who enters.*)

What, sirrah?—speak—what now?

(*The* SERVING-MAN *whispers him.*)

Van Artevelde! he is not coming here?
Not now, not now?

SERVING-MAN.

Now, instantly, my lord.

OCCO.

Masters, I wish you both good-day—good-day.
God prosper thee, Van Ryk—Van Muck, farewell.
Why op'st thou not the door, thou villain groom?
Think'st thou the burgesses have time to lose?
Farewell at once, sirs, not to keep you longer
When things are all so stirring in the town.
You're needed at your posts, I know; farewell.

VAN RYK.

My lord, as touching these five hundred florins—

OCCO.

Just as ye will, sirs,—any way ye please;
I bid God speed you, and so fare you well.

VAN RYK.

If you would take four hundred from the five,
And set the residue on Van den Bosch,
His head I'd bring you in for that much money,
And Ackerman's for love and pure good-will.

VAN MUCK.

And, sir, as touching Artevelde—

OCCO.

Nay, nay,
I will not press it further.

VAN MUCK.
If the florins—
OCCO.
Peace, on your lives, he's here!'

The style of this work, though severe and plain, is not slovenly and unpolished: but, on the contrary, bears abundant evidence of judicious care. The versification is easy, varied, and melodious. The language is an admirable specimen of pure, unaffected, nervous English. It is neither antiquated nor modern, but seems a stream from that deep well which fed the fluent pen of Dryden.

We have some objections to offer; and we will make them unsparingly; for Mr Taylor's work is not of that fragile nature that can be blown away by the rude breath of a much severer criticism than ours. We complain of the coarse expressions and disagreeable images which he too frequently admits, and which he has sometimes rendered even more unseemly by giving them utterance from female mouths. Many of Clara's bantering speeches are coarsely flippant, unfeminine, indecorous, and we may even say, indelicate. Her description of the mind and person of the Lord of Occo, is especially full of such words and images, as, when attributed to a woman, can inspire the modern reader only with disgust. The men also talk with unnecessary coarseness: and though the coarseness may, in some cases, be suitable to the character, yet, if not necessary to the display of that character, it had better be avoided. For instance, when Artevelde, addressing one of the deputation from Bruges, says,—

'Well, worthy sir,
Hast aught to say, or hast not got thy priming,
That thus thou gaspest like a droughty pump?'

and the bluff Van den Bosch adds,

'Nay, 'tis black bile that chokes him—Come, up with it!
Be't but a gallon, it shall ease thy stomach.'

—the author needlessly obtrudes upon us a nasty image, which can neither give pleasure to the reader, nor place Van den Bosch's character in a clearer light. In the description of the pestilence which rages in Ghent, we find passages which sound too much like versified extracts from a medical report.

'The patient's head is seized with racking pains;
Then shift they to his chest, with change as quick,
Then to his loins, and strangury succeeds,
With clammy sweat, hard breathing, and hot thirst.
Then comes a thick dark crust upon the lips,
And tongue, and teeth; the fatal hiccough next.'

It is not more the province of poetry to give these unpleasant details, than to describe the construction of a steam-engine; and

though information might be given in each case, that essential object in poetry, the gratification of the reader, is quite as much neglected in the one as it would be in the other.

We have another objection to make, wherein the fault, though less obtrusive, lies somewhat deeper. We read a beautiful description, uttered by Artevelde, of Adriana, his dead wife, part of which has been already quoted. Then comes the following passage :—

'What is gone,
Nor plaints, nor prayers, nor yearnings of the soul,
Nor memory's tricks nor fancy's invocations,—
Though tears went with them frequent as the rain
In dusk November, sighs more sadly breathed
Than winter's o'er the vegetable dead,—
Can bring again : and should this living hope,
That like a violet from the other's grave
Grew sweetly, in the tear-besprinkled soil
Finding moist nourishment—this seedling sprung
Where recent grief had like a ploughshare passed
Through the soft soul, and loosened its affections—
Should this new-blossomed hope be coldly nipped,
Then were I desolate indeed ! a man
Whom heaven would wean from earth, and nothing leaves
But cares and quarrels, trouble and distraction,
The heavy burdens and the broils of life.
Is such my doom? Nay, speak it, if it be.

ELENA.

I said I feared another could not fill
The place of her you lost, being so fair
And perfect as you give her out.

ARTEVELDE.

'Tis true,
A perfect woman is not as a coin,
Which being gone, its very duplicate
Is counted in its place. Yet waste so great
Might you repair, such wealth you have of charms
Luxuriant, albeit of what were hers
Rather the contrast than the counterpart.
Colour, to wit—complexion ;—hers was light
And gladdening : a roseate tincture shone
Transparent in its place, her skin elsewhere
White as the foam from which in happy hour
Sprang the Thalassian Venus : yours is clear
But bloodless, and though beautiful as night
In cloudless ether clad, not frank as day ;
Such is the tinct of your diversity ;
Serenely radiant she, you darkly fair.'

This, and the foregoing description of one whose memory seems so sacred, is addressed by Artevelde to his mistress. It is not

improbable that the widowed Artevelde should love Elena, and that he should try to supply by her affection the melancholy void which his great loss had left. But better, and more probable would it have been, if he had abstained from speaking on such a theme to such a person. Scarcely in thought, much less in words, should he institute a comparison between the pure being whom he mourned, and the fallen creature he was then addressing. However impressed he might be with the manifold attractions of Elena, he could not forget that she was his paramour, and had been the paramour of others. He could not forget that there was this one great and unalterable difference between her and Adriana. It was even scarcely generous, scarcely consistent with consideration for the feelings of the mistress, thus to suggest this humiliating difference, which, though he might abstain from actually mentioning it, must have rushed into her mind at once. Nothing but a callous obliviousness, which does not belong to the character of Artevelde, can account for words which at once insult the memory of the dead, and wound the stricken conscience of the living. We believe that by this dialogue, beautiful as it is, the author will have offended the moral sense of many of his readers. We comment upon this more strongly, because we see no other similar blot in his right-headed and right-hearted work.

There is a beautiful short poem, called 'The Lay of Elena,' which intervenes between the first and second parts of this drama, and which deserves especial notice. It is in a style less severe than the drama, and exhibiting more of those graces which tend to secure an immediate popularity. The poem, after opening with a beautiful picture of the scenery of Como, proceeds to describe in eloquent verse the early girlhood of an imaginative being, whose romantic disposition at length found an object for that vague passion which had long possessed it.

> 'First love the world is wont to call
> The passion which was now her all.
> So be it called; but be it known
> The feeling which possessed her now
> Was novel in degree alone;
> Love early marked her for his own;
> Soon as the winds of Heaven had blown
> Upon her, had the seed been sown
> In soil which needed not the plough;
> And passion with her growth had grown,
> And strengthened with her strength, and how
> Could love be new, unless in name,
> Degree, and singleness of aim?
> A tenderness had filled her mind
> Pervasive, viewless, undefined:

As keeps the subtle fluid oft
Its secret, gathering in the soft
And sultry air, till felt at length
In all its desolating strength,
So silent, so devoid of dread,
Her objectless affections spread;
Not wholly unemployed, but squandered
At large where'er her fancy wandered;
Till one attraction, one desire
Concentred all the scattered fire;
It broke, it burst, it blazed amain,
It flashed its light o'er hill and plain,
O'er Earth below and Heaven above,—
And then it took the name of love.'

This love was returned, but not with all the warmth it merited.

'So long as light affections played
Around their path, he loved the maid;
Loved in half gay, half tender mood,
By passion touched, but not subdued;
Laughed at the flame he felt or lit;
Replied to tenderness with wit;
Sometimes when passion brightlier burned,
Its tokens eagerly returned,
Then calm, supine, but pleased no less,
Softly sustained each soft caress.
She, watching with delight the while
His half-closed eyes and gradual smile,
(Slow pleasure's smile, how far more worth,
More beautiful than smiles of mirth!)
Seemed to herself when back she cast
A hurried look upon the past,
As changed from what she then had been,
As was the moon, who having run
Her orbit through since this begun,
Now shone "apparent Queen."'

But disappointment was at hand, and this happy dream was soon dispelled. She was deceived in him she loved.

'The goddess, that with cruel mirth
The daughters and the sons of earth
Mismatches, hath a cunning eye
In twisting of a treacherous tie;
Nor is she backward to perceive
That loftier minds to lower cleave
With ampler love (as that which flows
From a rich source) than these to those;
For still the source, not object, gives
The daily food whereon love lives.
The well-spring of his love was poor
Compared to hers; his gifts were fewer;

The total light that was in him
Before a spark of hers grew dim;
Too high, too grave, too large, too deep,
Her love could neither laugh nor sleep;
And thus it tired him; his desire
Was for a less consuming fire:
He wished that she should love him well,
Not wildly; wished her passion's spell
To charm her heart, but leave her fancy free;
To quicken converse, not to quell;
He granted her to sigh, for so could he;
But when she wept, why should it be?
'Twas irksome, for it stole away
The joy of his love-holiday.
Bred of such uncongenial mood
At length would some dim doubt intrude
If what he felt, so far below
Her passion's pitch, were love or no.
With that the common daylight's beam
Broke in upon his morning dream,
And as that common day advanced,
His heart was wholly unentranced.'

The blighting effect of this disappointment—the sequel of

'That worst adieu,
Which parts with love and honour too,'

is picturesquely and pathetically described in one of the most poetical passages in these volumes.

'Till then her heart was as a mound,
Or simple plot of garden-ground
Far in a forest wild,
Where many a seedling had been sown,
And many a bright-eyed floweret grown
To please a favourite child.
Delighted was the child to call
The plot of garden-ground her own;
Delighted was she at the fall
Of evening mild when shadows tall
Cross-barred the mound and cottage wall,
To linger there alone.
Nor seemed the garden flowers less fair,
Nor loved she less to linger there,
When glistened in the morning dew
Each lip of red and eye of blue;
And when the sun too brightly burned,
Towards the forest's verge she turned,
Where stretched away from glade to glade
A green interminable shade;
And in the skirts thereof a bower

Was built with many a creeping flower,
For shelter at the noon-tide hour;
And from the forest walks was heard
The voice of many a singing bird,
With murmurs of the cushat-dove,
That tell the secret of her love:
And pleasant therefore all day long,
From earliest dawn to even-song,—
Supremely pleasant was this wild
Sweet garden to the woodsman's child.—
The whirlwind came with fire and flood
And smote the garden in the wood;
All that was formed to give delight
Destruction levelled in a night;
The morning broke, the child awoke,
And when she saw what sudden stroke
The garden which she loved had swept
To ruin, she sat down and wept.
Her grief was great, but it had vent;
Its force, not spared, was sooner spent;
And she bethought her to repair
The garden which had been so fair.
Then roamed she through the forest walks,
Cropping the wild flowers by their stalks,
And divers full-blown blossoms gay
She gathered, and in fair array
Disposed, and stuck them in the mound
Which had been once her garden ground.
They seem'd to flourish for a while,
A moment's space she seemed to smile;
But brief the bloom, and vain the toil,
They were not native to the soil.

That other child, beneath whose zone
Were passions fearfully full-grown,—
She too essayed to deck the waste
Where love had grown, which love had graced,
With false adornments, flowers, not fruit,
Fast-fading flowers, that strike no root,—
With pleasures alien to her breast,
That bloom but briefly at the best,
The world's sad substitutes for joys
To minds that lose their equipoise.'

The equipoise is lost, and she abandons the virtuous station she had ostensibly held.

'A foreign land is now her choice,
A foreign sky above her,
And unfamiliar is each voice
Of those that say they love her.

A prince's palace is her home,
And marble floor and gilded dome.
Where festive myriads nightly meet,
Quick echoes of her steps repeat.
And she is gay at times, and light.
From her makes many faces bright;
And circling flatterers hem her in
Assiduous each a word to win,
And smooth as mirrors each the while
Reflects and multiplies her smile.
But fitful were her smiles, nor long
She cast them to that courtly throng;
And should the sound of music fall
Upon her ear in that high hall,
The smile was gone, the eye that shone
So brightly, would be dimmed anon,
And objectless would then appear
As stretched to check the starting tear.
The chords within responsive rung,
For music spoke her native tongue.'

With this extract we must close our review of a book, in which we have found more to praise and less to blame, than in any poetical work of imagination that has fallen under our notice for a considerable time.

Art. II.—*A Letter to the Duke of Wellington, on the propriety and legality of creating Peers for life: with Precedents.* 8vo. London: 1830.

The House of Lords has three distinct offices to discharge. It is a Court of Judicature, a Branch of the Legislature, and a Council of Advice to the King in his administration of the Government. We shall make a few remarks on each of these functions before we proceed to the pamphlet before us.

When acting as a Court of Judicature in criminal causes, whether they be impeachments at the instance of the Commons, or trials for private offences, it is usual for the Lords who attend, to take part in the proceedings, and give their votes individually. But in civil causes the judicial functions of the House have been long delegated in practice to the Lord Chancellor, and to the other law lords who have seats in that assembly. The chief, if not the only, exceptions to this rule are claims to peerages, which in all doubtful cases are practically and substantially, as well as nominally, heard in a Committee of the whole House, and decided by the House when resumed. In other questions, the

judgment of the Lords, though technically and formally that of the whole House, is practically and substantially nothing more than the judgment of the Lord Chancellor; or of the Lord Chancellor and other law lords who have been raised to the peerage. An expedient, resorted to some years ago, places in a striking point of view the sense which the Lords themselves entertain of their unfitness for the exercise of the judicial functions with which they are invested. The accumulation of undecided appeals under Lord Eldon, had become so large that it amounted nearly to a denial of justice to the parties involved in litigation. Some expedient became necessary to remedy a grievance universally felt and loudly complained of. A device was fallen upon, which in some degree answered the purpose, but exposed to the dullest capacity the fallacy of considering the Lords as a body of men competent to judge and decide the intricate questions of law or fact brought before them. It was agreed that the House should meet on certain days at ten o'clock in the morning, and continue sitting till four o'clock, to hear appeals. To obtain a quorum for the despatch of business, it was necessary that three members should be constantly present in the House. It was hopeless to trust for this attendance to accident or to a vague and general sense of duty. Some specific compulsion was thought necessary. To form a House at a certain hour, and to retain a sufficient number of members while counsel were pleading at the bar, was the object to be obtained. Whether the Lords in attendance listened to or understood the case, was universally felt to be a matter of no importance whatever. Nothing more was required than that there should be constantly three members present to constitute a House. To secure this point, it was agreed, that every lord should bind himself by a penalty to attend one whole morning during the Session, and that it should be settled by lot on what particular day he was to be present, or find a substitute. By this contrivance, a House was secured for hearing appeals; but as no one, except the Chancellor, attended more than once, it continually happened, in Scotch appeals, and in other causes where the pleadings lasted for several days, that one set of Lords heard the beginning, and another set the end of the plaintiff's case, while a third set heard the commencement, and a fourth set the conclusion of the defendant's reply; after which, the Lord Chancellor rose and decided the cause, the Lords, who sat with him, and without whose presence and concurrence he could have pronounced no judgment at all, knowing as much of the matter in litigation as the Woolsack he had quitted.

Sometimes it happened that the Chancellor had other avoca-

tions, and deputed some lawyer, not a member of the House, to supply his place. The modest deputy took his seat behind the trio, who in the contemplation of law were the judges of the cause, and while *they* amused themselves with reading newspapers or writing letters, *he* listened to the pleadings, and when the lawyers had finished, one of the three called on him, as assistant of the House, to state his opinion of the case. Having received this invitation, and not before, he imparted to their Lordships the view he had taken of the matter, and suggested to them the judgment, which, in his opinion, they ought to give. A motion to that effect was then made by one of the trio; and the question having been put with becoming gravity from the Woolsack, the motion was carried without a dissenting voice or a word said on the subject. It might, however, have been otherwise. We recollect one of the Lords, who was unwilling to sacrifice a whole morning to this irksome and disagreeable duty, threatening the projectors of the plan that, if they forced him to attend, he would speak and vote against the assistant, who had no right of reply; and as he was a clever man, he might possibly have converted some brother Peer to his opinion, and obtained a judgment, most probably wrong, but certainly final.

It may be asked, why did a farce of this sort continue to be acted? Why were not means devised to render it unnecessary? Why are judicial functions attributed to persons, who must of necessity be unfit to exercise them? Why have we not, like other nations, a supreme tribunal composed of men trained and practised in the courts of law? In every judicature, except the highest, we have judges specially named and designated to hear and determine causes. Why is there a different constitution in the highest court of all? We complain not of the judgments given by the House of Lords; but why is such a cumbrous and useless apparatus necessary to obtain them?

As a Branch of the Legislature, the consent of the House of Lords is necessary for every act of Parliament; and in the performance of the duties which this privilege implies, it cannot be denied, that the services of the Lords are, in many respects, of the highest value. Local and private bills, introduced by members of the House of Commons, to please or to serve their constituents, and passed without examination, or carried by cabal in that assembly, are sure to meet with a rigid scrutiny in the House of Lords; and, if unjust in their principle, or injurious in their details, it is the fault of those who are to suffer by them if they are not corrected or thrown out. There is nothing for which the House of Lords is more deserving of credit, than for its vigilant attention and scrupulous regard to private rights. If any

one fails to obtain justice from them, it must arise from his own negligence. No private bill is taken into consideration till the preamble to it has been proved,—that is, till the grounds on which it is proposed have been established on full and satisfactory evidence; and in the Committee, where its clauses are examined, all the parties interested in its provisions are calmly and deliberately heard, and justice done to every one, as far as human wisdom can provide.

But it is not on private bills only that the superintendence of the House of Lords is exerted in a beneficial manner to the public. In the passage of public Acts of Parliament through the House, the same care and precautions are observed. The slovenly bills transmitted from the Commons, badly drawn up at first, and loaded with inconsistent and contradictory amendments, arising, not from design, but from partial and imperfect views of the subject, undergo a most useful revision in the House of Lords, and, when cleared from the dross they had contracted, they generally come out of the discussion in a more intelligible and practicable form. Nothing shows more clearly than the proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament, what experience has every where taught, that two deliberative Assemblies, composed of different elements, influenced by different opinions, and enlightened by different minds, are preferable to one. Legislation proceeds more slowly, and with greater difficulties; but time is given for the mature consideration and discussion of every measure, before it acquires the force of law.

In several respects, the Lords are well qualified for the discharge of their legislative functions. They are, in general, men of cultivated minds; and some of them are eminently distinguished for their talents and acquirements. Many of them have been practised in affairs, and most of them are conversant in the internal administration of their country. Their debates, imperfectly reported as they are, show how carefully they have studied the subjects that come before them. But, with all these merits, it may be questioned, whether the House of Lords be so constituted at present as to afford the best of legislative assemblies. Society is in continual progress, either to good or evil; and they who lag far behind, must be unfit to regulate and direct its movements. But, from their education and habits—the pursuits and amusements that employ their time—the limited intercourse they maintain with the more active and industrious classes—it must always happen, that a great majority of the Lords, who sit by hereditary right, are behind the age in which they live. How many evils have been, for years, obvious to every eye, before the Lords could be brought to acknowledge their existence! and how many

years have been afterwards suffered to elapse, before they could be prevailed upon to apply the remedial measures in their power! They may, at times, have prevented rash and improvident innovation; but, more frequently, the delays they interposed, have led to more extensive changes, or retarded the remedy, till it was too late to produce the desired effect. They defended with pertinacity every corrupt and rotten borough brought before them, till the torrent of Reform swept away at once all they had for years been contending for. They resisted Catholic Emancipation, till Ireland had been arrayed against England by the agitators. They refused to abolish the Slave Trade, till the extension of sugar cultivation, by the introduction of fresh negroes from Africa, had ruined the Colonies. When they passed the *Nullum Tempus* Act against the Crown, nothing could induce them to extend its provisions to the Church; and when they yielded at length, they inserted a mischievous, though plausible, clause, which has tempted many a parson into an unprofitable and unpopular warfare with his parishioners. It was but the other day that they rejected an ample provision for the Irish Clergy, at the risk of leaving those venerable persons to starve, or of being compelled to provide for their necessities. Yet, with all these faults and deficiencies, it must, in candour, be owned, that, as a legislative body, the House of Lords has been, on the whole, a faithful and useful servant of the public. It remains for us to consider, what has been the conduct of the Peers, and what weight belongs to them as Hereditary Counsellors of the Crown.

In ancient times, the Barons of England are honourably distinguished for the services they rendered to public freedom. In the contests with prerogative, their names are usually conspicuous on the popular side. They were the chief instruments in extorting from King John the great charter of our liberties. Under his fickle and unprincipled son, they maintained a constant, and, on the whole, not an unsuccessful opposition to the foreign minions, who engrossed and abused his favour. From his able and imperious grandson they obtained those confirmations of the Charters, which served in all future times as a beacon to direct the people in their struggles for constitutional freedom. It would be endless to recapitulate the services of the great lords in the subsequent periods of our history. Till the extinction of the ancient nobility, in the civil wars of York and Lancaster, they took a leading part in all the political revolutions of the state. As a council of advice in the administration of the kingdom, the House of Lords was of paramount importance. During the calamitous reign of Henry VI., it was repeatedly admitted in Par-

liament, that in case of a suspension of the royal functions by the nonage or imbecility of the King, it was the right and duty of the Lords to assume his authority, and make provision for the politic rule and governance of the land.

But, though the English baronage was distinguished from the nobility of France by the support its members gave to public liberty, it must not be supposed, that in character and disposition they were altogether dissimilar from their brethren on the continent. We have only to consult the annals of Stephen to learn the horrible excesses of which they were capable. But, holding less extensive regalities, and having less inherent power than the Peers of France, they were compelled, in their contests with the crown, to look to the people for assistance. The French nobles fell, one after another, unsupported by their fellows, and unpitied by their countrymen, whom they slighted and oppressed. The English nobility, less confident in their strength, were induced to confederate together, and by espousing the cause of the people, to engage the people on their side. It was no respect for the rights of their inferiors, but the want of power to do otherwise, that inspired them with moderation and regard to others. When successful, they were not indisposed to abuse the advantages they had gained; but in their wildest schemes of ambition, they acted with such respect for popular opinion, that when vanquished, they were lamented by their countrymen as the martyrs of public freedom. Ballads were composed in honour of the Earl of Leicester, after his fall; and Thomas of Lancaster, though a more ambiguous character, was venerated as a saint, and miracles were long performed at his tomb.

Under the Tudors, a new nobility started into life. Favourites or servants of the crown, and indebted for their existence to its bounty, they were ever ready to obey its orders; and unless when spirited to resistance by religious zeal, or entangled in dangerous machinations by their mutual rivalities and ambition, they were as submissive to their prince as the lowest and humblest of his subjects. Towards the end of Elizabeth, the Commons began to rise into permanent importance; and in the memorable civil war that followed, though some of the great nobility espoused the popular cause, the struggle for liberty was chiefly maintained by the Commons. The ingratitude of Charles II., and the bigotry of James, alienated many noble families from the House of Stuart; and for some time after the revolution, the principal strength of the Whig party lay in the House of Lords. The Church of England had, in self-defence, taken part against James; but, when secured from immediate danger, the Clergy relapsed into their ancient Tory prejudices and

hatred of Presbyterians and other Dissenters. Haunted by their recollections of the Commonwealth, and priding themselves on the consistency of their opinions, they became the bitter enemies of the settlement effected by the Revolution, and drew after them the more ignorant and prejudiced of the country gentry—the Squire Westerns of those days. It required all the weight of the great Lords, and of the commercial and monied interest, to withstand this combination. The principles of liberty were sufficiently understood to make it impossible to govern by mere prerogative, but were not sufficiently disseminated among the middling classes of society, to enable ministers to govern by a just confidence in the strength and soundness of public opinion. It was found necessary to gain the electoral body by bribes to support the friends of their liberties and religion, and corruption became, in this manner, the auxiliary of freedom. The result was, the preservation of the Protestant succession, under an oligarchy composed of great Lords and trading politicians.

The accession of George III. opened a new scene. It was resolved to emancipate the King from what was called aristocratic thraldom. The clergy and gentry, in hatred of their ancient enemies, lent their aid as soon as they perceived the drift of the court. The scheme was conducted with art, and pursued with perseverance. Advantage was taken of jealousies and divisions in the ministry, to discard some and seduce others from their former connexions. Some persons were gained, others were dismissed, and new men introduced in their place. Repeated changes and desertions destroyed all confidence among public men—never was a period more disgraceful to politicians, nor more injurious to the country. The court obtained at length an inglorious victory, followed by a most calamitous war. In the political struggles that ensued, both parties were alternately successful; but the court, pursuing its course with steadiness and dexterity, and occasionally yielding to adverse circumstances, triumphed in the end. From 1784 to 1792, it resisted the most powerful combination of wealth and talent ever arrayed in opposition.

In this state of things, the French revolution came like a thunder-storm, to terrify the timid, and purify the atmosphere. The real or feigned alarmists crowded to court, and in return for the support they gave, had peerages showered on them to allay their fears: as if coronets were a protection against popular violence. The consequence has been an entire change in the character of the House of Lords. It no longer consists of a small number of persons, possessed in general of large fortunes, and either attracted to the court by the allurements of interest and gewgaws of vanity, or attached to the people by family recol-

lections and popular principles. It is now composed of a vast multitude, recently ennobled, with estates not superior to the country gentlemen who surround them, with no ancient prejudices in favour of the crown, and no recollections of ancestry to connect them with the people. Having little to expect from the court, and nothing to ask from the people, they are independent of both. The people have no direct influence over them, and the crown cannot add to their number without increasing the chances of future opposition to its measures.

If the Lords, independent alike of prince and people, retained the political weight which they enjoyed in the early periods of our history, they would be the masters of the State. To say that they have no longer any political influence would be incorrect. They derive authority from their rank, and from the respect which all classes are disposed to extend to them. They have more legitimate claims to consideration from the talents many of them possess—the experience they have acquired—the services they have rendered their country—the knowledge and ability they exhibit in debate ; but the sinews of their power are gone. The ancient Barons drew their importance from their immense landed possessions, and from the numerous retainers and dependents at their beck. A large portion of the territorial surface of England was in their hands. Their estates were vast, and all who lived on their lands were attached to them from kindness, or obedient to them from fear. The landed property held by the present House of Lords, though considerable, is comparatively small. Some ten or twelve of the Peers have large estates, but the greater part of them are gentlemen of small or moderate fortunes, with no influence beyond the farmers and labourers who cultivate their lands. Not only is the landed property of the Lords much less considerable, and much more minutely subdivided than it was in former times, but it is encumbered with debts and mortgages which take from its value. Nor is this all. The landed property of England was formerly the chief part of its wealth. At present, it is far exceeded in amount by the personal property embarked in trade, manufactures, and agriculture, or vested in the funds. Of personal property, the Lords have wondrous little, in comparison with the other members of the community ; and it so happens, that a large portion of this newly created property has accumulated in remote villages and distant parts of the kingdom, where the aristocracy seldom reside, and have therefore no means of acquiring personal influence to counterbalance their deficiency in wealth. But property either gives power, or power plunders property ; and as the latter is not yet the condition of England, the distribution of property, as it exists amongst us at

present, shows how little political weight can belong to the House of Lords.

The declension of the Lords in wealth is irremediable, and must go on increasing every day. Their position in society precludes them from adding to their fortunes by their industry, and every succeeding generation must lessen the means they at present possess. The economical reforms in the state must leave their younger children burdens on the heirs to their title. The time is gone by when a father could bequeath to one of his younger sons an annuity, to determine when his elder brother could procure for him an equivalent place or pension from the Government. Few fields of adventure are left open to the younger sons of the nobility. The church, which was their richest harvest, is about to be reformed. The army and navy are honourable professions; but to those who have been educated in luxury they afford a slender resource without some other means of subsistence. Diplomacy creates habits of expense and indulgence, and then leaves the unhappy victim to vegetate on some miserable pension, if he is fortunate enough to obtain one. The law indeed is accessible to all, but how few are the children of the aristocracy who have risen to eminence at the bar. Some splendid exceptions might indeed be cited, and several instances of moderate success might be adduced; but, compared with the number of miscarriages, they are not many. Sundry attempts we have witnessed that ultimately failed of success, not from defect of talents or application in the parties, but from the distrust of attorneys in the diligence of persons who frequented fashionable assemblies, or from want of patience and perseverance of the young men themselves in what they found for years to be unprofitable labour. The only resource left for aristocratic youth is some mercenary marriage with a city heiress, whose parents are willing to exchange their wealth for the appellation of honourable, or the title of my lady, obtained for their daughter.

In this state of the House of Lords, a learned gentleman proposed some years ago to the Duke of Wellington, then First Commissioner of the Treasury, to revive the ancient practice of creating Peers for Life. Less attention has been given to this suggestion than it deserved. All persons confess that the peerage is too numerous, and all must admit that it is necessary at times to add to its number. All persons must agree with the author of the pamphlet before us, that, while the judicial business of the Lords is conducted on its present footing, 'it is 'desirable that the country should have the benefit of every des-'cription of talent in that assembly calculated to ensure the

'administration of justice in all the various cases brought before 'it;' and all must acknowledge 'that the impolicy of multiplying 'hereditary peerages prevents the Crown from placing in the 'House persons whose peculiar talents and acquirements would 'be extremely beneficial to the country.' Not to speak of the advantage to be derived from men of experience and practical wisdom in originating, revising, and amending legislative acts, it is manifest that the judicial business of the country cannot be transacted without the introduction of lawyers, whose fortunes are often insufficient to found a family competent to maintain the dignity and independence of the peerage. We have seen the premature death of an eminent lawyer, who had been forced into the House of Lords, leave his son in entire dependence on the bounty of the Crown. We have seen others, whose chief inheritance has lain in sinecure offices, now abolished, in their fathers' gift. Diplomatic peerages in such circumstances have been less common, yet we have known them conferred on persons who merited the honour, but left it as a burden to their posterity.

The chief objection to peerages for life has been the facility it would afford to ministers of securing a majority in the House of Lords, when not deterred, as at present, from creating peers by the salutary dread of making permanent additions to the peerage. But in proportion as the political weight of the Lords is diminished, that objection vanishes. There can be no motive for creating a majority where no strength is to be gained by it. But the political importance of the Lords has been long on the wane, and recent events have exposed, in the clearest light, their weakness. The chief power of the state has been gradually transferred to the House of Commons, and while the administration of the Government continues to depend on the annual grants of that assembly, *there* it must abide. Since the accession of the House of Hanover, the influence exercised by the Lords has been chiefly derived from the members they were able to return to the House of Commons. That source of authority is taken away. As proprietors, the Peers will still have weight in elections, but the days of nomination have passed away. Left to their own resources, they may harass and disturb, but they cannot overturn an administration which has the confidence of the King, and is supported by the country and the House of Commons. Many symptoms indeed indicate that they are sensible of their own political weakness. Though violent in their hostility to the Reform Bill, they withdrew their opposition to it at the last moment, and, in an agony of dismay and disappointment, suffered it to pass. In the last session of Parliament their conduct manifested the same conviction. The Administration was broken

up—the opposition had three-fifths of the House of Lords on their side—but fear of a collision with the Commons prevailed, and, with anguish and regret, they saw the Government reconstructed on its former basis without an effort to prevent it. They have since rejected the Irish Tithe Bill; and if their present humour lasts, they may throw out every bill of reform sent up to them from the Commons. But what political consequences have followed from the line of conduct they have chosen to adopt? Have the Ministers resigned on the loss of their bill? Has the King sent to them for their seals of office? Nothing of the kind has happened. Many have lamented the loss of the bill and anticipated the most fatal consequences from its rejection. But no one ever dreamed that the rejection of the bill would be followed by a change of Ministry. Every one felt that the Lords alone could not form an administration. The Lords themselves seem to have had the same impression. They rejected the bill, but proposed no address for the dismissal of Ministers; and if they had, would it not have been a sufficient answer, in the emphatic language of our forefathers, 'that God ne reson wol that this 'lande stande withouten governaunce:' and that, without the concurrence of the Commons, to form another ministry was impracticable?

We see little probability of the House of Lords regaining the political importance it has lost. The ancient feudal aristocracy was powerful, because it had enormous wealth, and because it cultivated popular principles, and had the support of the democracy in its contests with the Crown. After the accession of the House of Hanover, the Whig Lords acquired an ascendency by the profuseness and magnificence of their expenditure, and by the resources they were enabled to draw from the public purse, in a country advancing steadily in wealth and commerce. The present Lords are, with some few exceptions, too poor and too much embarrassed in their circumstances to spend much money of their own: and the Commons and people are too vigilant to permit the former drafts on the public purse to be continued. Popularity the Lords of the present day are not in general much disposed to cultivate. Too many of them, we lament the fact, seem to have abjured and to hold in detestation the popular principles of their predecessors. Educated and receiving their first impressions during the horrors of the French Revolution, or in the frenzy that succeeded the restoration—impregnated with the fears and resentments which for many years pervaded the aristocracy of Europe, so dissimilar from the feelings and inclinations of the Whig Lords in 1688 and 1715—they have no sympathy with the people, and the people have no sympathy or

regard for them. The prejudices of the ancient French noblesse, which the English nobility used formerly to deride, are unhappily rooted in the minds of too many of the present generation. If a measure be popular, they regard it with aversion. If it tend to curb or limit any liberty of the subject, they hail it with approbation. If it be directed to the diffusion of general knowledge, they view it with scorn, and oppose it with bitterness. Whatever adds to the enjoyments of their inferiors, appears to them to be so much taken from themselves. They cannot bear that streets should be lighted with gas, that communications should be facilitated by railroads, or that stage-coaches should be rendered as commodious for travelling as private carriages. So small a matter as the act to legalize the sale of game was not wrung from them without difficulty. To have something exclusive is their delight. Almacks we excuse. They have a right to select the society in which they live; but, let them not grudge to others the advantages which nature and art have provided for all.

None who are acquainted with the feelings and impressions but too prevalent in the higher classes of society, will consider the picture we have drawn overcharged or exaggerated. There are many exceptions, it is true. Some have never swerved from their popular principles. Some, after temporary deviations during the excesses of the French Revolution, have reverted to more liberal opinions. Some, taught by their good sense and observation of what was passing around them, have caught the spirit and adopted the sentiments of their age. But the majority, and, we are sorry to add, the majority of the younger members of the aristocracy, are adverse to the extension of popular rights. Youth, which used to be the season of generous illusions, is enlisted on the side of selfish interests and antiquated prejudices. The consequences to public liberty might be fatal, if the democracy were not too powerful and too intelligent to be baffled or divided by such opponents.

Without fortune to command, or disposition to conciliate, how can the Aristocracy recover the ground they have lost? The Church, which used to be their best ally, instead of lending them assistance, is reduced, like Prior Aylmer in 'Ivanhoe,' to call out lustily for aid. An ardent spirit of religion has gone forth, which is unfriendly to establishments. The puritanism of the seventeenth century is revived, with no predominant sect ready to vault into the saddle of the Church.

The present state of the House of Lords removes, as we have said, the chief objection to the creation of Peers for life. Where no political object is to be obtained, no political Peerages will be created. When a Minister not only *may*, but *must*, continue

in office, though a majority of the Lords are opposed to his government, so long as he has the approbation of the King, the support of the Commons, and the confidence of the country, he is under no necessity, and can have no political motive, for adding to the Peerage. The only case that could justify him for advising such an exercise of prerogative, would be the existence of a majority in the Lords, who, from temper, spleen, or invincible prejudice, had shown a determination to reject every bill for national improvement, that came to them from the Commons, though sanctioned by public opinion, and called for by the general sense of the country. But, if such obstinacy and waspishness appeared, who will say there ought not to be some remedy found against them? With the exception of such an extraordinary and hardly supposable case, the Lords, we may be assured, convinced by experience of their political weakness, will cease in future to embarrass the government by their political opposition. The Lords, convinced of their political weakness, will cease to embarrass the Government by their opposition, and confine themselves to the useful office of preparing and amending Legislative Acts. The crude, violent, impracticable Bills of the Commons, hurried away, as they often are, by partial clamour and delusion, or biassed by the private interests and prejudices of their constituents, will be revised and corrected by an Assembly, free from political passions and agitations, and anxious only to acquire reputation and authority, by the calm, just, and deliberate discharge of its duty.

The advantages of this scheme to the present race of hereditary Peers, are sufficiently obvious. It will raise the consequence and dignity of their families. It will enable the Crown to supply deficiencies in the Lords, without adding permanently to their numbers. A lawyer may be wanted for the despatch of judicial business;—a foreign minister who returns from abroad, may be useful in Parliament;—a general or admiral may gain a victory, who has not fortune to sustain his family in the Peerage;—a member of the House of Commons, who has grown gray in the service of his country, may be no longer equal to the fatigue of an assembly, which none but the young and robust can long endure:—let these men have seats for life in the House of Lords, without encumbering the Exchequer with pensions for three generations, or calling into existence a race of noble paupers, who must in time bring nobility into contempt. That this plan is consistent with, and is, in fact, a renovation of ancient practice, is proved to demonstration in the pamphlet before us; and that it has analogies in the present constitution of the House of Lords, is shown in the Bishops, and, to a certain degree, in the Scotch and Irish representative Peers.

It has been objected to this plan, that if peerages were conferred for life, they would be granted with too lavish a hand—yielded to importunity or bestowed from favour and caprice—by which the peerage would be degraded in public estimation as other dignities and titles of honour have become. That peerages will be more easily obtained when they are granted for life, may be admitted; and yet the consequences apprehended from this laxity, may not follow. To be a member of the legislature is not an empty honour, but a real acquisition of power. It is a seat for life in an assembly, which, though shorn of its preponderance in affairs of state, has still important vocations to fulfil. To have the right to discuss, amend, and decide on every act of parliament, is a privilege that must ever draw after it consideration and respect.

It might, on the contrary, be argued, that peers for life, selected for the services they have done, or for the services they are expected to perform, would add weight and lustre to the House of Lords, and in some degree restore it to the political importance it once enjoyed. Power must be founded either on property or on ability. If we cannot give the one, we may furnish the other. That assembly, which contains the men of greatest name and reputation, cannot fail to acquire authority by the influence it must exert on public opinion.

It is not necessary that an entire stop should be put to the creation of hereditary peerages, or that any limits in that respect should be set to the present prerogative of the Crown. It will be sufficient, if the introduction of peers for life enables the King to reward merit, supply inevitable deficiencies in the House of Lords, and qualify it for the perfect discharge of its legislative duties, without permanently adding to an overgrown body, which, if it ever came to be factious, might become troublesome and unmanageable.

Art. III.—*Lives of the Necromancers; or an Account of the most Eminent Persons, in successive Ages, who have claimed for themselves, or to whom has been imputed by others, the exercise of Magical Power.* By William Godwin. 8vo. London: 1834.

The interest which has lately been excited by the Letters of Sir Walter Scott on 'Demonology and Witchcraft,' has drawn the public attention to the kindred subject of Magic and Necromancy, and various works have been published to gratify this appetite for the marvellous. In the work on the 'Occult

'Sciences,' by M. Eusebe Salverte, and in the 'Letters on Natural Magic,' by Sir David Brewster, an attempt has been made to break the rod of the magician, to desecrate his implements and his processes, and to admit the uninitiated footstep within the verge of his mystic circle. Those who were formerly defrauded by his impostures, might now enrich themselves by his art; and those who once dreaded his power, might now wield his sceptre.

But though the physics of necromancy were thus unmasked, its ethics still remained to be explored. In the history of human irrationality, two classes of impostors of very different characters present themselves to our notice,—those who wilfully deluded their species, and those who permitted their species to delude themselves. The *first* of these classes consisted of the selfish tyrants who upheld their unnatural power by systematic delusion; and of the grovelling mountebanks who quenched their avaricious thirst at the fountains of credulity and ignorance. The second class comprehended spirits of a nobler mould. It embraced the fanciful speculators whom the love of fame and of truth urged onward in a fruitless research; and those great lights of knowledge and of virtue, who, while they stood forward as the landmarks of the age in which they lived, had neither the intellectual nor the moral courage to divest themselves of the supernatural lustre with which the ignorance of the vulgar had encircled them.

The thrones and shrines which delusion once sustained, even in the civilized quarter of the globe, are for ever fallen; and that civil and religious liberty which in past ages was kept down by the marvellous exhibitions of science to the senses, is now maintained by its application to the reason of man. The charlatans, whether they be moral or physical, form a race which is never extinct. They migrate to the different zones of the social system: and though they change their place, and their object, and their victims, yet their character and their motives remain the same. The philosophical mind, therefore, is not disposed to study either of these varieties of impostors;—but the other two families, who compose the second class, are objects of paramount interest. The eccentricities, and even the obliquities of great minds, merit the scrutiny of the metaphysician and the moralist; and they derive a peculiar interest from the state of society in which they are exhibited. Had Cardan and Cornelius Agrippa lived in modern times, their vanity and self-importance would have been checked by the forms of society; and their innocent pretensions would have disappeared, even if they were displayed, amid the blaze of their genius and knowledge. But educated in dark times, and nurtured in the midst of ignorance and superstí-

tion, their genius and their character bore the impress of their age. The dampness of a Bœotian climate must have tarnished the most polished mind, and the foul precipitate of so malarious an atmosphere, must have infected every thing upon which it fell.

Had history transmitted to us correct details of the conduct of the leading alchymists and scientific magicians of the dark ages, or had we possessed biographical accounts of them written by themselves, we should have been able to analyze their actions and their opinions, and trace them to the ordinary principles by which the human mind is in every age influenced and directed; but when a great man has once become an object either of interest or of wonder, and, still more, when he is considered as the possessor of knowledge and skill which transcend the capacity of the age, he is soon transformed into the hero of romance. His deeds are exaggerated,—his powers overrated; and he becomes the subject of idle legends, which acquire a firmer hold on credulity from the slight sprinkling of truth with which they are seasoned. To disclaim the possession of lofty attributes, is not the practice of great men. But even this species of humility, when it is exercised, would defeat its object. It would call forth a deeper homage, and would only establish the demigod more firmly on his shrine.

The history of learning furnishes us with many examples of this species of delusion, in which a great mind submits itself to vulgar adulation, and renounces unwillingly, if it renounces at all, the unenviable reputation of supernatural agency. In cases where self-interest and ambition are the basis of this peculiarity of temperament, and in an age when the conjurer and the alchymist were the companions, and even the idols of princes, it is easy to follow out the process by which a gifted sage retains his ascendency among the ignorant. The hecatomb which is sacrificed to the magician, he receives as an oblation to his science; and, conscious of possessing real endowments, the idol devours the meats that are offered him, without analyzing the motives and expectations under which he is fed.

But even when the idolater and his god are not placed in this transverse relation, the love of power or of notoriety is sufficient to induce good men to lend a too willing ear to vulgar testimony in favour of themselves; and in our own times it is not common to repudiate the unmerited cheers of a popular assembly, or to offer a contradiction to fictitious tales, which record our talents or our courage, our charity or our piety.

The conduct of the scientific alchymists of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, presents to the metaphysician and the moralist a problem of very difficult solution. When we consider that

a gas, a fluid, or a solid, may consist of the very same ingredients in different proportions;—that a virulent poison may differ from the most wholesome food, only in the difference of quantity of the very same elements;—that gold and silver, and lead and mercury, and indeed all the metals, may be extracted from transparent crystals, which scarcely differ in their appearance from a piece of common salt or a bit of sugarcandy;—and that diamond is nothing more than charcoal;—we need not greatly wonder at the extravagance of the expectations that the precious metals, and the noblest gems, may be procured from the basest materials. These expectations, too, must have been often raised by the strange results of their unremitted experiments. The most ignorant compounder of simples could not fail to witness the magical transformation of chemical actions; and every new product must have added to the probability that the tempting doublets of gold and silver might be thrown from the dice-box with which he was gambling.

But when these precious metals were actually found in lead and copper, which are often alloyed with them, by the action of powerful reagents, it was natural to suppose that they had been actually formed during the process; and men of well-regulated minds even might have thus been led to embark in new adventures to procure a more copious supply, without any insult having been offered to sober reason, or any injury inflicted on sound morality.

When an ardent and ambitious mind, however, is once dazzled with the fascination of some lofty pursuit, where gold is the object, or fame the impulse, it is by no means an easy step to pause in a doubtful career, and to make a voluntary shipwreck of the reputation which has been staked. Hope still cheers the aspirant from failure to failure, till the loss of fortune, and the decay of credit, disturb the serenity of his mind, and hurry him on to the last resource of baffled ingenuity and disappointed ambition. The philosopher thus becomes an impostor; he abandons himself to dissimulation; and by the pretended transmutation of the baser metals into gold, or the discovery of the philosopher's stone, he attempts to sustain his sinking reputation, and recover the fortune he has lost. The communication of the Great Secret is now the staple commodity with which he is to barter, and the grand talisman with which he is to conjure. It can be imparted only to a chosen few,—to those among the opulent who merit it by their virtues, and can acquire it by their diligence; and the divine vengeance is threatened against its disclosure. A process commencing in fraud, and terminating in mysticism, is conveyed to the wealthy aspirant; and the grand mystery passes from rogue

to fool, till its base coin is nailed to the counter of some honest purchaser.

Another extravagance of the alchymists was the art of forming the Universal Medicine, by which all diseases could be healed, and longevity secured. The great success of the Arabian physicians in the application of mercurial preparations to diseases which had resisted every other medicine, naturally led men of ardent minds to entertain the most sanguine expectations of discovering other medicines which might be still more efficacious. If the course of a violent complaint was instantly arrested by the power of mercury, it was not absolutely impossible that a more powerful and universal restorative might present itself to the diligent enquirer. Such an expectation, however extravagant, was calculated to advance rather than to retard the healing art; and there can be no doubt that it led to many beneficial results. Availing himself of these substantial discoveries, the daring empiric actually maintained that he possessed the universal medicine, and promised to confer longevity upon his patients. Were Paracelsus, the celebrated assertor of these dogmas, to reappear in the present age, he would probably defend himself by the declaration that his Universal Medicine was mercury, and that the longevity which he promised was the diminished mortality of our species.

Entertaining these views of the alchymy and magic of former times, and regarding the subject as one of curious enquiry, we looked forward with some interest to the perusal of Mr Godwin's volume. We did not expect that he would give us any insight into the science of the necromancers, but we did anticipate accurate and amusing details of their lives and achievements, and counted upon finding much sagacious, though not very sound speculation respecting those principles of human nature, in which such a system of delusion had its origin, and that extraordinary combination of sincerity and fraud by which it was so long maintained.

In this expectation, however, we have been greatly disappointed. Though Mr Godwin's volume is well written, and to a certain extent interesting, yet it is neither a work of learning nor of judicious compilation; and still less is it a work exhibiting any philosophical sagacity, or furnishing us with any clue through the intellectual labyrinths of Necromancy. He acknowledges, indeed, that 'to show the modes in which the delusion acts upon 'the person through whom it operates, is not properly the scope 'of his book;' and that its main purpose is to exhibit a fair delineation of the credulity of the human mind. In order to get up such an exhibition, we need scarcely travel backward into antiquity. The briefest experience, and the narrowest circle, will

furnish us, on better evidence than that of history, with ample specimens of human credulity: and the panel—Man—may in our own day, and even in our own country, be convicted of this felony against reason, before a unanimous jury and an approving judge. But such evidence did not suit Mr Godwin's purpose. His object was to associate extreme credulity, and deplorable ignorance, and reckless villany, with all that is admirable in talent and elevated in piety; to assimilate necromancy and magic with the miracles of the Old and New Testament; and to link the disgusting details of sorcery and witchcraft with the history and propagation of the Christian faith. That these are the objects which our author has in view, will appear from various parts of his work; but the following extract from the preface, which is very explicit, will furnish sufficient evidence of our assertions.

'If we would know man in all his subtleties, we must deviate into the world of miracles and sorcery. To know the things that are not, and cannot be, but have been imagined and believed, is the most curious chapter in the annals of man. To observe the actual results of these imaginary phenomena, and the crimes and cruelties they have caused us to commit, is one of the most instructive studies in which we can possibly be engaged. It is here that man is most astonishing, and that we contemplate with most admiration the discursive and unbounded nature of his faculties.

'But, if a recollection of the examples of the credulity of the human mind may in one view supply nourishment to our pride, it still more obviously tends to teach us sobriety and humiliation. Man, in his genuine and direct sphere, is the disciple of reason; it is by this faculty that he draws inferences, exerts his prudence, and displays the ingenuity of machinery, and the subtlety of system both in natural and moral philosophy. Yet what so irrational as man? Not contented with making use of the powers we possess, for the purpose of conducing to our accommodation and well-being, we with a daring spirit enquire into the invisible causes of what we see, and people all nature with gods "of every shape and size" and angels, with principalities and powers, with beneficent beings, who "take charge concerning us, lest at any time we dash our foot against a stone;" and with devils, who are perpetually on the watch to perplex us and do us injury. And, having familiarized our minds with the conceptions of these beings, we immediately aspire to hold communion with them. We represent to ourselves God, as "walking in the garden with us in the cool of the day," and teach ourselves "not to forget to entertain strangers, lest by so doing we should repel angels unawares."

'No sooner are we, even in a slight degree, acquainted with the laws of nature, than we frame to ourselves the idea, by the aid of some invisible ally, of suspending their operation, of calling out meteors in the sky, of commanding storms and tempests, of arresting the motion of the

heavenly bodies, of producing miraculous cures upon the bodies of our fellow-men, or afflicting them with disease and death, of calling up the deceased from the silence of the grave, and compelling them to disclose "the secrets of the world unknown."'

Having put our readers on their guard respecting the drift of the work before us, we shall proceed to give them some idea of its substance and character, and of the kind of amusement which they may expect from the history of Necromancy.

After a well-written introduction containing many excellent observations, Mr Godwin proceeds to treat of the ambitious nature of man, as evinced in his desire to penetrate into futurity, and even to command and control future events. He is thus led to treat of Divination, Dreams, Astrology, Oracles, Necromancy, Alchymy, Sorcery and Witchcraft, and various analogous subjects. He then gives what he calls 'Examples of Necromancy 'and Witchcraft from the Bible,' and treats in succession of the Necromancers of Greece and Rome. The next topics of discussion are the 'Revolution produced in the history of Necromancy 'and Witchcraft upon the establishment of Christianity;' the history of Necromancy in the East—during the dark ages—during the 'Communication of Europe and the Saracens'—and during the Revival of Letters. He then terminates his work with an account of the 'Sanguinary Proceedings against Witch-'craft,' and of the 'Quacks who in cool blood undertook to 'overreach mankind.' Under these various heads, an immense diversity of subjects pass before our author's notice; and hence all of them are treated very superficially, and without any of that fulness of detail which can alone gratify curiosity. But beside this defect in the work, there is another, which we cannot reprobate too severely. In his account of individual necromancers, he records the most silly and unfounded stories, which he himself believes to have been mere inventions of the vulgar; and the reason which he assigns for perpetuating such absurdities, is, that they present us with a striking picture of the temper and credulity of the times in which the necromancer lived.

In order that our readers may judge of the nature and force of this criticism, we shall extract the principal portion of the account of Cornelius Agrippa, a man of extraordinary genius and learning, and distinguished by the vast variety of his accomplishments. After a brief notice of his life, Mr Godwin proceeds as follows:—

'He enters, however, into the work I am writing, principally on account of the extraordinary stories that have been told of him on the subject of magic. He says of himself, in his Treatise on the Vanity of

Sciences, " Being then a very young man, I wrote, in three books, of a considerable size, Disquisitions concerning Magic."

' The first of the stories I am about to relate is chiefly interesting, inasmuch as it is connected with the history of one of the most illustrious ornaments of our early English poetry, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who suffered death at the close of the reign of King Henry VIII. The Earl of Surrey, we are told, became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa at the court of John George, elector of Saxony. On this occasion were present, beside the English nobleman, Erasmus, and many other persons eminent in the republic of letters. These persons showed themselves enamoured of the reports that had been spread of Agrippa, and desired him before the Elector to exhibit something memorable. One entreated him to call up Plautus, and show him as he appeared in garb and countenance when he ground corn in the mill. Another before all things desired to see Ovid. But Erasmus earnestly requested to behold Tully in the act of delivering his oration for Roscius. This proposal carried the most votes. And, after marshalling the concourse of spectators, Tully appeared, at the command of Agrippa, and from the rostrum pronounced the oration, precisely in the words in which it has been handed down to us, " with such astonishing animation, so fervent an exaltation of spirit, and such soul-stirring gestures, that all the persons present were ready, like the Romans of old, to pronounce his client innocent of every charge that had been brought against him." The story adds, that, when Sir Thomas More was at the same place, Agrippa showed him the whole destruction of Troy in a dream. To Thomas, Lord Cromwell, he exhibited, in a perspective glass, King Henry VIII. and all his lords hunting in his forest at Windsor. To Charles V. he showed David, Solomon, Gideon, and the rest, with the Nine Worthies, in their habits and similitude, as they had lived.'—Pp. 323-5.

If the preceding story about Cicero has the slightest truth in it, Agrippa must have himself personated the Roman orator; and as he had filled the situation of advocate and orator to the city of Metz, it is probable that he possessed the powers of public speaking which the story ascribes to him. With regard to Sir Thomas More's dream, nothing is more likely than that he should have dreamt of the destruction of Troy, without the exercise of any other magical art than that of Agrippa having made it the subject of conversation on the preceding day. The exhibitions which are said to have been made to Lord Cromwell, Charles V., and of the Fair Geraldine to Lord Surrey (a story which we have not extracted), are said to have been done with a perspective and magic glass; and if they ever were made, they must have been only images obtained from pictures by the optical contrivances of the day.

We cannot pass by the story related by our author, on the authority of Jovius, respecting the attendant devil who is said to have accompanied Agrippa in all his travels, in the shape of a

black dog:—'When he lay on his deathbed, he was earnestly exhorted to repent of his sins. Being in consequence struck with a deep contrition, he took hold of the dog, and removed from him a collar studded with nails, which formed a necromantic inscription; at the same time saying to him,—"Begone, wretched animal, which has been the cause of my entire destruction." It is added, that the dog immediately ran away, and plunged itself in the river Soane, after which it was seen no more.'

The most perfect specimen of necromancy with which we are acquainted, and the most arrant and groundless falsehood that ever was published, is given by Mr Godwin, as told of Agrippa by Delrio, in his 'Disquisitions on Magic.'

'Agrippa had occasion one time to be absent for a few days from his residence at Louvain. During his absence he intrusted his wife with the key of his museum, but with an earnest injunction that no one on any account should be allowed to enter. Agrippa happened at that time to have a boarder in his house, a young fellow of insatiable curiosity, who would never give over importuning his hostess, till at length he obtained from her the forbidden key. The first thing that attracted his attention was a book of spells and incantations. He spread this book upon a desk, and thinking no harm, began to read aloud. He had not long continued this occupation, when a knock was heard at the door of the chamber. The youth took no notice, but continued reading. Presently followed a second knock, which somewhat alarmed the reader. The space of a minute having elapsed, and no answer made, the door was opened, and a demon entered. "For what purpose am I called?" said the stranger, sternly. "What is it you demand to have done?" The youth was seized with the greatest alarm, and struck speechless. The demon advanced towards him, seized him by the throat, and strangled him, indignant that his presence should thus be invoked from pure thoughtlessness and presumption.

'At the expected time, Agrippa came home, and, to his great surprise, found a number of devils capering and playing strange antics about, and on the roof of his house. By his art, he caused them to desist from their sport, and with authority demanded what was the cause of this novel appearance. The chief of them answered. He told how they had been invoked and insulted, and what revenge they had taken. Agrippa became exceedingly alarmed for the consequences to himself of this unfortunate adventure. He ordered the demon, without loss of time, to reanimate the body of his victim, then to go forth, and to walk the boarder three or four times up and down the market-place, in the sight of the people. The infernal spirit did as he was ordered, showed the student publicly alive, and, having done this, suffered the body to fall down—the marks of conscious existence being plainly no more. For a time it was thought that the student had been killed by a sudden attack of disease; but presently after, the marks of strangulation were plainly discerned, and the truth came out. Agrippa was then obliged suddenly to withdraw himself, and to take up his residence in a distant province.' —Pp. 326–7.

That this and all the preceding stories about Agrippa are fabrications most injurious to his memory, cannot be doubted. Wierus, who lived for many years in constant attendance upon Agrippa, tells us in his book *De Prestigiis Demonum*, that the formidable black dog, already mentioned, was an innocent animal which he had often led by a string, and which was sometimes permitted to eat and sleep with his master. He also adds, that the extensive correspondence of Agrippa with every quarter of the globe, was the true source of that extraordinary intelligence which the vulgar imputed to supernatural power. Naudé, too, in his Apology for Great Men accused of Magic, states it to be his firm conviction, that the fact of Agrippa having written a book on the Rules of Magic, is 'the only ground for fastening 'the imputation of being a magician, upon that illustrious cha-'racter.'

Mr Godwin, who states these facts himself, is compelled to add his own doubts of the truth of the stories which he has contributed to perpetuate.

'Without believing, however, any of the tales of the magic practices of Cornelius Agrippa, and even perhaps without supposing that he seriously pretended to such arts, we are here presented with a striking picture of the temper and credulity of the times in which he lived. We plainly see, from the contemporary evidence of Wierus, that such things were believed of him by his neighbours; and at that period it was sufficiently common for any man of deep study, of recluse habits, and a certain sententious and magisterial air, to undergo these imputations. It is more than probable, that Agrippa, by a general silence and mystery, gave encouragement to the wonder of the vulgar mind. He was flattered by the terror and awe which his appearance inspired. He did not wish to come down to the ordinary level; and if to this we add his pursuits of alchymy and astrology, with the formidable and various apparatus supposed to be required in these pursuits, we shall no longer wonder at the results which followed. He loved to wander on the brink of danger, and was contented to take his chance of being molested, rather than not possess that ascendency over the ordinary race of mankind, which was evidently gratifying to his vanity.'—P. 329.

With regard to the alchymy and astrology alluded to in the preceding passage, and 'the formidable and various apparatus sup-'posed to be required in these pursuits,' they will assuredly not help him in fixing upon Agrippa the character of a necromancer. Agrippa was certainly an alchymist. He was a skilful chemist, who occasionally went astray in search of the art of transmuting the baser metals into gold. He did not try to conjure silver from lead, or gold from copper; nor did he attempt, with the wand of his sorcery, to smite the brilliant diamond from the lugubrious

charcoal. He was guided in his researches by the principles of science, however rashly and hopelessly they might be applied. The torch which conducted him was a ray of the purest light, but it was unfortunately part of 'a sunbeam that had lost its 'way.'

We are at a loss to understand what Mr Godwin means by the '*formidable* apparatus' by which the alchymist and the astrologer inspired the vulgar with awe and terror. The alchymist must certainly be supplied with a furnace and a few crucibles, and perchance with a pair of bellows, none of which are very awe-inspiring articles. What apparatus the astrologer could have had, we cannot even conjecture; unless it be the scale and compasses with which he projected his horoscopes.

That Agrippa was an astrologer, has been very rashly inferred from his having calculated the nativity of the Constable Bourbon. Had Sir Isaac Newton calculated the nativity of Queen Caroline, which he would, no doubt, have done to gratify her majesty, it would have been an unjust accusation to have charged him with necromancy, or even a belief in astrology; but we have positive evidence that Agrippa did not believe in astrology. When he was residing at Lyons, as physician to Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis I., she requested him to predict, on astrological principles, the issue of the war which was then carrying on between her son and the Constable Bourbon. Agrippa not only did not comply with this harmless request, but, to use the words of one of his biographers, 'he reprobated the curiosity of the 'lady as idle and impertinent, and refused to debase his under-'standing on so ignoble a subject.' When his mistress was informed that Agrippa had actually calculated the nativity of her enemy, and refused the same courtesy to her son, she dismissed him from her service, and stopped his pension. Had Mr Godwin been aware of these facts, he could never have maintained that Agrippa was an astrologer. He might as well have asserted that a martyr to Christianity was an infidel, because he was once a heathen; or that a pious logician was an atheist, because he had once questioned the *à priori* argument.

The celebrated Roger Bacon is treated nearly in the same manner as Agrippa; although Mr Godwin acknowledges him to have been 'one of the rarest geniuses that have existed on earth.' He is dismissed, however, in two pages and a half, but not without receiving the necromantic brand; and this mark is fixed upon him, on the authority of the following slanderous tale of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungy, which, as Mr Godwin himself seems to admit, has no other foundation than the fact of Bacon's having attempted to make a speaking head.

'These two persons are said to have entertained the project of enclosing England with a wall, so as to render it inaccessible to any invader. They accordingly raised the devil, as the person best able to inform them how this was to be done. The devil advised them to make a brazen head, with all the internal structure and organs of a human head. The construction would cost them much time, and they must then wait with patience till the faculty of speech descended upon it. It would finally, however, become an oracle, and if the question were propounded to it, would teach them the solution of their problem. The friars spent seven years in bringing the structure to perfection, and then waited day after day in expectation that it would utter articulate sounds. At length nature became exhausted in them, and they lay down to sleep, having first given it strictly in charge to a servant of theirs, clownish in nature, but of strict fidelity, that he should awaken them the moment the image began to speak. That period arrived. The head uttered sounds, but such as the clown judged unworthy of notice. "Time is!" it said. No notice was taken, and a long pause ensued. "Time was!" a similar pause, and no notice. "Time is passed!" And the moment these words were uttered, a tremendous storm ensued, with thunder and lightning, and the head was shivered into a thousand pieces. Thus the experiment of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungy came to nothing.'—Pp. 265-6.

This fictitious expansion of Bacon's acoustic experiment with a brazen head, is the only trace of necromancy which Mr Godwin has fixed upon the Friar. He has omitted to give any account of his studies as an alchymist, and of his pretensions to the magical art of making boys appear like giants, of multiplying armies, and bringing the sun, moon, and stars down to the earth. The optical combinations, by which he was able to perform such feats, are well known; and he himself uses the language of mystery in announcing the effects they would produce:—'And thus 'a boy may appear to be a giant, and a man as big as a moun-'tain, for as much as we may see the man under as great an angle 'as the mountain, and as near as we please; and thus a small 'army may appear a very great one, and though very far off, 'yet very near us, and on the contrary. Thus also the sun, 'moon, and stars, may be made to descend hither in appearance, 'and to appear over the heads of our enemies, and many things 'of the like sort, which would astonish unskilful persons.'

In the two cases of Agrippa and Roger Bacon, Mr Godwin has entertained his readers with narratives which he himself acknowledges to be fictitious, in order that he may associate great names with his history; and 'infer the temper and credulity of 'the times' from the 'things that were believed of them by their 'neighbours.' In the absence of all authentic information, a philosopher would have recourse, with great reluctance, to such sources of intelligence; but he would have carefully separated

what was true from what was fictitious, and in making use of the latter, he would have made a marked distinction between *what was believed* and *what was wilfully fabricated.* The records of credulity differ essentially from those of fiction. The study of the one must instruct,—the perusal of the other may amuse us; but when the instruction and the amusement are blended together, the mass of rubbish which they form is intellectually useless, and morally unprofitable.

Mr Godwin has never attempted to separate these two conditions of the marvellous. He takes either or both, just as they come to his hand; and, as we shall presently see, he puts as much value on acknowledged fiction as he does upon the legends of credulity. This great mistake is shown in a remarkable manner in his account of the notorious Dr Faustus.

'Little, in point of fact, is known respecting this eminent personage in the annals of necromancy. His pretended history does not seem to have been written till about the year 1587, perhaps half a century after his death. This work is apparently, in its principal features, altogether fictitious. * * * * He was probably nothing more than an accomplished juggler, who appears to have practised his art with great success in several towns of Germany. He was also, no doubt, a pretender to necromancy. * * * * On this basis, the well-known History of his Life has been built. The author has, with art, expanded very slender materials, and rendered his work, in a striking degree, a code and receptacle of all the most approved ideas respecting necromancy, and a profane and sacrilegious dealing with the devil. He has woven into it, with much skill, the pretended arts of the sorcerers; and has transcribed, or closely imitated, the stories that have been handed down to us of many of the extraordinary feats they were said to have performed. It is therefore suitable to our purpose to dwell at some length upon the successive features of this history.'—Pp. 330–1.

This rash promise is amply fulfilled by our author; for he deals out to us twenty-eight pages of 'the Devil and Dr Faustus.'

Having thus given our readers a correct idea of the information which Mr Godwin has conveyed to us, in his lives of Cornelius Agrippa, Roger Bacon, and Dr Faustus, we cannot refrain from quoting an earlier part of his work, 'on the General Silence of 'the East respecting Individual Necromancers:'—

'Asia has been more notorious than perhaps any other division of the globe for the vast multiplicity and variety of its narratives of sorcery and magic. I have, however, been much disappointed in the thing I looked for, in the first place; and that is, in the individual adventures of such persons as might be supposed to have gained a high degree of credit and reputation for their skill in exploits of magic. Where the professors are many (and they have been perhaps nowhere so numerous as those of

magic in the East), it is unavoidable but that some should have been more dexterous than others, more eminently gifted by nature, more enthusiastic and persevering in the prosecution of their purpose, and more fortunate in awakening popularity and admiration among their contemporaries. In the instances of Apollonius Tyanæus, and others among the ancients, and of Cornelius Agrippa, Roger Bacon, and Faust, among the moderns, we are acquainted with many biographical particulars of their lives, and can trace, with some degree of accuracy, their peculiarities of disposition, and observe how they were led gradually from one study and one mode of action to another. But the magicians of the East, so to speak, are mere abstractions, not characterised by any of those habits which distinguish one individual of the human race from another, and having those marking traits and petty lineaments which make the person, as it were, start up into life while he passes before our eyes. They are merely reported to us as men prone to the producing great signs and wonders, and nothing more.'—Pp. 185–6.

This passage seems to have been written before its author had acquired any knowledge either of Agrippa, Bacon, or Faustus. He here treats these personages as *Professors* of Necromancy, of whom we know so much, that we can trace their peculiarities, and observe how they were led from one study to another. Now, we know for certain, and Mr Godwin knows it also, that neither Agrippa nor Bacon were professors of necromancy; and we have already seen that he knows nothing whatever of Faustus. 'He 'was also,' says he, in a future passage, '*no doubt* a pretender 'to necromancy'—an admission, that he possessed no authentic information respecting this part of his character.

A brief account of the Lives of Paracelsus and Cardan, in their capacity of necromancers, concludes the section entitled 'San- 'guinary Proceedings against Witchcraft'—a section which contains also the venerable name of Luther. The only circumstances in the lives of the chemist and the mathematician, upon which the charge of necromancy is founded, is a rumour, that they had each a genius or demon in attendance upon them. Paracelsus was, no doubt, an alchymist and a quack; but he was a man of high genius, who gave a vigorous impulse to the science of the times. It is to him that we owe the invaluable connexion between chemistry and medicine; and the introduction into the *materia medica* of many chemical remedies, which have contributed, in the most essential degree, to diminish human suffering, and extend the period of human life. It was to the Arabians, indeed, that we owe the first introduction of metallic remedies; but it was to Paracelsus, and his successors in the art of alchymy, that we are indebted for the greatest number of these powerful medicines. The following paragraph contains the amount of his necromancy, according to Mr Godwin:—

'He therefore carefully cherished in those about him the idea, that there was in him a kind of supernatural virtue, and that he had the agents of an invisible world at his command. In particular, he gave out that he held conferences with a familiar or demon, whom, for the convenience of consulting, he was in the habit of carrying about with him in the hilt of his sword.'—P. 361.

Jerome Cardan, as our readers know, was a celebrated mathematician, and the author of some fine discoveries in Algebra,—a part of his character which Mr Godwin has omitted to record. He was a person of a quick and susceptible temperament, and united the possession of high imaginative, and profound intellectual powers. The combination of these antagonist attainments must necessarily have formed a singular character; and there may be some foundation for Mr Godwin's remark, 'that there was a 'considerable spice of madness in his composition.'

'Cardan describes three things of himself, which he habitually experienced, but respecting which he had never unbosomed himself to any of his friends. The first was, a capacity which he felt in himself of abandoning his body in a sort of ecstasy whenever he pleased. He felt in these cases a sort of splitting of the heart, as if his soul was about to withdraw; the sensation spreading over his whole frame, like the opening of a door for the dismissal of a guest. His apprehension was, that he was out of his body, and that by an energetic exertion he still retained a small hold of his corporeal figure. The second of his peculiarities was, that he saw, when he pleased, whatever he desired to see, not through the force of imagination, but with his material organs; he saw groves, animals, orbs, as he willed. When he was a child, he saw these things, as they occurred, without any previous volition or anticipation that such a thing was about to happen. But, after he had arrived at years of maturity, he saw them only when he desired, and such things as he desired. These images were in perpetual succession, one after another. The thing incidental to him which he mentioned in the third place was, that he could not recollect any thing that had ever happened to him, whether good, ill, or indifferent, of which he had not been admonished, and that a very short time before, in a dream. These things serve to show of what importance he was in his own eyes, and also, which is the matter he principally brings to prove, the subtlety and delicacy of his animal nature. Cardan speaks uncertainly and contradictorily as to his having a genius or demon perpetually attending him, advising him of what was to happen, and forewarning him of sinister events. He concludes, however, that he had no such attendant, but that it was the excellence of his nature, approaching to immortality. He was much addicted to the study of astrology, and laid claim to great skill as a physician.'—Pp. 362–4.

The mental phenomena recorded in the preceding passage, were, no doubt, real; and form, we are persuaded, interesting cases of the power of the optic nerve and the retina, to give an

external locality to the records of memory and the creations of the imagination. Those who have studied the cases of Nicolai, of Mrs A——, described in the 'Edinburgh Journal of Science,' and of others, published by Dr Abercrombie, cannot fail to observe that the temperament of Cardan was of an analogous kind; and that all his visions and mental peculiarities were the result of an extraordinary power of withdrawing his mind from the influence of present objects, and of an excessive sensibility of the retina to internal impressions. The 'subtlety and delicacy of his animal 'nature' was a logical inference from these phenomena, however ill expressed; and when his powers of abstraction, and his quickness of fancy, enabled him to embody in phantasms his own hopes and fears, and see them in all the reality of direct vision, it was within the limits of poetical expression to ascribe such vivid intelligence to the premonitions of a guardian genius.

The great tribe of ancient and modern Necromancers, of which Mr Godwin has attempted to write the natural history, is divided into two families; namely, those who were 'partly the victims of 'their own delusions,' and those 'quacks who in cool blood under-'took to overreach mankind.' The account of the first of these families terminates with Cardan, in the 364th page of the work; and the second class, whose lives occupy scarcely 100 pages, begins with Benvenuto Cellini,* and ends with the hackneyed and disgusting details of witchcraft. Dr Faustus stands pre-eminent as the type of the first tribe, and, enthroned in the clouds of fable and mystery, he is the centre of the wizard system, round which all the lesser spirits wheel their mystic course. Doctor John Dee, whose life occupies twenty-five pages, is, in like manner, the High Priest of modern sorcery, and outshines with his primary lustre the tiny satellites that attend him. Dr Dee and Mr Edward Kelly form a double star of exceeding brilliancy, but we cannot venture to describe its phases or to trace its orbit. As we have given our readers, however, a specimen of the 'self-deluded magicians,' we must not omit to present them with a sample of the 'cold-blooded quacks' of the second family; and we shall select the case which Mr Godwin himself considers as 'eminently to the purpose' of his work to describe.

'Urbain Grandier, a canon of the church, and a popular preacher of the town of Loudun, in the district of Poitiers, was in the year 1634 brought to trial upon the accusation of magic. The first cause of his being thus

* Although Benvenuto Cellini appears to be the necromancer in Mr Godwin's book, yet he is only the narrator of the story, and was himself imposed upon by the Sicilian priest.

called in question was the envy of his rival preachers, whose fame was eclipsed by his superior talents. The second cause was a libel falsely imputed to him upon Cardinal Richelieu, who, with all his eminent qualities, had the infirmity of being inexorable upon the question of any personal attack that was made upon him. Grandier, besides his eloquence, was distinguished for his courage and resolution, for the gracefulness of his figure, and the extraordinary attention he paid to the neatness of his dress and the decoration of his person, which last circumstance brought upon him the imputation of being too much devoted to the service of the fair.

'About this time, certain nuns of the Convent of Ursulines at Loudun were attacked with a disease, which manifested itself by very extraordinary symptoms, suggesting to many the idea that they were possessed with devils. A rumour was immediately spread that Grandier, urged by some offence he had conceived against these nuns, was the author, by the skill he had in the arts of sorcery, of these possessions. It unfortunately happened, that the same capuchin friar who assured Cardinal Richelieu that Grandier was the writer of the libel against him, also communicated to him the story of the possessed nuns, and the suspicion that had fallen on the priest on their account. The cardinal seized with avidity on this occasion of private vengeance, wrote to a counsellor of state at Loudun, one of his creatures, to cause a strict investigation to be made into the charge, and in such terms as plainly implied that what he aimed at was the destruction of Grandier.

'The trial took place in the month of August, 1634; and, according to the authorized copy of the trial, Grandier was convicted upon the evidence of Astaroth, a devil of the order of seraphims, and chief of the possessing devils, of Easas, of Celsus, of Acaos, of Cedon, of Asmodeus of the order of thrones, of Alex, of Zabulon, of Naphthalim, of Cham, of Uriel and of Achas of the order of principalities, and sentenced to be burned alive. In other words, he was convicted upon the evidence of twelve nuns, who, being asked who they were, gave in these names, and professed to be devils, that, compelled by the order of the court, delivered a constrained testimony. The sentence was accordingly executed, and Grandier met his fate with heroic constancy. At his death, an enormous drone fly was seen buzzing about his head; and a monk, who was present at the execution, attested that, whereas the devils are accustomed to present themselves in the article of death to tempt men to deny God their Saviour, this was Beelzebub, which in Hebrew signifies the God of flies, come to carry away to hell the soul of the victim.'—Pp. 421–3.

Such of our readers as have perused Mr Godwin's book, must already have asked themselves the question, why this story is so eminently suited to the purpose of our author. We cannot pretend to solve the difficulty, unless by supposing that he considers it as reflecting disgrace upon the clergy, and bringing the Scriptures into contempt.

The extracts which we have made, will convey to our readers a tolerable idea of the nature of Mr Godwin's work,

and of the manner in which it is executed. With every disposition to speak favourably of this production, we must acknowledge that an authentic history of Necromancy, and a faithful biography of its votaries, still remain a desideratum in our literature. A writer of patient research, and possessed of a competent knowledge of physics and chemistry, is alone capable of doing justice to the subject. The absolute exclusion of vulgar fiction is an essential requisite in such a production: the mind can receive no gratification in its rational enquiries, if its progress is continually obstructed with legend and fable. Mr Godwin's avowed object was to expose the credulity of former times to the odium and contempt of a more enlightened age; and in order to add to the splendour of his pageant, he has, on the evidence of vulgar tradition, placed in the pillory of his book venerable and immortal names, and hung upon their breasts the badge of *Necromancer* and *Sorcerer*.

On the first perusal of Mr Godwin's volume, we were disposed to quarrel with him on account of its irreligious character. It is enough, however, to have guarded our young readers against the snare which is laid for them. Religion is founded on too secure a basis to be thus shaken; and we might as well assail the truths of modern science, by charging some of its votaries with the follies of Animal Magnetism, as attempt to discredit Christianity, because some of its professors believed in sorcery, and practised magic.

Art. IV.—*Journey to the North of India, overland from England, through Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan.* By Lieut. Arthur Conolly. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

These are lively and amusing volumes; and the author, an officer belonging to our Indian army, has the farther merit of having, for part of his journey, followed a route never before trodden, or at least never before described, by any European traveller. When leaving England to rejoin his regiment in Bengal, instead of proceeding by sea, he resolved to follow the overland route as far as Bushire, and accordingly travelled by St Petersburg and Moscow over the Caucasus to Teflis and Tabreez. Here he altered his plan, and resolved either to attempt the adventure of Bokhara, reserved for a more fortunate knight, or to seek his way through the Afghan country, to our possessions in Upper India. With this view he directed his

course by Tehraun, and through the beautiful but unhealthy province of Mazenderan, to Asterabad on the south-east of the Black Sea. At this place he engaged a Turkoman to conduct him and his companion, an Indian Syed, as far as Khiva by a caravan that was going to that place. Having set out in order to overtake the caravan, they were led far into the desert of the Turkomans; when the arrival of messengers from Asterabad induced their guides mysteriously to alter their course, and the travellers, who were not let into the real causes of this change of route, (which would appear to have been suspicions entertained of them as spies,) were conducted about from place to place, all encampments of the wandering tribes, and all intercourse with casual travellers being carefully avoided. They were not even permitted to join the Khiva caravan, when at last it was descried at a distance. Their apprehensions of death or slavery, while thus led about as a property, and defrauded in various ways as a fair object of plunder, as well as the efforts which they made, in the issue, with success, to escape from the grasp of their oppressors, are related with no small interest. The jealousy of a different tribe, and the selfish views of some of its chiefs, were the engines employed to accomplish their object. The painful period of three or four weeks passed among the Turkomans, has enabled Mr Conolly to furnish a picture of the manners, and to form some estimate of the character and morals of that wandering people. Like that of the Arabs, their simplicity seems to be only ignorance, their famed hospitality only a national fashion that costs them little, and binds them to no benevolence beyond the limits of their camp. Like other barbarians, they are false and treacherous, and, even where not actively cruel, indifferent to human life or suffering.

Finding the route to Khiva and Bokhara impracticable in his circumstances, he next set out to pursue his journey by Herat, through Afghanistan. He was detained for a long time at Meshed, the city of pilgrims, and syeds, and moollas, by difficulties chiefly arising from the want of pecuniary means; but the situation into which he was thrown from being compelled to live familiarly with the natives, brought him into closer contact with them, and gave him the opportunity of seeing much of the Persian character, on which more light is thrown by the minute incidents of his narrative, than could be given by any professed attempt to describe it in general terms. The bustle and uproar of the holy city, the mixture of trade and piety, the union of worldly passions with occasional bursts of religious feeling and even of enthusiasm, are well exhibited; and every thing proves, were such proof needed, how much a bad government, and the unnatural

state of society resulting from it, can degrade the finest natural talents. But it is needless to dwell on this part of his route, which has been nearly exhausted by Mr Fraser, to the accuracy of whose representations, both of the Turkomans and of Khorasan, our author bears repeated and generous testimony.

Before leaving Meshed he had an audience of the Viceroy, a son of the King of Persia. 'The residence of the prince,' says he, 'was in the citadel, a place of no strength, the interior of 'which was in a state of ruin, exhibiting fallen walls and rubbishy 'courts' (vol. i., p. 285); a fit emblem of the condition of the province which he ruled, than which it should seem that hardly any country under any thing called government can be more wretched. The power of the prince (and the remark is true of the Afghan as well as of the Persian portion) is shown only in rapacity and oppression. Even the natural return of security from at least foreign violence is not rendered. From without, the country is on every side open to the inroads of the tribes of the desert, Turkomans, Koords, Hazaras, and even Usbegs, who not only ravage the fields, but carry off the inhabitants and travellers into slavery, almost with impunity. Nor is this all. The province itself is broken down into a variety of little local chiefships, nearly independent, and always in a state of hostility with each other; the heads of which employ their domestic leisure in acts of the most grinding extortion. The consequence is what might be expected—deserted cultivation, ruined villages, peasants hiding their grain, and traders their money. The traveller meets a line of forts instead of villages. The little trade that can exist struggles under every disadvantage; credit can hardly have any visible existence. Every man attempts to look miserable, and to conceal the property or comfort he may possess. Each regards his neighbour as a spy. 'We made the acquaintance of a Caubul 'merchant,' says our author, 'who, when the time of his departure 'from Meshed drew near, actually wept in our presence, lamenting 'his poverty, and went about openly begging small loans to help 'him on his journey, though he had several hundred ducats sewed 'up in his clothes, as we learned, when, on an after occasion, he 'offered to lend us more than three hundred. The state of 'society in this part of the world renders such shifts almost 'necessary, and men who act uprightly and tell the truth, if 'there be any such, really deserve great credit. Commerce under 'such discouraging circumstances must necessarily be very uncer-'tain; traders both fear the unavoidable dangers of the roads, 'and want confidence in each other.'—'Few traders requiring 'a sudden advance of money could obtain it, otherwise than at a 'ruinously extravagant rate of interest.' (Vol. i., pp. 346, 347.)

It is the inevitable tendency of so unnatural a state of things to give barbarism the ascendency over the little civilisation that is left. Yet in the midst of all this, the wonderful accommodation of man even to the worst circumstances is visible. Where things appear desperate, he begins, from long endurance, to think them, like the sunshine and rain, the course of nature; his ingenuity is exerted to make the best of his lot, to evade and overreach his oppressors, and a new but degraded state of society rises from the ruins of the old. Undeterred by the evils, the extent of which he knows, and terrified by those which he has never experienced, the native clings to his place of birth, repays tyranny by artifice, and takes up a sort of double character, one for the world and his ruler, and another for the secret recesses of his own family. It is in this way that even in such countries the seeds of kindly and generous feelings are often preserved, and sometimes even brought to maturity.

From Meshed, Mr Conolly, in order to avoid the danger of the roads, took advantage of the march of a detachment of Afghan troops, to advance to Herat, the capital of the Afghans in Khorasan. This city, once the seat of government of Sultan Hussein Mirza, the greatest prince of his age, the patron of arts and of letters,—the city of mosques, colleges, and palaces,—is now, like all the rest, in a state of decay and ruin. It is situated in a delightful climate and a rich country. The political condition of Afghanistan is represented as equally wretched with that of Khorasan. While Kamran, the nominal king, holds Herat and a considerable extent of country around it, the kinsmen of Futeh Khan, an able minister put to death by the king's father, are in possession of nearly all the rest of the kingdom, one of them occupying Kandahar, another Çaubul, a third Peshawer—while the countries beyond the Indus, Cashmire and the Penjab, now own the authority of Runjeet Sing and the Seiks. Fresh revolutions probably await the kingdom of the Afghans.

At Herat our traveller was again detained by a deficiency of funds, a consequence of the wretched state of internal communication, and of want of mutual confidence in these countries, and suffered many of the evils of poverty. In vain did he try various means to enable him to renew his journey. He found only repulse and discouragement; when in the depth of his distress it was his good fortune to meet with syed Muheen Shah, one of those men confined to no country, who reconcile us to our species. He was one of the syeds or holy men of Pisheen, who are supposed to have the power of healing diseases, of charming the elements, and of blessing or cursing with sure effect. This man, at once a saint and a merchant, had come to Herat to recover a

debt; and was about to return immediately home, to convey to India thirty horses which he had purchased for that market,

—'when his partner told him of a foreigner's being in the city in distress, and brought him to see us.'—'He had lately returned from India, and it was a great satisfaction to hear him run over the names of Mr Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, and other gentlemen, known for the high offices they held in India. Mr E. had given his brother's son a handful of money for answering a few questions; Mr Cole of Mysore had bought a horse from him; Hunter Sahib of Mutchleebunder had given him a rifle; we were a most excellent tribe, who never gave our words falsely, and please God, he would take my debts upon his head and shoulders, and convey me safely to Hindostan.'—'Having engaged to serve us, he would listen to none of his friend's remonstrances, but calling upon our creditors, struck hands with them for our debts, and sought for one who would give us money on the best terms.'—'With Syed Muheen Shah we travelled safely from Herat to Dehlee. I could not, in words, express the kindness and delicacy of this man's conduct towards us during the whole of the journey. Wherever he met friends, they laboured to convince him that I was an impostor; and he was exposed to extreme vexation and danger on our account; yet he never relaxed in his endeavours to promote my safety and comfort; he paid all our expenses, and avoided alluding to my debt to him.'—Vol. ii., pp. 40, 42.

Under the guidance of this worthy man, he proceeded by Girishk, through the Afghan country, to the neighbourhood of Candahar.

'The route by which we came from Herat to Candahar,' says he, 'has not, I believe, been travelled by any other European. It is reputed to be the most difficult, because the most hilly of the three roads, but a little labour would make it an easy one.'—'During our journey we met very few of the inhabitants of the country, and were able to form but an imperfect notion of the extent of the population; in the day time we scarcely saw any body, but at night lights would shine out all round us from distant khails, or sheep folds; near some of the usual halting places are found khails, from which travellers obtain flour or bread, and grain for their horses; but the body of the people, divided into small pastoral societies, wander with their flocks in the broad valleys away from the road. Still, however, judging from the barren appearance of the country, and from the circumstance of so little of it being cultivated, and also from the general result of our enquiries, I should say that the country between Herat and Candahar is but scantily populated.'—'The Afghans are all for a *far niente* life, and dwelling under rude felt tents, they are content to live poorly, so that they may live idly and independently. They are clothed coarsely; gaily when they can afford it, but always dirtily, and their fare is very simple. The common food of the Afghans is kooroot, hard pressed salted curds, which are scraped and boiled up with butter, and eaten with unleavened bread. They never tire of this food; and it is amusing to see the eagerness with which a party will get

round a bowl, break their bread into it, and then thrust their huge fingers into the mess. I heard a man, who had been eating little else all his life, exclaim with a sigh of sincerity, after licking his fingers, "Hei kooroot! by Heaven it is a good thing, kooroot!"'

On leaving the neighbourhood of Candahar, where he was much reduced by sickness, the route which he followed as far as the Indus, and on even to Buhawulpoor, was one yet untrodden by any of our travellers. Instead of following the usual eastern road by Ghazni and Caubul, the syed's way led him to the south-east. Crossing the Khojeh Amran hills, he descended into the valley of Pisheen, where he found himself at home in the midst of his tribe and family. The strangers were here hospitably entertained for several days, when their pleasure was interrupted by the arrival of a party of four men, sent by Abdoolla Khan, the hakim or governor of the country, whose stronghold they had passed, to demand that the strangers, who were of course considered by him as a fair object of extortion, should be given up, as being Jews. The travellers were hid in the interior of the house; instant preparations were made for resuming the journey; the messengers were cajoled with fair words, and the holy syed

—'swore, and I believe got a friend or two to back his oath, that we were Indian Hajees who had gone on to Quetta, and assuring the myrmidons that they might tell their master he had also marched that way, since he certainly would do so on the morrow, he bribed, blessed, and dismissed them, esteeming a false oath in such a case no more perjury, than justifiable homicide murder.'—'The state of society in these countries is such that, however much virtue may be admired in the abstract, it is thought imprudent generally to practise it. A wise parent gives his son a sort of Janus education, telling him of a few virtues, but initiating him into the mysteries of every vice, in order that he may be a match for his demoralized neighbours; and thus nearly every person commences life, prepared to be faithful to his friends, and an honest man or a rogue to the world, as it may be.'—Vol. ii., pp. 177–9.

It is impossible to accompany the party minutely on their route. Suffice it to say that they now hastened forward on their way, and in the course of their journey crossed several ranges of hills; the first of them, such as the ranges of Ajrum and Musailaigh, parallel to those of Khojeh Amran, and separated from each other, some by narrow valleys, others by wider and barren plains. On arriving at Quetta, the capital of the Belooche province of Shaul, they halted nine days, waiting for more force to protect them on the road. Meanwhile they were introduced to the governor, who had been in India,

—'and gave the most sensible proof of his knowledge of English customs, by inviting me to cement our friendship by eating a meal together. Our repast consisted of fowl-soup, which was served in a large

pewter bowl: we partook of the liquid portion by making temporary spoons of bits of bread as thin as pancakes, which were sent out to us hot and hot from "the within." I have been particular in noticing occasions on which we got any thing very good to eat, because they were of sufficiently rare occurrence to make us consider them *dies festi*. Occasionally we got meat, but our usual fare was boiled rice or vetch, which we ate with cakes of heavy unleavened bread, and if we thought of breakfast for the morrow, we put a flap of the latter into our holsters or breeches-pocket. However, we generally contrived to cook a kettleful of tea, which made amends for the badness of a dinner, and was most refreshing after a long march.'—P. 205.

Soon after leaving Quetta, the chains of hills became more complicated, though most of them, it seems, easy to pass or march round. The most difficult is that of the Kurklekkee hills, about thirty miles off, where begins the formidable pass of Bolaun, rendered dangerous by the vicinity of the adjoining tribe of Cawkers. At the entrance of the valley a careful watch was kept during the night.

'Before it was light next morning the whole camp was astir, and when all were ready, the order of march was arranged. The riders who had firearms forming an advance and rearguard, while the grooms, leading the horses and camels, walked together in a body on foot. From the valley in which we had slept, we at once entered the close defile of Bolaun. At first there was but breadth for a dozen horsemen between the rocks, which rose like walls on either side to a great height. Afterwards the road lay broadly between the mountains, occasionally opening out. It was like the beach of a sea formed of loose pebbly stones and sand, and it ran in sharp angles from one hundred to two hundred yards in length. This was the style of the pass for ten miles to Ser-e-khujoor. The minutest description could hardly convey a just idea of its strength; it is a defile which a regiment of brave men could defend against an army.'—'At Ser-e-khujoor the hills broke off from the road, but they still commanded it for nineteen more miles, and the same beach-like road lay between steep banks, as if it were the bed of a deep but dried river.'—'At Beebeenaunee the mountains parted off to the right and left, and here ended the defile of Bolaun. When we were safely at the end of the dreaded pass, Muheen Shah called a halt, and recited a short prayer, which was answered by two shouts that made the hills ring again.'—P. 219.

But a more dangerous obstacle presents itself farther on, at the Pass of Cundye, when, after crossing numerous ponds of clear water, the road is blocked up by a lake, only to be passed after a circuit amidst the craggy path in the rocks. In summer the sun, acting on these pent up waters causes so pestilent an air, that the road between Quetta and Dauder is shut. It is then necessary to take the road by Moostung and Kelate Naseer. The

travellers having continued their course to Dauder and Bagh, after some marches, entered the province of Sind, and reached Shikarpoor, a distance of about three hundred and ninety miles from Candahar.

About fifteen miles from Shikarpoor, they were ferried across the noble stream of the Indus, which, with its numerous navigable tributary rivers, though they now flow desolate and waste through barbarous lands, may one day be destined to convey wealth, and plenty, and civilisation into the heart of Asia, as nature seems to have intended. On reaching the farther shore they proceeded by Khirepoor and Rohree, passing in sight of the ruins of Bukker, so celebrated in Indian history, and travelled on by Cawnpore, Ahmedpore, and Buhawulpore, a distance of nearly three hundred miles, where they fell into the route of Mr Elphinstone. The road from that place to Hissar, where the volumes close, is sufficiently known.

It may be observed, that the whole tract of country from Candahar, wild and uncultivated and hilly as it is, is one through which it would seem that an army, lightly equipped, could march during a great part of the year, supposing that they carried with them their provisions and stores. But this in reality is saying little. The road presents, in a military point of view, many difficulties, and particular defiles where a small force could, for a time, check the largest army. To cross the Indus without preserving the command of the navigation of the river would be a desperate enterprise. It is not indeed such obstacles that can check an intelligent and determined invader on the one hand; nor on the other will a sagacious general opposed to him entirely rely on natural barriers, however useful, in a military point of view, they may be. No country ever was, or ever will be, successfully defended by rivers, or mountains, or walls, but by the bold and hardy spirit behind them, that renders these obstacles, dead and worthless of themselves, living and effectual.

Mr Conolly's reflections and observations on his long route, very naturally turned his thoughts to the subject of the overland invasion of India, and he examines the route by Khiva and Balkh, and that by Asterabad and Candahar at some length. He thinks the latter the more probable, with the assistance of Persia; but justly concludes that though the undertaking is practicable, so far as regards the natural obstacles of the country,—the difficulties in the supply of provisions for the army, and its beasts of burden, would be excessive; that the mortality of a northern army, on descending into the hot plains on the Indus, would be extreme; and that the army in advance must always run the most imminent risk of being cut off from its reserve.

We have already given our opinion on the subject of the overland invasion of India, oftener perhaps than the feasibility of the project seemed to demand: but the scheme itself has been presented at various times, and under various points of view. It is generally brought forward at some moment of temporary alarm, to add to our confusion and embarrassment. The truth is, that it is a project addressed to our timidity, and the details of which never have been presented in a tangible shape, so as to justify our fears, and the unmeasured expense into which they have led us. The most permanently dangerous plan might be the possession by an enemy of some rich provinces on or near the Oxus; but this supposes the labour and policy of years. Indeed the plan can never, as seems vainly to have been supposed, be effected by any thing in the nature of a *coup de main*. A march of some thousand miles, through a foreign country, is fatal to such a supposition. The plan, the preparations, the march, are works of time, and must be known long beforehand, and may be guarded against. All that has ever been attempted to be shown to justify alarm, is, that the physical difficulties of the march could, under the most favourable circumstances, be overcome. But the moral and political impediments, more unsurmountable still, are left untouched. We must not suppose our enemy to be divested of reason. He too must have his fears and misgivings, and will not be blind to evident danger. He must see difficulties of every description: a march of unparalleled length and labour, through the country of barbarians, who, however ready they may have been at the outset to promise every thing to a powerful neighbour, are always broken into parties and factions, and in case of any serious reverse, would unite with pleasure to plunder and extirpate their unsuccessful allies. This description applies alike to every step of the journey, whether through Persia, or through the country of the Usbegs, the Afghans, or Seiks: the army cannot be a small one, it must be the grand army of Russia, first to furnish men for the concentrated moving force, and next to keep up a communication of posts, and to overawe the country through which it has passed, so as to secure a supply of provisions in a region of hills and desert, and, if required, to make retreat possible. Where there are so many pretenders to the crown as in Persia and in Afghanistan, a diversion in the rear of the moving force, so as at least to harass outposts, and to cut off supplies, may always be secured with very little exertion; and after all the risks and toils of this unheard of route, supposing it accomplished, a regular army and an organized resistance awaits them, conducted by officers of skill, who would be possessed of all the resources that national wealth and intel-

ligence can bestow, and, what the invader must be supposed to want, artillery, stores, fortresses, and the command not only of the sea, but probably of the navigation of the Indus and Ganges, between which they are to move. Russian discipline, valour, and genius, never were supposed so much to excel the British, as to render all those advantages insignificant. An army sent on such an expedition must, at the moment of its setting out, be considered as sent on a forlorn hope. The probability is that not a man would return, except those who were fortunate enough to be made prisoners by a civilized enemy. We have said that the force sent to achieve such a conquest could not be a mere detachment, but must be a mighty army. Great as the military power of Russia is by some supposed to be, even that unresponsible government would pause before it would venture to incur such a loss; and while Europe is divided, and France and England act in concert, and Austria is jealous of her success, she would never dare to run such a hazard. The plan was Bonaparte's, who having, in one sense, subdued the continent of Europe, wished to direct a blow against the distant possessions of England, his only enemy, with whom her insular situation prevented his grappling. He trusted to the neutrality of Europe, and the cooperation of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. Those times are changed. The very attempt supposes a general war in Europe; and in that case the defence of Poland, or the ambition of wresting new provinces from Turkey, would find Russia sufficient employment, and fall in much better with her cautious policy, than desperate efforts against distant and insulated provinces, which, if by any miracle she possessed to-morrow, she well knows, considering the long line of detached posts that she must occupy, she could not hope to maintain for one twelvemonth. Failure would not only exhaust her strength, but, what is of equal consequence, tarnish her reputation.

It may be added, that the whole conception of the plan is contrary to Russian policy. Russia did indeed send her troops into Italy and Switzerland, through the territories of civilized allies. But what has been her policy on the side of her semi-barbarous neighbours? Though for upwards of a century a conquering power, her conquests have been slow and gradual; even against such powers as Persia and Turkey, they have been as much the result of her diplomacy as of her arms, and all employed in rounding and extending her frontier. She has, after every effort, halted in the midst of her career, anxious to consolidate and amalgamate her new acquisitions before she moved on. Even in Persia, where the natives never could stand against the Russians in the field, they have advanced, but not with the pomp and dis-

play of conquerors. They have crept on, seemingly prouder of artifice than of warlike daring. The Russians have indeed added cities and provinces to their empire; but, except in the last Turkish campaign, they have never aimed a blow at the vitals of their enemy. What they have gained, they seem to have filched rather than conquered. It is difficult to set limits to what a warrior and politician like Bonaparte could have achieved. Perhaps the attempt on India might only have changed the scene of his final disaster. But Russia has never shown his active daring, and the enterprise is beyond its power.

A curious part of the volumes before us, is the vivid picture which they casually exhibit of the internal disorganisation, the demoralized state, and want of social security in every country of Asia in which the author travelled. All other accounts tend to the same conclusion. It should seem that at this moment the Mahommedan states all over the world, are in a worse condition than at any former period; and not only worse, but more hopeless. They not only have no prospect of any favourable internal change, but have given up all expectation of it. They are all suffering a visible and rapid decay. They are ill-governed and wretched within, and weak without. The star of the Moslem is visibly on the descent. They are now arrived at a great crisis. Turkey, so long the stronghold of the Faith, and the terror of Europe, exhibits every symptom of imbecility. The states of Barbary, Egypt, Syria, Greece, the country beyond the Danube, and large provinces on the Black Sea, have been virtually or really wrested from her. The other Mahommedan states are in a similar condition. India, another bulwark of the Faith, can no longer yield it any support. Persia is a prey to divisions, and if it ever was as weak before, never was placed near so dangerous a foe. The progress of Europe has made it impossible for Asia and Africa to stand still and exist on their present footing. This truth, urged on them by the enterprise of European artists and adventurers, and the success of European arms, has forced its way even into the impassive minds of their rulers; and a conviction of the necessity of reform by foreigners and by foreign arts, has reached the courts of Cairo and Constantinople. To change the laws and maxims of government of a people, especially where they are founded on its religion, is always a difficult and dangerous task. To do so successfully in the face of an enemy, is next to impossible. Even in the most favoured countries and ages, quiet, reflection, time, preparation, a superior overruling intelligence, and the power of directing all the resources of the state to repress internal discontent, are essentially necessary. In the present instance, the extreme ignorance of the people, the ex-

treme ignorance of the government, a pernicious religion which contracts the mind of its followers, and many other causes, present formidable obstacles to a reform made by the government itself, and one from without can only be made by conquest. It seems as if Turkey could be saved from the jaws of Russia only by an odious partition, or by an armed confederation for preserving her existence, and maintaining the balance of power,—a kind of alliance, which, however necessary it may sometimes be, has always hitherto proved the interminable source of wars.

But, what is the consequence of all this, so far as regards an expedition to India? Is it not, that, while the disorganized state of the intermediate countries affords facilities, in one sense, for armies passing through them by force, it offers, on the other, the greatest inducement to shun all distant and dangerous enterprises? While great prospects open near home, on the very frontier,—objects that have long been the leading-star of Russian ambition and policy,—uncertain and distant plans that might precipitate or ruin the others will not be thought of. Constantinople, or the delightful regions of Asia Minor, will never be sacrificed for any plans on India; to the ultimate execution of which, if seriously entertained, the others, greater in themselves, might justly be considered as the first and most important step.

It would seem as if we had never recovered from the panic which the original prospect of such an invasion excited. In the state of excitement into which we were thrown by the apprehensions of Bonaparte's enterprise, perhaps the only one from which much danger was to be apprehended, no plan seemed too chimerical for execution. We dreaded the march of a French army to Bussora, whence a pinnace or a dow could not reach India when our ships commanded the gulf, where there was not a tree fit for ship-building, and hardly stores to furnish a sloop: we were told of marches by Kerman and Mekran, through deserts, where the army of Alexander nearly all perished with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and where a trifling caravan can with difficulty force its way. Our terrors made us generous, and seemed to justify every folly and every expense. The Court of Tehran became the seat of European negotiations—and not satisfied with counteracting the influence of our enemies, the King's and the Company's ambassadors vied in outbidding each other, at the expense of one common purse, to gain the favour of a prince and his nobles, who took what they received as a tribute, which bound them to nothing. The artful Jones, the brave and frank Malcolm, the cautious Ouseley, were all sent together or in turns, to pursue shadows, and to humble England at the feet of barbarians, who wondered at their own importance. In one thing only did they all agree—

in the enormous sums which they squandered in doing nothing, because nothing was to be done. A small mission of judicious men, supported at a moderate expense, and backed by our known weight in Europe and in India, is all that our interests can ever require in such a country. In the present state of our concerns in the East, the researches made with the least parade, are likely, among a people so jealous, to yield the most instruction and the best return.

Upon the whole then, in the present state of European and Asiatic politics, we may consider the overland invasion of India as next thing to chimerical. There is no railroad between Moscow and Delhi, by which stores and troops can be conveyed at will and with speed. India cannot be taken by surprise, as an enemy ten miles off might, by a night march, seize an ill-defended town. All confidence that blinds is dangerous; but it may safely be affirmed that no European army can reach India by land, but by long, tedious, and toilsome marches, after long preparation and negotiation, and with little prospect of success, if we have an able Governor-General, and an able head to our army. This we say, because though everyday men, even of talent, who have passed through the service with credit, may act their part well, and leave little to be wished for in most of our other foreign possessions, the chief power in India must always be considered as an exception. The government there, after all the modifications it has received, is in its nature despotic; and a despotic or absolute government must always take its colour from the prince at its head. Where there is no deliberative public body, and hardly any public opinion, the whole must depend on the vigour and genius of one man, who must every day have a thousand difficult questions of internal and external policy to determine. India therefore, though distant, or rather perhaps because distant, can never safely be made one of the grand prizes of political patronage. It must be reserved for some enlightened and vigorous mind, where such a one can be found, to whom the safety of our wide empire, and the happiness of its millions of inhabitants can conscientiously be consigned.

If we were disposed to add any thing on a subject on which we have probably already run into excess, it would be, that after all, it is not in India, but in Europe, or at least not to the east but to the west of the Euphrates, that the battle is to be fought, that so far as European enemies are concerned, is to decide the fate of India.

ART. V.—*Corn Law Rhymes—The Splendid Village—The Village Patriarch—Love, and other Poems.* By EBENEZER ELLIOTT. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

EBENEZER ELLIOTT, the Corn-Law Rhymer, has made good his way to a distinguished place among those, whom, out of compliment to Latin and Greek, it is the fashion to consider *uneducated* poets. Whatever school-instruction he received, he got at Rotherham before he was sixteen, at a small school connected with the Presbyterian chapel, and affecting to teach nothing beyond English and accounts. His education was not only scanty, but interrupted. For he had already worked during an interval of two years as a moulder, in a foundery of which his father was overlooker, when that early age transferred him to a shop for retailing steel and iron. He has since been engaged in the latter business. The breaking and weighing the heavy bars of iron is severe labour, which the Poet performs at present, assisted by his sons. Notwithstanding the pious tribute, offered in his 'Withered Wild Flowers' to the memory of his humble schoolmaster, he is understood to have disliked school, and to have learned but little there. It was a visit, while yet a boy, to a cousin, who was taking in Sowerby's 'Botany,' which was the forerunner of the Muses' call. The sight of the plates and of his cousin's plants called out in him a new sensation, and changed the character of his life. What a blessing are innocent pleasures! Vulgar and vicious habits are put to shame by a rose in a cottage garden; and a polyanthus, 'the poor man's flower,' with its 'verge of wiry gold' beaming from his window, is at once a presumption of its owner's taste, and a security for his virtue. The passion for flowers which is breathed into the writings of Mr Elliott, is a passion for nature, and not for botany. It is a love of the beauty of free creation, not of the chains of science;—the worship of the garden of God, not of the Herbal of Linnæus. His elder brother was a good reader of poetry; and we have heard that the description of a thunderstorm in Thomson's 'Seasons' first communicated to the youthful artisan the mysterious secret that he also was a poet. He lost no time in trying and cultivating his powers. At eighteen he published some juvenile attempt, under the title, we believe, of 'A Vernal Picture;' and his works, as they now lie before us, make two handsome volumes. The anxiety of providing for a family of ten children can leave but few holidays for an affectionate father in humble life. These few appear to be divided between politics and literature. Strong

whig principles,—an ardent, independent spirit,—and a hatred of the Corn Laws, amounting to a disease, take him occasionally to public meetings. But poetry and nature get the larger share; carrying him, for the greater part of whatever leisure can be stolen from his daily drudgery, to walks into the country. His country is chiefly the neighbourhood of Sheffield—a fact of which the poet's passionate apostrophes to his favourite localities constantly remind his reader.

We have taken the liberty of giving this brief outline of Mr Elliott's history, in order that a stranger may at once enter into the character of his poems, and understand the circumstances and the spirit in which they have been composed. A little knowledge of an author is often the best commentary upon his works. This will be the case, just in proportion as he is original —thinking and feeling for himself. Mr Elliott could have nothing of the poet in him, if, in his position, the breeze from Crabbe and Wordsworth had passed over him in vain. But he is no apprentice in the Cuckoo's School—no second-hand dependent on the poetical wardrobe of another—no turner over of books to find authority for his facts or feelings. 'He hath not eat paper, as 'it were; he hath not drunk ink.' There is a reality about his writings, at times almost too intense and painful. His own individual circumstances and nature are evidently fused into his numbers; so that when we once have succeeded in putting ourselves in his place, (a thing, it must be allowed, much easier said than done,) we seem, as in the pilgrimage of Dante, to be moving along with a personal companion through the scenes which he describes. A grateful acknowledgment to 'Robert Southey, my 'great master, who condescended to teach me the art of poetry,' is prefixed to a dramatic scene called 'Bothwell.' Yet so little is he disposed to write after any master, that his different poems contain fewer traces of resemblance to 'wild Southey flying, 'like the heron, alone,' than perhaps to any other name in the 'catalogue of the true bards who please not Enoch Wray,' his village patriarch. Nobody would guess that Shenstone, the bucolical mannerist, had been once the favourite of his rambles. An early admiration of Schiller's 'Robbers' is more apparent, and not always to advantage. Crabbe and Wordsworth are, however, the two missionaries of song, who can alone be said to have become his masters by their mastery over his mind. It is scarcely possible, that the finest and most characteristic parts of these volumes could have existed in their present state, unless those great writers had first discovered the existence of the new world of poetry, planted it with their own bright issue, and brought it into immortal communication with the wants and feelings of man-

kind. Widely and strikingly as those writers differ, Mr Elliott combines to a certain degree the qualities of both. Greatly inferior to each, where each is without a rival, you feel sure that Crabbe did not know his village better, nor Wordsworth enjoy his mountains more. His poor are the poor of the former, not the latter—portraits from observation, not creatures of imagination. Since he complains expressly that the latter, in his descriptions of the poor, only 'meets his subject half way, and with 'his back turned towards it,' it is not from the similarity of their view of the humbler classes of society, but from the congeniality of their moral and intellectual intercourse with the material world, that Mr Elliott finds in Wordsworth, the poet 'whose thoughts 'acquaint us with our own.'

There are parts of the varied game of life which can never be thoroughly known by lookers on. 'Expose ourselves to feel 'what wretches feel,' and many things will soon appear to us very different from before. With equal endowments, a member of the working classes must therefore be the most faithful and picturesque expositor of their feelings. The distinction has more than a literary importance. It is not merely for the sake of the new materials and associations with which the empire of poetical imagination will be thus extended and enriched, that a society, provident of its graver interests, ought to be grateful to a mechanic, who comes forward on important questions, as the honest plain-spoken interpreter of the opinions and sentiments of his order. If his station is the source of some of Mr Elliott's characteristic excellences, it appears in his case to be closely connected with defects of a very serious nature. There are other faults, occasional ones, especially of style, which he must probably have had, and have retained, although he had been born a Lord. Familiarity with rich people, and with Greek chorusses, would not have preserved him from declamatory exaggerations—from giving a Fuseli-attitude to his passions—from an excess of compound epithets (in which he now and then abuses a Samson strength)—or from the offence of interrupting his narrative by too frequent personifications. It would probably have even multiplied the few *kaleidoscope* passages, where ambitious words and crowded figures are so richly embroidered in, as to make the want of staple in the gorgeous texture only more transparent. Whatever had been our Poet's habits, the same inferiority which now exists might have still continued between his home views—that are evidently a part of his very self—and his attempts to dramatize outlying masses of general history, or to scatter over a romance the lights and shadows of poetical invention. Experience seems to have established that the purely literary advantages,

appertaining to rank and leisure, lie, in the case of poets, within a narrow compass. More ample means of study would have placed a greater range of literature within his reach; and more leisure would have removed from his writings much of the inequality which is their most striking deformity at present. That is all. But the specific mischiefs which we attribute to Mr Elliott's position, affect, unfortunately, higher points,—his right-mindedness and justice, the charity of his feelings, and the truth of his impressions. Partiality, bitterness, and misrepresentation, are offences against which his character and his intelligence must, under more favourable circumstances, have been an ample guarantee. If Mr Elliott had lived in another class, his temper would not have been soured, and reason clouded, by a morbid sense of neglect and injury. He would not have hated the landowners with a deadly hatred, owing to the belief that 'suicidal anti-profit 'laws' were speaking to his heart from the trenchers of his ten children. He would not have mistaken a sentiment for a reason, imagination for knowledge, the movements of passion for the truths of political economy. In that case, before combining poetry and politics (and the more they are properly combined the better), he would have thought more on the argument in Malthus's 'Essay on Population,' and less on the moral of Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village.' Knowing the gentlemen of England personally, he would have known that many of them were men of liberal information, honour, and humanity; and that, whether Corn Laws were right or wrong, the problem of the existence of laws of this description might be solvable some other way than by accounting for them at once and solely by the selfishness of the higher orders. Some of the most philosophical thinkers in Europe, who never had, and never expect to have, an acre of their own, believe that the abolition of the Corn Laws would be principally felt by the labouring classes, in the transfer of an additional portion of our population from agriculture to manufactures, but scarcely at all in the permanent improvement of their condition. While this is known to be the case, it is most unfair and uncandid to assume, that no landlord can honestly be of the same opinion; and that Mr Peyronet Thompson's 'Catechism' is the test which reduces the corn growers to the short alternative of a corrupt heart or stultified understanding. Mr Elliott admits, that, as a class, the peasant is at present much worse off than the mechanic. The peasant would be worse off still, were a repeal of the Corn Laws, by lessening the demand for his labour, to lower his wages, or throw him out of employment. To whatever other objections Corn Laws may be exposed, our temporary facilities for the production of manufactures have been so vast, that

it may be doubted whether our manufacturing population has hitherto lost any thing in real wages, or in employment, from the addition made by the Corn Laws to the price of corn; while, on the other hand, there can be no doubt, that as far as Corn Laws have mitigated the crisis of agricultural depression, they must have tended to relieve the agricultural poor, the very portion of our labouring classes which is at present suffering the most. Farmers' boys cannot become mechanics at a moment's notice. We are not saying a word here on the national policy of the question. We are confining ourselves to Mr Elliott's single (and we agree, were it correct, overwhelming) argument, the remuneration and the comfort of the industrious poor. In exclamations on 'alms-taking wealth, alms-giving poverty,' and in reprobation of 'paupers who feed on plate,' we fully share. But to confound every man who grows a bushel of corn in the three kingdoms with the unworthy mendicants quartered on the Pension List, has all the effect of crying Wolf for nothing, and of dividing and misplacing the public scorn.

The element of poetry is universal as the air. Mechanics' institutes are as likely to have a Chatterton as a Watt among their members. When this happens, the inventions of the poet, like those of the philosopher, speak to all classes, and become the common property of mankind. On this point Mr Elliott takes high ground, and has a right to take it. So far from suing for favour on account of his birth and education, he declines, with some disdain, such compliments as he thinks are paid him upon that supposition. He knows that extremity is the trier of noble spirits; and that when poverty is the home of love and the cradle of genius, it has advantages of its own.

> 'Let luxury, sickening in profusion's chair,
> Unwisely pamper his unworthy heir.
> And, while he feeds him, blush, and tremble, too!
> But, love and labour, blush not, fear not, you!
> Your children, (splinters from the mountain's side,)
> With rugged hands, shall for themselves provide.
> Parent of valour, cast away thy fear!
> Mother of men, be proud without a tear!
> While round your hearth the woe-nursed virtues move,
> And all that manliness can ask of love;
> Remember Hogarth, and abjure despair,
> Remember Arkwright, and the peasant Clare.
> Burns, o'er the plough, sung sweet his wood-notes wild,
> And richest Shakspeare was a poor man's child.'
>
> (Vol. ii. p. 169.)

The poet proudly appeals to his townsmen to verify his song. His generous feelings of good fellowship probably deceive him,

when he says that 'there are many mechanics in Sheffield who can 'write better than the author of the Corn-Law Rhymes.' In that case they ought to take some shame to themselves for not having followed his example. Any compliment he may choose to pay to others is from no want of confidence in himself. The general air of his prose is indeed any thing but agreeable. The comments he occasionally subjoins, (like those of Byron,) are generally so sarcastic and presuming, that we turn with greater pleasure to the poetical expression of his consciousness of his powers.

> 'Self-taught and ill, my notes uncouth I try,
> And chant my rugged English ruggedly,
> To gloomy themes. Yet, sick with hope deferr'd,
> I hear a voice, though mournful, proudly heard;
> And I have planted on my destined tomb
> A pensive tree, that bends in storm and gloom,
> Unseen, unknown.'—(Vol. ii. p. 188.)

It is a melancholy reflection, to think how often the gifts of genius are poisoned to their possessor. The mind becomes more susceptible; and if adverse circumstances force it into strong and incessant contrasts, the heart and the brain are too likely to sink together under the pressure. Notwithstanding the excitement belonging to the successful pursuit of knowledge under difficulties —notwithstanding that Mr Elliott elsewhere dwells with honourable pride on its great examples—he has found the steep to 'Fame's 'proud temple' so hard to climb, that he fancies the malignant hand of man is visible in the chasms crossing his ascent. He is become incredulous in the existence of any possible sympathy between a writer in his station, and one clothed in the aristocratical dignity of a periodical writer by profession;—so much so, that the circumstance of a reviewer, in the land of castes and cant, taking 'a poor 'self-educated man by the hand, and declaring to the world that '*his* book was worth reading,' has been an event, which has almost compelled him, he says, to doubt whether he still lived in England. Before it could have come to this, what agonies must not his soul have suffered, through all the complicated energies, feelings, and refinements, out of which imagination draws its strength! A heart intended by nature for the seat of noble sentiments, confiding sympathies, and sweet affections, could not conceive for itself the Promethean destiny—the vulture and the rock—without many a desperate revulsion. Burns has not thrown so deep a scowl over the brow of his Highland Muse. But it could only have been under the self-same spirit of a hopeless collision with society that he declares he was striving to form himself on the character of Milton's Satan. Mr Elliott admits he may truly be called an unfortunate imitator of Crabbe, 'that most British of Poets, who

'has long been bosomed with him.' Assuredly, had he been calm enough for reflection, the popularity of Crabbe must have convinced him, that the aristocracy of cant or caste would make no objection to either his subject or its author, on the ground of their belonging to the body of the people. Their subjects are the same; and with respect to their persons, the only difference between Crabbe and himself is the fact, that the one was raised from the ranks, while the other is still remaining in them with at least equal independence. By this time, we trust that the reception of his poems has agreeably contradicted the apprehension which is so beautifully and sternly expressed in the following passage. At all events, we entreat him for the sake of his own peace, not to limit and degrade his faith in human sympathy within such narrow bounds. The enviers of the rich are not the only possible admirers of pauper poets; and were a want of sympathy at the bottom of those social sufferings, of which Mr Elliott is the Tyrtæus, we are satisfied that they would have been long ago at an end:—

> 'But who will listen when the poor complain?
> Who read, or hear, a tale of woe, if true?
> Ill fares the friendless muse of want and pain.
> Fool! wouldst thou prosper, and be honest, too?
> Fool! wouldst thou prosper?—flatter those who do.
> If, not unmindful of the all-shunn'd poor,
> Thou write on tablets frail their troubles deep,
> The proud, the vain, will scorn thy theme obscure.
> What wilt thou earn, though lowly hearts may steep
> With tears the page in which their sorrows weep?
> Growl, if thou wilt, in vulgar sympathy
> With plunder'd labour; pour thy honest bile
> In satire, hiss'd at base prosperity;
> And let his enviers, from their pittance vile,
> Reward the pauper virtues of thy style.
> But hark! what accents, of what slave, enquire
> Why rude mechanics dare to wield the quill?
> He bids me from the scribbler's desk retire,
> Rehoof my fingers, and forget my skill
> In railing foully, and in writing ill.
> Oh, that my poesy were like the child
> That gathers daisies from the lap of May,
> With prattle sweeter than the bloomy wild!
> It then might teach poor Wisdom to be gay
> As flowers, and birds, and rivers, all at play,
> And winds, that make the voiceless clouds of morn
> Harmonious. But distemper'd, if not mad,
> I feed on Nature's bane, and mess with scorn.
> I would not, could not, if I would, be glad,
> But, like shade-loving plants, am happiest sad.
> My heart, once soft as woman's tear, is gnarl'd,

With gloating on the ills I cannot cure.
Like Arno's exil'd bard, whose music snarl'd,
I gird my loins to suffer and endure,
And woo contention, for her dower is sure.
Tear not thy gauze, thou garden-seeking fly,
On thorny flowers, that love the dangerous storm,
And flourish most beneath the coldest sky!
But ye who honour truth's enduring form,
Come! there are heath-flowers, and the fanged worm,
Clouds, gorse, and whirlwind, on the gorgeous moor.'

Mr Elliott has three distinct poetical characters. Vehement as Churchill, concise and pointed as Beranger, he possesses all the talents of a party song-writer. A faculty for observation, a skill in selection, boldness of outline, and transparency of colours, are ample qualifications for a descriptive poet. His susceptibility and imagination make him a great deal more.

The 'Corn-Law Rhymes' are written in the first character. There the political satirist is busy handing round the market-place the dagger of sharpened invective to the bread-taxed multitude—

'With his children vilely led,
Singing hymns for shameful bread,
Till the stones of every street
Know their little naked feet.'

To what a state must a soul like that of Mr Elliott have been hunger-stung, before he could throw the following firebrand, and other combustibles of the like sulphurous material, among his countrymen, under the sanction of his respected name!

HOW DIFFERENT!

'Poor weaver, with the hopeless brow,
And bare woe-whiten'd head;
Thou art a pauper, all allow,
All see thou begg'st thy bread;
And yet thou dost not plunder slaves,
Then tell them they are free;
Nor hast thou join'd with tax-fed knaves
To corn-bill mine and me.

'What borough dost thou represent?
Whom bid'st thou toil and pay?
Why sit'st not thou in pauperment,
If baser beggars may?
Where are thy hounds, thy palaced w—e,
To feed on mine and me?
Thy reverend pimp, thy coach and four,
Thy thieves in livery?

'No house hast thou, no food, no fire;
None bow to thee, alas!
A beggar! yet nor lord, nor squire?
Say how comes this to pass?
While yon proud pauper, dead to shame,
Is fed by mine and me?
And yet behind the rascal's name
The scoundrel writes M.P.!'

The impressive imagery with which *the Recording Angel* appeals to George the Fourth, by the new title of King of the Bread-tax, is conceived in a mood of darker splendour, but it is dictated and uttered in the same conscientious hatred of unforgiven wrongs. Johnson once foolishly said, he liked *a good hater*. He might have liked Mr Elliott, we are happy to say, for better things.

'To-morrow, and the Sultan is forgot
E'en in the harem; but on realms oppress'd
The scar remains, where pass'd the iron hot
With which he sear'd them; and wrongs unredress'd
Cry to the hopeless dead, "Ye shall not rest!"
Wouldst thou be mourn'd with curses, or with tears?
As Angels mourn the blow that casts aside
The axle of a world, for years and years
Turning the seasons back and all their pride?
Or as men mourn a godlike friend who died?
Thou hast, men say, for misery's tear a sigh;
But if thy heart is warm, 'tis warm in vain.
King of the bread-tax! dearly didst thou buy
That title. Shall it evermore remain,
To mock thy virtues, an eternal stain?

'No answer?—Oft the meanest of mankind,
Gay as "The Tenth," and polish'd as their swords,
Have rivall'd Nash in etiquette of mind,
And all the littleness of forms and words;
But thou art King of Squires, and reign'st for Lords
King of dear Corn! Time hears with ceaseless groan,
Time ever hears, sad names of hate and dread:
But thou, thou only, of all monarchs known,
Didst legislate *against* thy people's bread.'

Afterwards, the King is supposed to be dead, and his Majesty is introduced, in the shades below, to a figure like that of Dido, probably to the full as unacceptable to George the Fourth as the plebeian crowds.

'What cloud swings there? A world that turns from day
Her mountains. Death drives well—Away! Away!

As when to ships, which mists at sea surround,
The dangerous fog assumes a golden hue,
While rocks draw near with sudden breakers bound,
And distant mountains, reeling into view,
Lift o'er the clouds their cliffs of airy blue;
So, to thy soul, releas'd from mortal ties,
Scenes grand and wild, and terrible and new,
Strange lands, strange seas, the stars of unknown skies—
The realms of death with all their hosts, arise.
King of dear Corn! the dead have heard that name;
They come—imperial spectres throng to meet
Him, who, at once, eclips'd their dismal fame.
But why should despots long to kiss thy feet?
Did Nero starve his people? No—Oh shame!
He only hymn'd the flames, that, street by street,
Swept Rome, no longer Roman:—it is meet
That greatness bow to greatness. Famine's lord!
What pallid crowds plebeian round thee rise!
Sent to sad graves by human fiends abhorr'd,
They come to thank thee with their tears and sighs:—
Nay, shrink not from the cloud of hollow eyes!
Thou know'st their children live to toil and pine,
And that eternity's long roll supplies
No nickname, deathless, grand, and just as thine.
But who is she, of aspect masculine,
Amid the silent moving silently,
With saddest step, but not unroyal air,
And gazing like an injured friend on thee?'

It is a part of Mr Elliott's mania to believe that the Corn-Laws, by destroying our trade, will bring us into subjection to Russia; and that, in consequence, the battle of the people of England will some day have to be fought on English ground, either against Nicholas in his own person, or against the Corn-Law lords, the virtual representatives of his cause. That is the moral of his 'Battle-Song;' otherwise its place would be rather enigmatical among Corn-Law Rhymes.

'Day, like our souls, is fiercely dark,
What then? 'Tis day!
We sleep no more; the cock crows—hark!
To arms! Away!
They come! they come! The knell is rung
Of us or them,
Wide o'er their march the pomp is flung
Of gold and gem.
What collar'd hound of lawless sway,
To famine dear—
What pension'd slave of Attila,
Leads in the rear?

Come they from Scythian wilds afar,
Our blood to spill?
Wear they the livery of the Czar?
They do his will.
Nor tassell'd silk, nor epaulet,
Nor plume nor torse—
No splendour gilds, all sternly met,
Our foot and horse.
But, dark and still, we inly glow,
Condens'd in ire!
Strike, stave! and ye shall know
Our gloom is fire.
In vain your pomp, ye evil powers,
Insults the land;
Wrongs, vengeance, and *the cause* are ours,
And God's right hand!
Madmen! they trample into snakes
The wormy clod!
Like fire, beneath their feet awakes
The sword of God!
Behind, before, above, below,
They rouse the brave;
Where'er they go, they make a foe,
Or find a grave.'

The 'Creed o' the Canny,' and 'Judas,' have a good deal of the manner of Beranger. The matter of the first belongs to the foreign policy of Lords Londonderry and Aberdeen; while Lord Ellenborough's sudden conversion to Reform, the union of Sir Robert Peel and Sir George Murray with Mr O'Connell in the call for Lord Wellesley's letter, and the hustings' speeches of the Tory candidates to the new constituencies, are Judas all over. The Tories delight in exaggerating whatever possible danger or embarrassment may be connected with the working of the Reform Bill. That reform granted opens a door to certain risks, is true enough. What then? The poet of the manufacturing towns, and of the working classes, can tell these alarmists the risks from which reform has saved them. 'The Triumph of 'Reform, written for the Sheffield Political Union,' places its reliance not on numbers, but on mind, as much as that which was 'written for the Printers.' The first opens well.

'When woe-worn France first sternly spread
Her banner'd rainbow on the wind;
To smite rebellious Reason dead,
The kings of many lands combined.
Did they triumph! So they deem'd:
Could they triumph? No! they dream'd.

'From Freedom's ashes at their call
A form of might arose, and blazed;
'Tis true, they saw the phantom fall;
'Tis true, they crush'd the power they raised;
But in conflict with the wise,
Vain are armies, leagues, and lies.'—(Vol. i., p. 119.)

The second is a beautiful comparison of the outward and visible glories of the creation, with the prospects which are opening on society from the light of knowledge communicated by the press.

'God said, "Let there be light!"
Grim darkness felt his might,
And fled away;
Then, startled seas, and mountains cold
Shone forth, all bright in blue and gold,
And cried, "'Tis day! 'tis day!"
"Hail, holy Light!" exclaim'd
The thund'rous cloud that flamed
O'er daisies white;
And lo, the rose, in crimson dress'd,
Lean'd sweetly on the lily's breast,
And, blushing, murmur'd, "Light!"
Then was the skylark born;
Then rose the embattled corn;
Then floods of praise
Flow'd o'er the sunny hills of noon;
And then, in stillest night, the moon
Pour'd forth her pensive lays.
Lo, heav'n's bright bow is glad!
Lo, trees and flowers, all clad
In glory, bloom!
And shall the mortal sons of God
Be senseless as the trodden clod,
And darker than the tomb?
No, by the *mind* of man!
By the swart artisan!
By God, our sire!
Our souls have holy light within,
And every form of grief and sin
Shall see and feel its fire.
By earth, and hell, and heav'n,
The shroud of souls is riven!
Mind, mind alone,
Is light, and hope, and life, and power!
Earth's deepest night, from this bless'd hour,
The night of minds, is gone!'

'The Revolution of 1832' contains the contrast between what is and what might have been; it is one which honest anti-reformers ought never to forget.

'See, the slow Angel writhes in dreams of pain!
His cheek indignant glows!
Like Stanedge, shaking thunder from his mane,
He starts from his repose.
Wide, wide, his earthquake-voice is felt and heard;
"Arise, ye brave and just!"
The living sea is to its centre stirr'd—
And, lo! our foes are dust!
The earth beneath the feet of millions quakes;
The whirlwind-cloud is riv'n;
As midnight, smitten into lightning, wakes,
So waked the sword of Heav'n.
The Angel drew not from its sheath that sword;
He spake, and all was done!
Night fled away before the Almighty word,
And, lo!—the sun! the sun!'

Mr Elliott's second style has the advantage of subjects of greater compass. It appears more or less in almost all the poems; but it is the principle both of the spirit and the execution of his poem entitled the 'Splendid Village.' The village which, 'happy once, is 'splendid now,' is another aspect of 'sweet Auburn.' Only, that Auburn has here risen from its ruins; risen, however unluckily, to a sudden assumption of suburban airs; and with dwellings which are rebuilt much more under the auspices of Crabbe than Goldsmith. Goldsmith would have charged the transformation upon 'trade's unfeeling train.' But Mr Elliott's quarrel is with squires, and not with master manufacturers. He glances a reproach, to be sure, against the avarice of capitalists and the competition of Irish labour. He has a sigh for the immediate results of machinery and of steam—'the vapoury lever which will lift the world!' But he does not attribute them to legislation. They are griefs, not grievances. It is in the scandal of poor laws, game laws, corn laws,—it is on the enclosure of 'the poor man's common' by act of Parliament,—it is against the shutting up of 'the poor 'man's footpath' by order of the parson-justice, that his indignant verse trembles with the passion of his feelings. In respect of the first, he is content with saying,—

'Yes, splendid mansions now these shades adorn,
But wretched children in those huts are born!
There dwell the heirs of unremitting toil,
Who till, but not in hope, a teeming soil;
While Erin's hordes contest with them the plain,
And competition lowers the price of pain.
What though proud homes their lofty roofs uprear,
If humble homes and comfort disappear?
Oh, baneful splendour! that but glitters o'er
What may be ruin, and is bliss no more!'

On the last he turns his back. 'Oh, welcome once again black 'ocean's foam!' rather than a country,

> 'Where, cropp'd with every crime, the tax-plough'd moor,
> And footpaths, stolen from the trampled poor,
> And commons, sown with curses loud and deep,
> Proclaim a harvest which the rich shall reap.
> Call up the iron men of Runnymeed,
> And bid them look on lords whom peasants feed!'

The 'Village Patriarch' is the longest, and, on the whole, the most perfect of these poems. There are many sketches, both of incident and feeling, in it, of all the three characters which we have mentioned. Hogarth might be conducting old Enoch Wray, the blind mason, the virtuous and intelligent hero of the suburbs, into the town, and might have assisted him in the anatomy of the congregation on their coming out of church. There is much, however, of a higher order. The love Mr Elliott bears towards Sheffield seems to be as warm as the attachment which, in Italy, the poets and antiquarians of the middle ages were wont to feel for their native town.

> 'Ere Bedford's loaf, or Erin's sty be thine,
> Cloud-rolling Sheffield! want shall humble all.
> Town of the unbow'd poor! thou shalt not pine
> Like the fall'n rustic, licensed Rapine's thrall,
> But, first to rise, wilt be the last to fall!
> Slow are thy sons the pauper's trade to learn.
> Though, in the land that blossoms like the rose,
> The English peasant, and the Irish kerne,
> Fight for potatoes, thy proud labourer knows
> Nor workhouse wages, nor the exile's woes.
> Nor yet thy bit of beef, thy pint of ale,
> Thy toil-strung heart, which toil could ne'er dismay,
> Nor yet thy honest, skill'd right hand shall fail;
> Last, from thy hearths the poor man's pride shall stray;
> And still shall come thy well-paid Saturday,
> And still thy morn of rest be near and sure.'

Most devoutly do we say Amen! Secure but the 'well-paid 'Saturday,' and society can have no other interest, which deserves to be put in comparison with this single object for a single moment. It is the prospect of ill-paid Saturdays which alarms us. The cutlery of Sheffield is said to be in some danger from the cutlery of the Rhine. The competition of low wages is one, on which it is to be hoped, for the sake of the working classes themselves, that England will never enter. A foreign market which can be only kept possession of upon those terms, had far better not be kept at all. It is impossible to contemplate the following picture without a crowd of mixed emotions; but a sentiment of

deep and awed commiseration for its author predominates over all. The reader must wait a little to hear who Miles Gordon is.

'Why, Enoch, dost thou start, as if in pain?
The sound thou hear'st the blind alone could hear;
Alas! Miles Gordon ne'er will walk again;
But his poor grandson's footstep wakes thy tear,
As if indeed thy long-lost friend were near.
Here oft, with fading cheek, and thoughtful brow,
Wanders the youth—town-bred, but desert-born.
Too early taught life's deepening woes to know,
He wakes in sorrow with the weeping morn,
And gives much labour for a little corn.
In smoke and dust, from hopeless day to day,
He sweats, to bloat the harpies of the soil,
Who jail no victim, while his pangs can pay.
Untaxing rent, and trebly taxing toil,
They make the labour of his hands their spoil,
And grind him fiercely; but he still can get
A crust of wheaten bread, despite their frowns;
They have not sent him like a pauper yet
For workhouse wages, as they send their clowns:
Such tactics do not answer yet in towns.
Nor have they gorged his soul. Thrall though he be
Of brutes who bite him while he feeds them, still
He feels his intellectual dignity,
Works hard, reads usefully, with no mean skill
Writes, and can reason well of good and ill.
He hoards his weekly groat. His tear is shed
For sorrows which his hard-worn hand relieves.
Too poor, too proud, too just, too wise to wed,
(For slaves enough already toil for thieves,)
How gratefully his growing mind receives
The food which tyrants struggle to withhold!
Though hourly ills his every sense invade
Beneath the cloud that o'er his home is roll'd,
He yet respects the power which man hath made,
Nor loathes the despot-humbling sons of trade.
But, when the silent Sabbath-day arrives,
He seeks the cottage, bordering on the moor,
Where his forefathers pass'd their lowly lives,
Where still his mother dwells, content, though poor,
And ever glad to meet him at the door.
Oh, with what rapture he prepares to fly
From streets and courts, with crime and sorrow strew'd,
And bids the mountain lift him to the sky!
How proud, to feel his heart not all subdu'd!
How happy to shake hands with Solitude!
Still, Nature, still he loves thy uplands brown,
The rock, that o'er his father's freehold towers!

And strangers, hurrying through the dingy town,
May know his workshop by its sweet wild flowers.
Cropp'd on the Sabbath from the hedge-side bowers,
The hawthorn blossom in his window droops;
Far from the headlong stream and lucid air,
The pallid Alpine rose to meet him stoops,
As if to soothe a brother in despair,
Exiled from Nature and her pictures fair.
E'en winter sends a posy to his jail,
Wreath'd of the sunny celandine—the brief
Courageous wind-flower, loveliest of the frail—
The hazel-crimson star—the woodbine's leaf—
The daisy with its half-clos'd eye of grief—
Prophets of fragrance, beauty, joy, and song!'

The solemnity and tenderness of his Sunday pleasures are quite affecting. The exclamations of the poet-artisan in his brief communion with nature,

'Bird! who would swelter with the laden throng,
That had thy wings? Earth spurners, you are free!'

must come home to every bosom. After reading them, (and, like his gentle brooding over and fondling of his flowers, their vision is constantly recurring,) what shall we say to the bigotry and selfishness which would grudge the poor man his Sunday walk, or dare to enclose a footpath in the neighbourhood of a town? Society punishes as crimes many things, which are far less serious encroachments on the happiness of our fellow-creatures.

'Hail, Sabbath! day of mercy, peace, and rest!
Thou o'er loud cities throw'st a noiseless spell.
The hammer there, the wheel, the saw, molest
Pale thought no more. O'er trade's contentious hell
Meek Quiet spreads her wings invisible.
But, when thou com'st, less silent are the fields
Through whose sweet paths the toil-freed townsman steals.
To him the very air a banquet yields.
Envious, he watches the pois'd hawk, that wheels
His flight on chainless winds. Each cloud reveals
A paradise of beauty to his eye.
His little boys are with him, seeking flowers,
Or chasing the too venturous gilded fly.
So by the daisy's side, he spends the hours,
Renewing friendship with the budding bowers:
And—while might, beauty, good, without alloy,
Are mirror'd in his children's happy eyes—
In His great temple, offering thankful joy
To Him, the infinitely Great and Wise,
With soul attuned to Nature's harmonies,

Serene and cheerful, as a sporting child,
His *heart* refuses to believe, that man
Could turn into a hell the bloomy wild,
The blissful country, where his childhood ran
A race with infant rivers, ere began
King-humbling blind misrule his wolfish sway.'

The last line, as we apprehend it, contains a long neglected moral. If Mr Slaney and his committee could recover for our metropolis and our manufacturing cities, a small fragment of open space—something to feel and look like country—it would be the better not only for the poor alone, but for society at large. Misgovernment, which should brutalize the lower orders, by refusing them the leisure, the knowledge, and the physical means of innocent recreation, whilst it in truth would be unfitting them for republican institutions, is the one cause, above all others, most likely to break up society by some desperate revolution. Even our poet's eye seems at times to be following 'the Washing-'tonian eagle' on its flight.

Mr Elliott's pauper poetry is evidently taken from the life. It looks, like a painful cast, so recent and severe, that it must be safe from the ordinary charge by which works of imagination are made responsible for withdrawing our active sympathies from real to imaginary sorrows. The fault, in the present instance, is the other way. Their reality is too unrelieved. But then, the moment that he escapes from out the 'town of the cloud,' to his hill-tops and his gleaming waterfalls, what a change comes over him!

'His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
And the resplendent rivers. His t' enjoy
With a propriety that none can feel,
But who, with filial confidence inspir'd,
Can lift to heav'n an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say—"My Father made them all!"'

What rapture in his panoramic views of nature! how vivid the flashes of light which his electric eye throws over the aspect of a scene! yet how minute and tender are the touches with which an earnest pencil finishes, one by one, the living details of his domestic foregrounds! For ourselves, we confess that we like Mr Elliott best, when, thus emerging into the light of day, he traverses moor or mountain, lingers by the side of the river or the ocean, listens to the wind or torrent, and looks on nature, as Cowper and Wordsworth look upon it, till he brings out over its features, as vividly almost as on the human countenance, the sympathies of man. We select, almost at random, a few specimens,

in which his descriptive powers take their colour, and almost their standard, from the glow of his feelings and the elevation of his mind. The poet invites Enoch Wray to make an excursion with him to the mountains.

> 'Come, Father of the Hamlet! grasp again
> Thy stern ash plant, cut when the woods were young;
> Come, let us leave the plough-subjected plain,
> And rise, with freshen'd hearts, and nerves re-strung,
> Into the azure dome, that, haply, hung
> O'er thoughtful power, ere suffering had begun.
> 'Five rivers, like the fingers of a hand,
> Flung from black mountains, mingle, and are one
> Where sweetest valleys quit the wild and grand,
> And eldest forests, o'er the silvan Don,
> Bid their immortal brother journey on,
> A stately pilgrim, watch'd by all the hills.
> Say, shall we wander where, through warriors' graves,
> The infant Yewden, mountain-cradled, trills
> Her Doric notes? Or, where the Locksley raves
> Of broil and battle, and the rocks and caves
> Dream yet of ancient days? Or, where the sky
> Darkens o'er Rivelin, the clear and cold,
> That throws his blue length, like a snake, from high?
> Or, where deep azure brightens into gold
> O'er Sheaf, that mourns in Eden? Or, where, roll'd
> On tawny sands, through regions passion-wild,
> And groves of love, in jealous beauty dark,
> Complains the Porter, Nature's thwarted child,
> Born in the waste, like headlong Wiming? Hark!
> The pois'd hawk calls thee, Village Patriarch!
> He calls thee to his mountains! Up, away!
> Up, up, to Stanedge! higher still ascend,
> Till kindred rivers, from the summit gray,
> To distant seas their course in beauty bend,
> And, like the lives of human millions, blend
> Disparted waves in one immensity!'

They pass forward to the moor:

> 'I thank ye, billows of a granite sea,
> That the brib'd plough, defeated, halts below!
> And thanks, majestic Barrenness, to thee,
> For one grim region in a land of woe,
> Where tax-sown wheat, and paupers, will not grow!
> Here pause, old man, the Alpine air to taste:
> Drink it from Nature's goblet, while the morn
> Speaks like a fiery trumpet to the waste.'
>
> 'Hark, how the coming wind
> Booms like the funeral dirge of woe, and bliss,

And life, and form, and mind, and all that is!
How like the wafture of a world-wide wing
It sounds and sinks—and all is hush'd again!
But are our spirits humbled? No! we string
The lyre of death with mystery and pain,
And proudly hear the dreadful notes complain
That man is not the whirlwind, but the leaf,
Torn from the tree to soar and disappear.
Grand is our weakness, and sublime our grief.
Lo, on this rock, I shake off hope and fear,
And stand releas'd from clay!—yet am I here,
And at my side are blindness, age, and woe.'

'Hail, silence of the desert!—I speak low
In reverence.—Here the falcon's wing is aw'd,
As o'er the deep repose, sublimely slow,
He wheels in conscious majesty abroad.
Spirits should make the desert their abode.
The meekest, purest, mightiest, that e'er wore
Dust as a garment, stole from crowds unbless'd
To sea-like forests, or the sea-beat shore,
And utter'd, on the star-sought mountain's breast,
The holiest precepts e'er to dust address'd.'

'Man never is, but always to be, blest.' The antiquarians have a corresponding millennium for the past, where man also has been blest at some former period. Mr Elliott will perhaps accept the solution by which the theory of early Irish civilisation is happily explained, on the supposition that Ireland is only one of the hundred localities consecrated by the wandering legend of a happy island in the west. It will be a more difficult task to dispossess him of his hypothesis in behalf of the ancient happy state of the English peasant. In case he could find time to read Mr Malthus's chapter upon this point, he would, we think, find himself compelled to allow, that history, by a simple comparison of the rate of wages and the price of corn in different centuries, destroys the illusion which would send us back to antiquity for the golden age of the lower orders. But a golden age of domestic and ecclesiastical architecture there certainly was. Mr Nash, and our Church-building Committee, prove the taste and talent of to-day. Mr Elliott is sensible to the beauty of former times.

The mansion of the old yeoman, who 'damn'd the French, yet 'loved all human kind,' is a proper *pendant* to the village church.

'Near yonder archer yews—that solemnly
Keep aye uprais'd their desolate hands, in praise
Of the old Heav'ns, and hoar antiquity—
Behold the Hall! There once dwelt Matthew Hayes,
A trading yeoman of the bygone days.

* * * * *

Behold his home, that sternly could withstand
The storms of more than twice a hundred years!
In such a home was Shakspeare's Hamlet plann'd,
And Raleigh's boyhood shed ambitious tears
O'er Colon's wrongs. How proudly it uprears
Its tower of cluster'd chimneys, tufted o'er
With ivy, ever green amid the gray,
Yet envy-stung, and muttering evermore
To yon red villa, on the king's highway,
"Thou dandy! I am *not* of yesterday."
Time seems to reverence these fantastic walls:
Behold the gables quaint, the cornice strong,
The chambers, bellying over latticed halls,
The oaken tracery, outlasting long
The carven stone: nor do their old age wrong
With laughter vile, or heartless jest profane!'

'From yonder tower, time-darken'd, thunder-scar'd,
Still the deep toll is floating on the air;
It calls our Father to the lone churchyard;
Oh, many, many of his friends are there!
And Age, at five-score years, hath few to spare!
Thou antique fane! that in thy solemn suit
Of carven flowers, and stone-embroidery grand,
(Old, yet unshaken, eloquent, though mute,)
Tower'st, like the sculptur'd guardian of the land.'

* * * * *

'Grey Enoch is a child compared with thee;
Yet man like him thou ne'er again shalt see!
How would it gladden thy bewilder'd eyes,
(Dusked with cobweb films, and colours old,
And with long gazing on dim blazonries,)
Couldst thou, in these degenerate times behold
A pair like Enoch Wray and Mary Gould,
As to the altar in their youth they came;
He—like a warrior to the battle feast,
With cheek of downy light and umber'd flame,
A presence glorious as the bright'ning east;
She—bending at his side, with charms increas'd,
Like chaste Andromache by Hector led;
Her arm in his, her gentle eyes depress'd,
Her neck and face with burning crimson spread,
And lovely as maternal beauty's breast,
Beneath the soft cheek of her child caress'd,
Returning love for love, and smile for smile!'

We must pass over numerous other passages of great power and beauty. The descriptions of the blind man on his wife's death, his winter walk, the farewell to his favourite haunts, and the sketch of his death during the execution of a warrant of distress, are all very striking. Parts of the vision of Bradshaw, the

Regicide, in Enoch's dream, are as *Dantesque* as any thing we ever read out of Dante. The whole of it is crowded with passionate appeals and the wildest imagery.

'Oh, Time! is this the island of the just
And the immortal, in her virtues strong?
The land of Shakspeare? Worthy of our dust,
Because she guards the right, and loathes the wrong—
The land of Ireton's bones and Milton's song?
Rise, Bard of our Republic! wherefore rise,
Like Samuel to the troubled King of old?
Couldst thou flash living fire in Britons' eyes,
Would pigmy souls be minds of giant mould?
Oh, what could wake these worse than dead and cold?
But thou, Oh, Rock, that watchest freemen's graves!
Well mayst thou veil thy lofty brow in shade,
Scorning to look on boroughmongering knaves,
And game-law'd, corn-law'd, war-worn, parish-paid,
Rag-monied, crawling wretches, reptile-flay'd!
What nameless curse comes next? Degraded Rome!
How like a Cæsar of thy days of shame,
He lolls behind his steeds, that ramp and foam
Through crowds of slaves, with long submission tame,
Hacks, not worth harness, void of tail and mane!'

* * * * *

'What saw I next? A temple paved with graves.
Lo, on the floor a giant corpse lay bare!
And thousand, thousand, thousand, thousand slaves,
All dead and ghastly, kneel'd for ever there,
Statues of baseness, worshipping despair!
From many a battle-field, and many a sea,
Cast forth by outrag'd earth, and loathing tide,
They made a winter for eternity,
And seem'd like suppliant demons side by side,
For in their looks their crimes were petrified.
Bound by a spell, which ne'er methought would break,
Amid the dead I stood, the living one!
And, lo, the tears were froz'n on every cheek!
Ah, ne'er in solitude felt I so lone,
As in that crowd, whose tears were turn'd to stone!
The Titan corse, sublime in stillness lay,
With marble looks, like power and pride asleep;
Oh, God! its dreadful silence could dismay
More than the shriek of shipwreck o'er the deep!'

* * * * *

'Then, lo! what, distant, seem'd the ocean's flood,
Smote on my heart, with clamour fierce and foul.
Wave shouldering wave, they shook me where I stood.
No winds urged on the billowy, living roll,
But whirlwind dwelt within it, like a soul,
Heaving the foamy, roaring surges high,

While all beside was voiceless, breathless fear;
And, lo, the foam was human agony,
Alive with curses, horrible to hear!
The waves were men! a deluge wide and drear!
And while, all raving, all at once, they came,
Heap'd on each other, to devour the shore,
The flash of eyes made heaven's red vengeance tame!
The thunder dared not whisper to the roar;
When, with their multitudinous hands, they tore
The rocks, that seem'd to live in bestial forms.'

The miscellaneous poems are on the whole inferior, and of more unequal execution. Mr Elliott appears, by a note to 'The 'Letter,' to be of opinion, that it is only the pedantic insignificance of genteel poetics, which supposes that general or accidental associations, whether influencing thought, style, or particular words, may require to be consulted, before a poet can be said to be dealing fully and fairly with the universal capabilities which belong to whatever is true in nature. We had marked some offences of this kind for observation. They are sometimes committed on principle; at other times apparently from the necessities of rhyme: yet his versification is so rich and flowing, that we should not wonder, if, on the whole, he found, like Dryden, rhyme rather an assistance than a restraint. His extensive intermingling of the couplet with alternate rhymes is almost the invention of a new measure; in which the breadth and diversified pauses of blank verse are combined with the satisfied expectation of the returning cadences of rhyme. The effect is often very visible in greater freedom of movement and fulness of expression. We need hardly assure Mr Elliott, that we are none of those who expect more vulgarity (meaning, by vulgarity, paltry and commonplace associations) from the writings of cobbler poets 'and inspired 'ploughmen,' than from the automatons of artificial and conventional existence, waiting for inspiration in the drawingrooms of London. Our sympathies are not with the exotics of the hothouse. They are all with his hawthorn hedgerows and his cottage gardens.

We promised to return to Miles Gordon; and will keep our word. He is the hero of a poem called 'The Ranter.' If our readers, after perusing it, feel as we did, they will think that Ranter parsons may be very different persons from what, it is probable, it hitherto has occurred to them as possible that they could be. A long continuous extract is necessary to show the Ranter's portrait. At the same time it will show what is the nature of the defects which strike like a flaw across the whiteness of the marble on which Mr Elliott works.

'Miles Gordon sleeps; his six days' labour done,
He dreams of Sunday, verdant fields, and prayer:
Oh, rise, blest morn, unclouded! Let thy sun
Shine on the artisan,—thy purest air
Breathe on the bread-tax'd labourer's deep despair!
Poor sons of toil! I grudge them not the breeze
That plays with Sabbath flowers, the clouds that play
With Sabbath winds, the hum of Sabbath bees,
The Sabbath walk, the skylark's Sabbath lay,
The silent sunshine of the Sabbath day.
The stars wax pale, the moon is cold and dim:
Miles Gordon wakes, and grey dawn tints the skies:
The many-childed widow, who to him
Is as a mother, hears her lodger rise,
And listens to his prayer with swimming eyes.
For her, and for her orphans poor, he prays,
For all who earn the bread they daily eat:—
"Bless them, O God, with useful happy days,
With hearts that scorn all meanness and deceit;
And round their lowly hearths let freemen meet!"
This morn, betimes, she hastes to leave her bed,
For he must preach beneath th' autumnal tree:
She lights her fire, and soon the board is spread
With Sabbath coffee, toast, and cups for three.
Pale he descends; again she starts to see
His hollow cheek, and feels they soon must part;
But they shall meet again—that hope is sure;
And, oh! she venerates his mind and heart,
For he is pure, if mortal e'er was pure!
His words, his silence, teach her to endure;
And then, he helps to feed her orphan'd five.
O God! thy judgments cruel seem to be!
While bad men biggen long, and cursing thrive,
The good, like wintry sunbeams, fade and flee—
That we may follow *them*, and come to Thee.

'In haste she turns, and climbs the narrow stair,
To wake her eldest born, but pausing stands,
Bent o'er his bed; for on his forehead bare,
Like jewels ring'd on sleeping beauty's hands,
Tired labour's gems are set in beaded bands;
And none, none, none, like bread-tax'd labour know'th
How more than grateful are his slumbers brief.
Thou dost not know, thou pamper'd son of sloth!—
Thou canst not tell, thou bread-tax eating thief!—
How sweet is rest to bread-tax'd toil and grief!
Like sculpture, or like death, serene he lies.
But no—that tear is not a marble tear—

He names, in sleep, his father's injuries,
And now, in silence, wears a smile severe.
* * * * *
And must she wake that poor, o'erlabour'd youth?
Oh, yes! or Edmund will his mother chide;
For he this morn would hear the words of truth
From lips inspired, on Shirecliffe's lofty side,
Gazing o'er tree and tower on Hallam wide.—
Up, sluggards, up! the mountains one by one
Ascend in light; and slow the mists retire
From vale and plain. The cloud on Stanington
Beholds a rocket—no, 'tis Morthen spire!
The sun is risen! cries Stanedge, tipp'd with fire;
On Norwood's flowers the dewdrops shine and shake;
Up, sluggards, up! and drink the morning breeze;
The birds on cloud-left Osgathorpe awake;
And Wincobank is waving all his trees
O'er subject towns, and farms, and villages,
And gleaming streams, and woods, and waterfalls.
Up, climb the oak-crown'd summit! Hooberstand,
And Keppel's Pillar, gaze on Wentworth's Halls,
And misty lakes, that brighten and expand,
And distant hills, that watch the western strand.
Up! trace God's foot-prints, where they paint the mould
With heavenly green, and hues that blush and glow
Like angel's wings; while skies of blue and gold
Stoop to Miles Gordon on the mountain's brow.
Behold the Great Unpaid! the prophet, lo!
Sublime he stands beneath the gospel tree,
And Edmund stands on Shirecliffe at his side;
Behind him sinks, and swells, and spreads a sea
Of hills, and vales, and groves; before him glide
Don, Rivelin, Loxley, wandering in their pride
From heights that mix their azure with the cloud;
Beneath him, spire and dome are glittering;
And round him press his flock, a woe-worn crowd.
To other words, while forest echoes ring,
"Ye banks and braes o' bonny Doon," they sing;
And far below, the drover, with a start
Awaking, listens to the well-known strain,
Which brings Shihallion's shadow to his heart,
And Scotia's loneliest vales; then sleeps again,
And dreams, on Loxley's banks, of Dunsinane.
The hymn they sing is to their preacher dear;
It breathes of hopes and glories grand and vast,
While on his face they look, with grief and fear;
Full well they know his sands are ebbing fast;
But, hark! he speaks, and feels he speaks his last!—

"" Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees,
Who eat the widow's and the orphan's bread,
And make long prayers to hide your villanies,"
Said He who had not where to lay his head,
And wandering forth, while blew the Sabbath breeze,
Pluck'd ears of corn, with humble men, like these.
God blames not him who toils six days in seven,
Where smoke and dust bedim the golden day,
If he delight, beneath the dome of heaven,
To hear the winds, and see the clouds at play,
Or climb his hills, amid their flowers to pray.
Ask ye, if I, of Wesley's followers one,
Abjure the house where Wesleyans bend the knee?
I do—because the *spirit* thence is gone;
And truth, and faith, and grace, are not, with me,
The Hundred Popes of England's Jesuistry.
We hate not the religion of bare walls;
We scorn not the *cathedral'd* pomp of prayer;
For sweet are all our Father's festivals,
If contrite hearts the heavenly banquet share,
In field or temple: God is everywhere!
But we hate arrogance and selfishness,
Come where they may—and most beneath the roof
Sacred to public worship. . . . . .
What are the *deeds* of men call'd Christian, now?
They roll themselves in dust before the great;
Wherever Mammon builds a shrine, they bow,
And would nail Jesus to their cross of hate,
Should he again appear in *mean* estate. . . . . .
Their Bibles for the heathen load our fleets;
Lo, gloating eastward, they enquire, "What news?"
We die, we answer, foodless, in the streets.
And what reply your men of gospel-views?
Oh, they are sending bacon to the Jews! . . . . .
Oh, for a saint, like those who sought and found,
For conscience' sake, sad homes beyond the main!—
The Fathers of New England, who unbound,
In wild Columbia, Europe's double chain;
The men whose dust cries, "Sparta, live again!"
The slander'd Calvinists of Charles's time
Fought, and they won it, Freedom's holy fight.
Like prophet-bards, although they hated rhyme,
All incorruptible as heaven's own light,
Spoke each devoted preacher for the right. . . . . .
With zeal they preach'd, with reverence they heard;
For in their daring creed, sublime, sincere,
Danger was found, that parson-hated word!
They flatter'd none—they knew nor hate nor fear,
But taught the will of God—and *did it* here.

Even as the fire-wing'd thunder rends the cloud,
Their spoken lightnings, dazzling all the land,
Abash'd the foreheads of the great and proud,
Still'd faction's roar, as by a God's command,
And meeken'd Cromwell of the iron hand.'

The men of Sheffield were not more wanting in discernment than in a proper pride in their townsman, when they preferred, at the last election, the speeches of Mr Buckingham to the sterling merits of 'the Bentham of Hallamshire.' For the sake of Montgomery and Elliott, we trust that its poets have a better chance than its metaphysicians and political economists of being prophets in their own country. Mr Elliott's picture of his home is a proof that Sheffield is under obligations to him for prose as well as poetry, for actions as well as words. The example of domestic virtues, especially in men of masculine and commanding character, is perhaps the most valuable of all examples. It is one which genius, under a variety of excuses, sometimes appears to think it is not called upon to give.

'Bless'd is the hearth, when daughters gird the fire,
And sons, that shall be happier than their sire,
Who sees them crowd around his evening chair,
While Love and Hope inspire his wordless pray'r.
Oh, from their home paternal may they go,
With little to unlearn, though much to know!
Them may no poison'd tongue, no evil eye
Curse for the virtues that refuse to die;
The generous heart, the independent mind,
Till truth, like falsehood, leaves a sting behind!
May temperance crown their feast, and friendship share!
May pity come, Love's sister spirit, there!
May they shun baseness, as they shun the grave!
May they be frugal, pious, humble, brave!
Sweet peace be theirs, the moonlight of the breast,
And occupation, and alternate rest,
And, dear to care and thought, the rural walk!
Theirs be no flower that withers on the stalk,
But roses cropp'd, that shall not bloom in vain,
And hope's bless'd sun, that sets to rise again!
Be chaste their nuptial bed, their home be sweet,
Their floor resound the tread of little feet;
Bless'd beyond fear and fate, if bless'd by thee,
And heirs, oh, Love, of thine eternity!'

We cannot take leave of Mr Elliott without repeating our protest, (made both in sorrow and in anger, but most in sorrow,) at the temper of fierce hostility with which he has brought himself to regard great portions of his countrymen. The habit appears

to be almost engrained into his nature, and to be in painful inconsistency with its better elements:

> 'Like that relentless soul—a shaded flame—
> That, in Elysium, darkens at the name
> Of thankless Florence.'

We hope that he is still in time to wrestle with the foul fiend of such evil thoughts, and overcome it. What is to become of a society, whose different classes are extreme to mark what is done amiss, and to fly to arms in jealous hatred of each other;—where the very men who by their talents and virtues ought to be the peacemakers, think it a duty to blow into a flame the sparks, which, more or less, must always be at hand? Suppose that the higher and middling orders were to take Mr Elliott's intense antipathy to be a correct representation of the sentiments of the lower, and were to be provoked into something of re-action. At present, we are certain, that if any one were to venture to give the public a picture of the poor, as distorted in its outline and as false in its colouring, as Mr Elliott has here given us of the rich, no poetical merit could protect it from being put down by general indignation and contempt. These feelings on our part, strong as they are, do not prevent us from making those allowances for Mr Elliott, which a poet of 'caste and cant' certainly would not receive from us. We honestly think that his works will stand this double test. The more carefully they are read, the more will their poetical merit be recognised, and the more will the personal character, which is exhibited in them, be admired. Every Englishman that takes an interest in a mechanic, who, leading a humble and laborious life, has yet impressed upon it the several distinct excellences of a beautiful poet, a patriotic citizen, and a virtuous parent, must heartily join in '*the Poet's prayer*.'

> 'Almighty Father! let thy lowly child,
> Strong in his love of truth, be wisely bold,—
> A patriot bard, by sycophants revil'd,
> Let him live usefully, and not die old!
> Let poor men's children, pleas'd to read his lays,
> Love, for his sake, the scenes where he hath been;
> And when he ends his pilgrimage of days,
> Let him be buried where the grass is green;
> Where daisies, blooming earliest, linger late
> To hear the bee his busy note prolong:—
> There let him slumber, and in peace await
> The dawning morn, far from the sensual throng,
> Who scorn the windflower's blush, the red-breast's lonely song.'

Art. VI.—1. *Minutes of Evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the London and Birmingham Railway Bill.* London: 1833.

2. *On the Importance and advantages of Railways.* London: 1833.

3. *Seven Annual Reports of the President and Directors to the Stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company.* Baltimore: 1833.

4. *The American Railroad Journal.* New York: 1832, 1834.

It is now two years since we called the attention of our readers to the great advancement which had been made in the art of applying steam-power to the important purposes of inland transport. We then foretold the rapid extension of this great instrument of social improvement; and subsequent events have amply verified our predictions. Railroad undertakings have been entered into with an avidity to satisfy the most ardent, and to create alarm in the more timid and cautious. In our own country, however, the number of checks on such schemes are sufficient to prevent the public from rushing into them with undue precipitation: and the danger rather is, that private and local interests may act as too great a drag on public enterprise, than that the latter principle should receive undue scope. A considerable portion of the property of the country, and more especially of that in land, has, in many instances, opposed serious obstructions to parties seeking legislative sanction for projected lines of railroad; and although, in some cases, such opposition has proceeded from sinister motives, or such as would not bear an open avowal, yet we must suppose that in the majority, the ostensible objections have been seriously and sincerely, though erroneously, entertained. In the present article, we shall endeavour to show, not only that the principal objections so urged are unfounded in themselves, but that they are in direct opposition to the results of experience, and as much opposed to the real interests of the objectors as to the public good. We shall also briefly advert to the principal lines of communication recently undertaken, and to those which are in progress in other parts of Europe, and in America.

The opposition which railway companies experience in obtaining the necessary legislative sanction, proceeds, in the majority of cases, from the landholders, through whose lands the projected lines are to pass. Nevertheless it is demonstrable, that

there exists no class of persons whose interests are more likely to be promoted by such improvements than those of the local proprietors. One ground of objection assumed by proprietors resident in the vicinity of projected lines of railroad, is the apprehended nuisance of the noise and smoke of the engines, and of the exposure of their premises to the intrusion of large numbers of passengers. The evidence produced before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the London and Birmingham railroad, will show how unfounded are such objections.

Mr Hardman Earle, a Liverpool merchant, was one of the most determined opponents of the Liverpool and Manchester railroad. His family had, at the cost of above L.12,000, built a house, and laid out pleasure-grounds, through which the line of railway passes; and their opposition was founded partly on the apprehended injury and inconvenience arising from this circumstance. Mr Earle, therefore, was very properly summoned as a witness before this Committee, and the following is a part of his testimony.

'Have you experienced any inconvenience since the railway was constructed?—No inconvenience whatever has been experienced.

'Are the grounds infested by the people in consequence of the passage of the locomotive engine?—No.

'Is there any thing offensive in it?—Nothing whatever.

'Is there any smoke?—None whatever.

'Is there any noise?—No; it is rather an object of interest to persons residing there.

'Are you able to say whether the inhabitants of other houses are annoyed?—I am enabled to say they do not consider them a nuisance.

'At the commencement of the undertaking were you a determined opponent to the measure?—Yes; my mother was a petitioner against the bill, and I appeared as evidence against it.

'From all that you have since seen you would no longer oppose the construction of railroads?—Certainly not; from what I have seen my opinion is entirely changed.'

In fact the fuel burned is coke, which produces no smoke. The smoothness of the road, and its freedom from those asperities which exist on the best constructed turnpike roads, are such that the wheels move with comparatively little noise. But, in addition to this, the speed being almost three times that of common coaches, and more than seven times that of waggons, the noise is almost momentary. A train of waggons or coaches shoots past with the speed of the wind, and the noise is scarcely perceived before it ceases; it cannot be heard on a still day at a greater distance than one hundred yards.

Another ground of objection, urged by landlords, is the appre-

hended depreciation of the value of the adjacent land. The facility of communication with the metropolis and populous towns is so obvious an advantage, that we cannot help expressing our astonishment that such an apprehension should for a moment be entertained. As those who could entertain an objection so unfounded are little likely to be accessible to the reasoning by which it might be refuted, we shall here confine ourselves to facts, and show that in every case, without a single exception, which has come under enquiry, the value of land adjacent to a successful line of railway has been considerably increased.

Mr Pease, M. P., a director of the Stockton and Darlington railway, stated, in his evidence, that he had been for ten years a director of that company, during seven years of which the railroad had been in practical operation; that he had closely observed its effects on landed property through which it passed, or which was adjacent to it, and that he had been privy to all the negotiations which had taken place between the railroad company and the proprietors from whom they had made purchases.

'Do you know whether the advertisements for letting farms or selling estates, contain any thing relating to the railroad?—It is invariably stated, either that the railroad passes through the estate or near to it; they consider it as an enhancement of the value of the property.

'Are you a landholder yourself in the neighbourhood of the railroad?—I have one small estate, which it intersects into two equal parts nearly. It passes through the enclosure in which the homestead stands.

'Have you been benefited by the railroad passing through it?—I have; the cuttings are available as drains; the rent of the property is increased one-fifth. I let the farm, subject to its being given up on the railroad being made, and I have since received one-fifth additional rent.

'Do you know any instance of the reduction of rent, in consequence of a railroad passing through a farm?—I have made enquiries, but have not been able to meet with such an instance.'

The Stockton and Darlington railway was originally intended to be a single line; but after its formation the company found, from the extent of traffic upon it, that a double line would be necessary. Having originally purchased no more land than was necessary for the single line, they were obliged to treat with the same proprietors for an additional tract to widen the road, so as to receive the second line of railway. Nothing can more conclusively decide the question of the effect of the railway on the value of land than this circumstance. Here was a portion of land, purchased before any railway had been constructed; and

an equal quantity, in precisely the same place, was subsequently purchased from the same parties by the same company, after the formation of the single line of railway. Mr Pease was examined as to the terms on which the second portion of land was purchased.

'Have you paid on those (second) treaties, an increased value upon the land beyond what you paid before the line was established?—Invariably.

'Can you say to what amount?—I should say that we have never objected to pay an advanced price of 50 per cent.

'Was this in consequence of the increase of value arising from the railroad?—We were quite aware of the increased value to the owner, and made no objection to the advance.'

Mr Thomas Lee, a surveyor and agent to several landed gentlemen in the neighbourhood of the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, was examined as to the effect of the railroad upon the value of land in that neighbourhood.

'Can you tell the committee whether in an agricultural point of view, property has been improved or deteriorated by the railroad passing through it?—It has been improved.

'Have the farmers been benefited by it?—They have.

'Have Colonel Lee and Mr Trafford obtained higher rents in consequence of it?—They have.

'Have you taken land yourself at an increased rent?—At double the original rent.'

Mr Hardman Earle, before mentioned, was examined to the same point.

'Do you know any instance in which the value of land has been affected by the railway?—I think the Chat Moss was an instance of that kind. They bring manure from Manchester to Chat Moss; and wherever a station is formed, the value of the land is improved. You see advertisements recommending a site, because the railroad runs near or through it.

'Do you know of any instances by which land has been depreciated by it?—I think I can say positively that there is not an instance on the Manchester line.

'Do you know of any persons quitting their dwelling-houses in consequence of it?—I do not know of one. I should be glad to purchase land on the line, to build for myself.'

We may here state that the Chat Moss is an extensive district of bog and morass, over which the railroad was carried at incredible labour and expense. It was of course previously altogether

unproductive. We now, however, see on each side of the road extensive systems of drains gradually carrying off the water, and leaving tracts of considerable fertility. There is no doubt that within a very short period the whole of this morass will be transformed into a fertile tract of arable land.

Another ground of objection, is the injury likely to be produced to turnpike trusts. Even if the truth of this objection be admitted, it is not one of sufficient force to warrant the sacrifice of public benefit. A turnpike trust is, or ought to be, held only for the public good; and if it should be affected by the establishment of a railroad, this would only prove that the one was found more beneficial than the other. But it is a curious fact, that this apprehended injury has not (at least in every instance) ensued. The Stockton and Darlington railway furnishes a remarkable example to the contrary.

Mr Pease states in his evidence that the turnpike roads in the neighbourhood of that railway have been improved since its construction.

'Has there been any advantage derived to the roads in the neighbourhood?—I consider that they are all of them in a much better state of repair, and that their funds are improved: I do not know a single exception.

'Do you know the road from Stockton to Barnard Castle?—Perfectly well; I have been a commissioner. In that trust there are two roads running nearly parallel with the railroad, and a third intersected by it.

'Were the trustees of these roads petitioners against the bill?—All of them.

'On what grounds did they oppose it?—That the money borrowed on mortgage was hazarded by the railroad.

'Have their fears been realized?—No; the funds in all cases are improved.

'You state that of your own knowledge?—Yes, as an acting commissioner.'

The advantages likely to arise to agricultural producers from the facilities of conveying their produce to market, as well as the reciprocal advantages derived by the consumers, were rendered apparent by the evidence of several farmers and graziers, and also of metropolitan butchers.

Mr W. Meade Warner, an extensive farmer residing in Oxfordshire, stated, that he considered that if the railroad now proposed to be carried from London to Birmingham had been formed ten or fifteen years ago, it would have produced him an advantage of not less than fifty pounds a-year. He considered that the whole system of farming grass land would undergo a change, owing to the new capabilities which would be conferred

upon it, by the speed, certainty, and cheapness of the communication with the market. A different kind of produce, of a much better and more profitable quality, would be obtained from it.

'Are lambs sent to London from your neighbourhood?—They are, principally on the road; but when too young to leave the mother for so many days as the road requires, they are sent by waggons. Not many, however, are sent by this way.

'Are you prevented from sending many lambs to market by the difficulties of the road?—We cannot send them so young as we would otherwise send them. It is of importance to send them early in the season, as the ewe would feed off earlier.

'If a railroad were established, would they be sent by you and the other farmers by that means?—No doubt of it.

'Do the same observations apply to calves as to lambs?—Exactly.

'Are the cattle much injured by being driven up?—Very much; incalculably.'

It is not merely views of policy that should lead us to seek for some improvement in the transport of cattle to the markets. The following evidence is addressed to the feelings of common humanity.

'Supposing that even the cost was increased of sending them by the railroad, would it be of advantage to the farmer to have them conveyed by that means, nevertheless, instead of driving them in the ordinary way?—Certainly; it would be a great advantage. Sometimes the poor things are driven till their feet are sore; and the effect of that is, that they are sold on the road for what they can get. It is often the case, that they drive many of them till they have not a foot to stand on.

'What price, in your opinion, would the farmer be willing to pay for the conveyance of his cattle to London by the railroad, instead of the present way?—If I paid double, I should still be a very great gainer. It is a very important thing in the saving of beasts and sheep, both as to the exposure and the nuisance they create on the public roads. Besides that, the cruelty and injury to the animals is beyond all belief.

'Do I understand you rightly, that you would prefer to pay fourteen shillings for transmitting your cattle by railroad, to paying seven shillings for the ordinary means of conveyance?—To be sure I should.'

Mr Charles Whitworth, a very extensive farmer in Northamptonshire, was examined on the same points. He had seen cattle conveyed on the Manchester railroad, and stated that they came from the journey 'as fresh as if they were just off the 'field.' He stated, that in order to send the lambs to market, it was necessary to send the ewes a part of the way with them; and 'even then they were much injured before they reached London.'

The injury sustained by cattle coming to the London market, was further proved by Mr John Sharp, an extensive butcher,

residing in Mary-le-bone. He stated that he has been for forty years established as a butcher, and that he never failed to observe more or less injury sustained by cattle driven from a distance to London: that their value was considerably lessened, owing to the inferior quality of the meat, arising from the animal being slaughtered in a diseased state; that the animal being fatigued and over-driven, 'becomes feverish, and his looks 'become not so good, and he loses weight by the length of the 'journey and the fatigue.' He stated further, that even steam-vessels, where they could be resorted to, did not altogether remove this objection. Cattle come from Scotland by steam-vessels, and they are found in London to be in an unnatural state: 'they seem stupified, and in a state of suffering from 'fatigue.'

It is not merely the fatigue of travelling which injures the animal, but also the absence from its accustomed pasture. Mr Sharp stated that the injury from this cause was more or less under different circumstances, but always considerable. In order to obviate this, a considerable portion of the meat supplied to the London market is slaughtered in the country, and it comes in this state, in winter, from distances round London to the extent of one hundred miles. In warm weather a large quantity of it is spoiled, and a still greater quantity is deteriorated by this mode of conveyance. The transport of calves and lambs from a distance greater than thirty miles, is altogether impracticable; and even from that distance is attended with difficulty and injury. To convey these and other live cattle from a great distance, not only speed, but evenness of motion, is indispensable. Now these two requisites cannot be combined by any other means than the application of steam-engines upon a railroad.

From the whole of the evidence, the fact appears to be indisputably established, that the supply of animal food to the metropolis is not only defective in quantity, but that it is of unwholesome quality,—comparatively, at least, with what it might be, if the tract from which it could be supplied were rendered more extensive. But forcibly as the evidence bears on this species of agricultural produce, it is still stronger respecting the produce of the dairy and the garden. Milk, cream, and fresh butter, vegetables of every denomination, and certain descriptions of fruit, are supplied exclusively from a narrow annulus of soil, which circumscribes the skirts of the metropolis. Every artificial expedient is resorted to, in order to extort from this limited portion of land the necessary supplies for a million and a half of people. The milk is of a quality so artificial, that we know not whether, in strict propriety of language, the name milk can

be at all applied to it: the animals that yield it are fed not upon wholesome and natural pasturage, but in a great degree on grain and other articles. It will not be supposed that the milk which they yield is identical in wholesome and nutritious qualities with the article which would be supplied, if a tract of land of sufficient extent for the pasturage of cattle was made subservient to the wants of the metropolis. Add to this, that inferior as must be, under such circumstances, the quality of the milk, there exists the strongest temptations to the seller who retails it, to adulterate it still further, before it finds its way to the table of the consumer.

Mr Warner, already mentioned, stated that, great as the advantage of a railroad would be to graziers who supplied the London butchers, it would be of still greater advantage to dairy farmers.

'Have you ever had offers made to you to supply any part of London with milk?—I have; but have never been able to comply with them on account of the want of a conveyance.

'If there was a railroad, by which you could transmit milk, and thus avail yourself of such an offer, would it add materially to the profits of your farm?—There is no question that it would increase the profit at least 400 or 500 per cent. *I have no doubt of it, on milk and butter.*'*

In the produce of the dairy and the garden, it is not merely by smoothness and ease of transport that a railroad would offer facilities. Articles of a perishable nature must be supplied to the consumer within a short period after they are taken from the soil. The speed of railroad conveyance being six or seven times that by cart or waggon, the consequence would be, that such articles would be supplied to the metropolis from a circuit with a radius six or seven times the length of that which now supplies them; and consequently the land which would become available for the metropolitan markets, would be from thirty-six to forty-nine times the present extent; supposing railroads to diverge in all directions from the metropolis, and to be furnished with their usual ramifications.

In our former article on this subject, we attempted to show, by general reasoning, the immense benefits which would accrue, both to farmers and landlords, as well as to the inhabitants of towns, by carrying extensive lines of railroad through populous districts, connecting them with those places from which

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* This enormous estimate of the advantage is no doubt founded on the supposition that dairy produce would maintain its present price;—an obvious error, but still the advantage would be very considerable.

supplies of food and other necessaries might be obtained. We showed that the factitious value which tracts of land immediately surrounding the metropolis and large towns acquire from the proximity of the markets, would be moderated, and a portion of their advantages transferred to the more remote districts; thus equalizing the value of agricultural property, and rendering it in a great measure independent of local circumstances. We showed, further, that the profit of the farmer, and the rent of the landlord, would be benefited by the reduced cost of transport, and that such benefit would be likewise shared by the consumer;—in fact, that the advantages of centralization would be realized without incurring the inconvenience of crowding together masses of people within small spaces; and that the whole face of the country would be brought to the condition, and made to share the opportunities of improvement which are afforded by a metropolis, and by towns of the larger class. At that time, however, we had no specific evidence to adduce in support of our reasonings, so as to reach those minds which can only be influenced by a direct appeal to facts. The subsequent extension of railways has brought to light a body of evidence, so extensive, that our only difficulty lies in the selection of such parts of it as may not exceed our necessary limits.

The beneficial effects of the Liverpool and Manchester railway on the value of land in the district through which it passes, have forced conviction upon the minds of those who were the most conspicuous opponents to that project.

Mr J. Moss, a director of the Manchester railway, gave the following testimony :—

'Is it contemplated to have a railroad between Birmingham and Liverpool?—It is quite arranged.

'Have you made application to the owners of land for their consent?—As far as our half goes.

'Have you found owners, on the line between Liverpool and Birmingham, to consent to the railroad there, who, nevertheless, opposed the Liverpool and Manchester line?—Several; among others, Lords Derby and Sefton.

'Did Mr Heywood of Manchester oppose the Manchester railroad?—Yes.

'Did he afterwards complain of its *not passing through his lands?*—He *complained very much of it.*'

If the ill effects of the opposition, on the part of landed proprietors, to projected railroads were limited to the injury which they inflict upon themselves, the public would have less reason to complain of it; but unfortunately other extensive injuries have been thus produced. The opposition by Lords Derby and Sefton

to the Manchester railway bill, compelled the company to deviate from the line of road which they first proposed, and which Mr Stephenson, their engineer, pronounced to be the best. That line must have passed through a part of the property of these noblemen, whose opposition would at that time have defeated the bill. The company were therefore compelled to select another line, which was not only much more expensive in the formation, but which has been since productive of consequences most injurious to the road, and to the interests of the company and the public.

The line which the engineer was compelled to adopt, imposed upon him the formidable enterprise of crossing Chat Moss; and involved the company in an enormous expense in forming a solid road over that extensive morass. This, however, was not the only or the most extensively injurious effect: it became necessary to carry the line of road over an elevation, so that the moving power had to overcome a slope rising at the rate of one in ninety-six in both directions, and extending through more than a mile and a half in each case. We explained in our former article the injury which such an ascent produces: to draw a load up a slope of this degree of acclivity requires an impelling power, amounting to nearly four times the power necessary to draw the same load upon a level; the consequence is, that either auxiliary engines must be kept constantly at the foot of the slope, or else the impelling engine must be constructed with four times the power necessary on the level, and with a proportionate increase of strength and weight. We may safely assert, that no circumstance connected with the Manchester railway has been a more fertile source of expense and inconvenience than this occurrence. But if any thing be wanting to demonstrate the mischief of the proceeding out of which this has arisen, it is the fact detailed in the evidence of Mr Moss, that a second line of railway has been in contemplation, connecting Liverpool with Manchester; that this second line is countenanced and encouraged by these very noblemen, Lords Derby and Sefton; that it is to pass through their grounds, and, we presume, to take the very course which was originally contemplated by the present railway company, and from which they were driven by opposition.

'Has there not been a scheme for another railroad?—Yes.

'Is it to pass through Lords Derby and Sefton's land?—Yes; they both consented. They threw us back the first year by the opposition to our road, and we then lost such a line as we never could obtain again. Since this, they have both consented that the other line shall pass through their property.'

Other proprietors, however, more speedily learned their error,

and actually made interest to get the line through their property.

'Do you know Bold Hall?—Very well; it is a fine house.

'Is it near Liverpool and Manchester?—Yes; the proprietor complained very much, that we made a complete bend, to avoid his property.

'Did he afterwards wish you to cut off the bend, and go nearer by a straight line?—Yes; and we agreed to go much nearer to his house.'

Besides the permanent advantages to land by opening large markets for every species of vegetable, animal, and mineral production, railways are attended with a variety of subordinate benefits, which, though they may appear inconsiderable, when compared with those already mentioned, yet ought not to be wholly disregarded. Among these may be mentioned the extensive employment of the local population, in a work in which by far the greater proportion of the labour is of a rude kind; likewise the purchase of materials of various kinds from the adjacent landowners. It was proved that on the Stockton and Darlington railway, as well as on other similar works, large sums were paid to the landowners for gravel, timber, and stone, for materials for bricks, and for various other purposes, independently of the land purchased from them. It was also proved that a very large proportion of the poor rates of the parishes through which railways pass are paid by the railway company. The Manchester railway company, for example, contribute not less than L.4000 per annum to the poor rates of their parishes.

Mr Pease stated that more than half the entire rates of several of the parishes through which the Stockton and Darlington railway passes, are paid by the railway company. But in addition to this, the actual amount of rates is lessened by the extensive employment afforded for labour on the railway. Mr Lee stated, that of the poor rates in the parish of Newton, one-fourth part was paid by the Manchester railway company.

The speed of transit, and the consequent frequency of communication between places of great commercial intercourse, are matters, the importance of which can scarcely be overrated in this country. The *time* between Liverpool and Manchester, being a distance of about thirty-one miles, is now about an hour and a half: there are three deliveries of letters by post daily between these two places: so that two letters may be written and one answer received by the same correspondents in the course of a day. The frequency of communication might be still greater: nine trains of coaches start daily from each place, and if it were necessary, there might be nine deliveries in each town. When the lines of railway from London to Birmingham, and from Birmingham to Manchester, shall have been completed, the *time*

from London to Liverpool will be about eleven hours; the mail which leaves London at eight o'clock in the evening, will therefore be delivered in Liverpool before nine the following morning. The *time* between London and Birmingham will be five hours and a half; there will probably, therefore, be two mails daily. The letters despatched from London at eight o'clock in the evening would be delivered in Dublin the following evening. From some improvements which are in progress in the steam-packets, it appears that, under average circumstances, they may be depended on to make the voyage from Liverpool to Kingston (near Dublin) in ten hours: the mail which would arrive at Liverpool at seven in the morning would therefore be at Dublin at six in the evening, so that the Dublin merchants could answer their London letters the same night. It would, therefore, be possible that an answer to a letter from London to Dublin could arrive in London in about fifty hours after the despatch of the letter.

In the evidence of Mr Moss we find a striking instance of the preference given by the public to railroad conveyance.

'Do you know whether there are some places on the line from Liverpool to Manchester where persons go down a considerable distance to come to the rail?—Yes; Southport is an example. This town is 38 miles from Manchester, and 25 from Liverpool. Persons going to Manchester prefer to come the 25 miles to Liverpool, and 30 along the railroad, making 55 miles, to going 38 miles by the direct road to Manchester.

'Do they do that with a saving of time and expense?—They save both time and expense.

'Being aware of these facts, and knowing the projected line between London and Liverpool, are there many places from which persons would come to the railroad, for the purpose of going to London, rather than take the direct turnpike-road?—Yes; all places in the manufacturing part of Yorkshire, such as Bradford, Halifax, and Leeds; they would come to Manchester, and there take the railroad.

'What would be the saving from Leeds?—It would be 40 miles round; but it would save four hours in time, and L.1 in money.

'What would be the saving from Rochdale?—Ten hours in time, and 30s. in money.'

A large portion of the time of those farmers and graziers, living at a distance from London, who are obliged to attend the London markets, is consumed in making the journey. Mr Robert Attenborough, a farmer and grazier residing at Braybrook, eighty miles from London, stated that his business obliged him to attend once a-week at Smithfield market; that it takes him three days and a night, travelling at night, to go up to London, do his business, and return; that he seldom gets home till four o'clock

on Sunday morning: and that a like inconvenience is sustained by the other farmers and graziers in his neighbourhood: that besides the expenses on the way, the fare of the coach is L.3, 4s., and that the sacrifice of his business at home is the consequence of his journeys to London. A railroad would take him to London in about four hours, and starting in the morning he could arrive at home at a reasonable hour the same night.

By the evidence of other witnesses it appeared that a saving to a very large amount has been made by houses of business in Manchester, since the establishment of the railway, in their agencies alone. Some notion of the extent of this may be formed, when we state that several houses have saved L.500 a-year in this item of expenditure.

The advantage of the increased speed and cheapness of communication obtained by railways, worked by steam-engines, is not confined to the saving of the time and money of those who are compelled by business, or induced by pleasure, to travel. Vast numbers, who, under other circumstances, would remain stationary, find it for their advantage to avail themselves of the opportunities of intercourse with distant places thus opened to them. It appears by the evidence of Mr Booth, that before the establishment of the railway between Manchester and Liverpool, there were about twenty-two regular coaches running between these places: these coaches were licensed to carry about 700 persons: and taking them at their average number, they may be estimated as having transported 450 persons daily between these two towns. The inside fare was ten shillings, the outside six; and the time of the journey varied from four hours to four hours and a half. The fare at present, on the railroad, by the first class train, is five shillings and sixpence, and by the second class, three shillings and sixpence; being about half the fare by the coaches; and the time of the first class an hour and a half, and of the second class two hours; being less than half the time occupied on the turnpike road. The number of passengers between the two places in the six months ending in December 1833, was 215,071 booked; to which if we add 5000 for the passengers taken up on the road and not booked, we shall have a total of about 220,000: if we divide this by the number of days in the half-year, we shall find that the average daily, including Sundays, was 1209. It appears, therefore, that the number of passengers between these towns has been tripled since the establishment of the railroad;—in other words, about 800 persons daily, who have occasion to pass between the two places, but who were before prevented from doing so, either by reason of the time or expense of the turnpike road, are now enabled to perform the journey.

Among the railroads now in progress, those by which it is proposed to connect the metropolis with Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, are in every point of view the most interesting and important. This line has been undertaken by two distinct companies, under the sanction of different acts of Parliament. That part which connects London with Birmingham has been undertaken by a joint-stock company, under the title of the 'London and Birmingham Railway Company:' the continuation of the line is carried from Birmingham to Warrington, where it unites with a branch of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, which runs from Warrington to Newton, a point of the main line just midway between Liverpool and Manchester. This line from Birmingham to Warrington is incorporated under the title of the 'Grand Junction Railway Company.' The acts of incorporation, like others of the same kind, have been opposed in Parliament by many landed proprietors. The act for the Birmingham and London Company was, in the first instance, thrown out of the House of Lords through the influence of a single peer, because he apprehended some annoyance to a mansion of his, in the neighbourhood of which the railway must have passed; although it appeared that this mansion was one which he was not in the habit of occupying. The noble proprietor and his friends on the committee did not attend to hear the evidence: they came, however, to the division, and threw out the bill. How the Company was able to remove this opposition in the subsequent session of Parliament we do not know; but removed it was, and the bill passed.

The ill effects of the slopes on the Manchester and Liverpool railway have impressed on engineers the indispensable necessity of avoiding them, or rendering them as gentle as possible in future undertakings. This object will be attained in a great degree on the Birmingham and London line, but at an enormous expense. The country through which it will pass is of an undulating character, so that there is scarcely a mile of the road in which either cuttings or embankments will not be necessary. Where the elevations to be encountered are inconsiderable, a level is obtained by forming a chasm in the crest of the hill, and using the stuff removed from it to form an embankment in the valley; but there are numerous elevations along the proposed line of road, which either from their great height or other causes render this method impracticable. In such cases the level of the road will be maintained by penetrating the elevations by tunnels. Of these structures eleven were proposed in the Parliamentary plan; but it is probable that cuttings will be substituted for some of them as the work proceeds, and that the actual number will not exceed eight: the largest will be constructed at

Kilsby, near Daventry, seventy-seven miles from London: it will be about a mile and a half in length. Another, situate about two miles beyond Watford, will be a mile in length. That which will pass under Primrose Hill, and under the roads leading from the Regent's Park, and from St John's Wood to Finchley, will be half a mile in length: one near Weedon will be three quarters of a mile long, but none of the others will exceed a quarter of a mile in length.

The principal obstacle to the adoption of tunnels on railways, worked by steam power, has been the want of sufficient ventilation. The furnace of the engine soon renders the air unfit for breathing, and the impurity produced by the passage of one engine might continue until the arrival of the next. It is proposed, in the longer tunnels, to overcome this difficulty by providing shafts or chimneys at short intervals, carried from the roof of the tunnel to the surface of the ground above. In the case of the long tunnel at Kilsby, some of these shafts will be one hundred feet high; in the other tunnels they will vary from thirty to seventy feet; all of them will be eight feet in diameter. We are not aware whether the sufficiency of such an expedient for the purposes of ventilation has yet been ascertained by experiment. It has been stated that the speed with which the engines will traverse the tunnels will be so great, that very little ventilation will suffice. But the ventilation necessary for the tunnel will be the same, at whatever speed the engine may proceed; for the air drawn through the fire during the passage of the engine will be the same whatever the speed may be. Each stroke of the piston will draw through the fire the same quantity of atmospheric air; and it is obvious that the same number of strokes of the piston will produce the same number of revolutions of the wheels, and therefore the same progressive advance of the engine at whatever rate the piston may move. If the engine moves rapidly through the tunnel, it will, therefore, still vitiate the same quantity of atmospheric air; but there will be this convenience, that the passengers will not be detained in the air so vitiated any considerable length of time. The longest tunnel upon the projected line will be traversed in less than five minutes, and the shafts will subsequently remove, though perhaps not very speedily, the impure air.

In cases where it is not found practicable to traverse the valleys by embankments, bridges to support the railroad, of great extent, have been projected, by which the valleys may be arched over. One of the most stupendous of these works is the viaduct intended to bestride the valley of the Ouse. This work, which will be situate between Newport Pagnel, and Stony Stratford,

will cross the valley of the Ouse about a mile and a half eastward of the latter town; its extreme length will be a mile and a quarter, and the height of the level of the rails at the centre arch above that of the water will be nearly fifty feet; the centre portion will be supported on seven magnificent arches, each of fifty feet water way; the key-stone of each arch not to be less than twenty-five feet above the surface of the ground. The extreme ends of the viaduct will be formed by embankments. By such gigantic efforts of labour and skill, the inequalities of the ground will be greatly diminished, though not absolutely overcome.

Between the extremities of the line at London and Birmingham, there will remain five ridges of different elevations, separating six valleys varying in depth; so that the line undulates throughout nearly its whole extent. The entire length will be 111¼ miles: of this there will only be nine and a quarter miles absolutely level. Proceeding from the Depôt near Primrose Hill there is a gentle descent of eight feet in two miles to the valley of the Brent; there is then a gradual ascent amounting to 128 feet in eleven miles, by which the line is conducted to the crest of the first ridge at Olney; the road then descends eleven perpendicular feet, and crosses the valley of the Colne; it next encounters the second ridge which it ascends for fifteen miles, at the average rate of about fourteen feet in a mile. From the summit of this ridge, situate at Tring, thirty miles from the Depôt, it will descend for twenty-three miles, falling 160 feet; here it will be conducted by the great viaduct over the valley of the Ouse, and again ascend a ridge at Blisworth, between Northampton and Towcester: from the viaduct to the summit of this ridge the road ascends 100 perpendicular feet in six miles, being at the rate of about sixteen feet in a mile; it then again falls forty feet in five miles, and crosses the valley of the Ahen near Weedon, sixty-four miles from the Depôt. It next crosses a ridge which intersects the line between Daventry and Northampton at Kilsby: this ridge is ascended by a slope twelve miles in length, and rising seventy-six feet. From Kilsby summit the road descends into the valley of the Avon by a slope of fourteen miles, descending 132 perpendicular feet; the line here, after crossing the Avon, passes through Coventry, and ascends the last ridge at Berkswell summit, by a slope of seven miles and a half, rising 115 perpendicular feet: from this summit it again descends into the valley of the Blyth, by a slope of three miles and a half, falling fifty-seven perpendicular feet; from which it ascends by another slope of ten miles, rising forty-eight feet to the station at Birmingham.

On the whole line there are twenty-five miles and a half, pro-

ceeding from London to Birmingham, in which there is an ascending slope at the average rate of fifteen feet in a mile; and there are eighteen miles and a half in which there is a descending slope of the same inclination. The extreme gentleness of these slopes is such, that in descending, the train may be safely permitted to move by gravity, so that during the descent the whole of the moving power may be saved. The power saved on the descending slopes may, therefore, be considered as nearly proportional to the additional power required in the ascending ones; and as no part of the road will require a greater addition to the power requisite on the level than two-thirds, the locomotive engines at present used, imperfect though they be, will be fully equal to the exigencies of the line. The expenditure of power from London to Birmingham will be greater than in returning; because the station at Birmingham is about 350 perpendicular feet above the station at London.

The width of this magnificent road on the embankments will be twenty-eight feet; the rails of each line will be five feet asunder, and the line will be separated by a space of six feet; an additional space of six feet will be left on each side between the outer rails and the edge of the embankment. Where the road is cut through, elevations an additional foot in width will be allowed to each side for drains: the deepest chasms by which the road penetrates the elevations will not exceed fifty-five feet,—the greater number, of course, being considerably less; and the highest embankments by which valleys are crossed will not exceed 45 perpendicular feet. The width of the road in the tunnels will be six feet less than on the embankments; there being only a space of three feet left between the outer rails on each side, and the walls of the tunnel. The sides of the embankment will slope downwards by a more gentle inclination than that used on the embankments of the Manchester railway; being at the rate of two horizontal feet to one foot perpendicular.

Supposing—what, consistently with the results of the whole history of human invention, is in the last degree improbable—that the locomotive engines, though now only in their infancy, shall not receive any farther improvements, the *time* of a first-class train from London to Birmingham would be only five hours and a half. The gentleness of the slopes will render their motion almost as uniform and punctual as that of the hands of a time-piece; so that the passage of the successive trains from hour to hour through the different parts of the country will almost serve the purposes of a clock.

It appears from documents obtained from the public offices, that the present number of passengers between Liverpool and

London annually amounts to about half a million. If we may apply to this railroad results proportionate to those with which we are furnished by that of Manchester, we should expect that the number of passengers between the two towns would be increased in a threefold proportion. But there are obvious reasons which lead us to expect a much larger increase of intercourse, in proportion to the population of the two towns, than in the case of Manchester and Liverpool. Between these two places, the railroad passes through not a single town or even village; the intercourse is, therefore, in a great degree confined to the population of Manchester and Liverpool themselves. Now, a large portion of the intercourse on the Birmingham and London railway will be supplied from the populous towns which skirt its course on either side. These tributary streams may be expected to swell the main current to at least double its magnitude. The distances of the principal places adjacent to the line, *in time*, from London, supposing branch railways to be formed, would be as follows:—

	Hours.	Minutes.
Aylesbury,	2	30
Bedford,	3	30
Birmingham,	5	30
Dudley,	6	—
Kettering,	4	15
Kidderminster,	6	30
Leamington,	5	—
Northampton,	3	—
Rugby,	4	—

The Grand Junction railroad, from Birmingham to Warrington, will be a work presenting less difficulties, and attended with a more limited investment of capital. The country through which it passes is less intersected by ridges and other inequalities; although here also a considerable extent of cuttings and embankments must necessarily be made. As a commercial speculation, it is needless to say that it presents the fairest prospects of a successful issue; indeed, the formation of the Birmingham and London line rendered the Grand Junction line inevitable. Thus, the whole kingdom from London, in a north-westerly direction to Liverpool, will be traversed by this great artery of communication; producing an interchange of benefits, physical, and moral, commercial, social, and political, the importance and amount of which it would be impossible to estimate or predict.

The formation of this great line of cheap and rapid communication has rendered the construction of similar means of intercourse in other directions inevitable; otherwise the benefits of the metropolitan market would be almost exclusively conferred

upon those agricultural and manufacturing producers whose good fortune might place them in its neighbourhood. In their own defence, therefore, landed proprietors and capitalists in every part of the country must exert themselves; for whatever doubts they may have formerly entertained as to the expediency of constructing such means of communication with the metropolis, they can hardly any longer hesitate as to what they should now do; unless they desire to see themselves cut off from the benefits arising from the production of articles which cannot be transported on turnpike roads or canals in competition with railroads. We find, accordingly, that various undertakings have already been set on foot for the construction of extensive lines of communication, in other directions from the metropolis. An act of Parliament was passed, during the last Session, for the construction of a line connecting London with Southampton and Portsmouth, passing through Esher, Basingstoke, and Winchester. As this project was countenanced by the principal landed proprietors through whose property it will pass, the act passed the legislature without difficulty or expense.

The projectors of another line were not, however, so fortunate. It was proposed to cross the kingdom by a railroad in a direction due west from the metropolis, extending to Bristol, and passing through Maidenhead, Reading, and Bath, and in the immediate vicinity of Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester, Cheltenham, and Devizes. The company who applied for this act experienced, during the last session, the most vexatious and determined opposition on the part of some of the landed proprietors; and, after having been driven to an expenditure of above L.30,000, in the production of evidence, and in other parliamentary charges, the bill, though it passed the Commons, was thrown out in the Committee in the Lords, through the influence, it has been said, of a single Peer! The Company will find means to remove the opposition, and the Bill will probably pass in the next session. This railway would facilitate the communication of the metropolis with Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, Wells, Bridgewater, Taunton, Exeter, Plymouth, Devonport, Falmouth, and many other places. It would also, in conjunction with steam navigation, connect the metropolis with the ports of the Bristol channel, with South Wales, and with the south-western coast of Ireland.

The Southampton line will open an easy communication with the coast of Hampshire, and, by the Southampton steam-packets, with the Isle of Wight, and the Channel Islands; also with the ports of St Malo, Havre, and Cherbourg. If the railway contemplated between Havre and Paris, should be constructed, a communication would be thus opened between London and Paris,

which would reduce the time of transit between those capitals to about twenty-four hours, allowing twelve hours for the voyage by steam from Southampton to Havre.

To form an estimate of the effects which these vast undertakings are likely to produce on the intercourse of the country, it will be necessary to consider the travelling which at present exists on these lines, and to compare it with the effects produced on the intercourse between Manchester and Liverpool. It appears from evidence given before parliamentary committees, that the annual number of passengers between London and Birmingham amounts to 488,342. By the stamp-office returns, it appears that the income produced from coaches passing along the proposed route of the Southampton railroad, at the present charge for travelling, amounts to four hundred and forty-six thousand one hundred and ninety-three pounds annually. Now, if we assume that the average cost of travelling the whole distance to Southampton is one pound, it will follow that the travelling along that line is equivalent to 446,193 travellers annually, the whole distance. It appears also from similar returns, that the number of travellers along the proposed line of the Great Western Railway at present may be estimated at 302,118. Thus, along these three lines, the present intercourse would stand as follows:—

Birmingham, ...	488,342
Bristol, ...	302,118
Southampton, ...	446,193
Total,	1,236,653

Now, we have already stated that the number of passengers between Manchester and Liverpool, before the establishment of the railroad, was at the rate of 450 daily; and that it was during the half year ending 31st December, 1833, at the rate of 1210 daily; being an increase in the ratio of eight to three, very nearly. Supposing, then, that the three railroads now contemplated produce a like increase of intercourse, we shall obtain the probable number of passengers upon them by increasing the above estimate in the ratio of eight to three: the results would be as follows:—

Birmingham, ...	1,302,244
Bristol, ...	805,642
Southampton, ...	1,189,848
Total,	3,297,734

Thus, the number of persons who would pass annually to and

from the metropolis along these three lines of road, would be nearly equal to a fourth of the whole population of Great Britain.

Our limits compel us to omit the notice of numerous important railways which are in contemplation, and some of which are in a state of very forward preparation: among these, there is one entitled to more especial notice, being not much less in extent than the Liverpool and Manchester railway, and passing through a district of great commercial importance. The line we allude to will be carried from the town of Preston in a southern direction through Wigan, to the Manchester railway: on which it will enter at a point equally distant between Manchester and Liverpool: thus connecting the whole district, for a distance of twenty-two miles from Preston to Newton, with Manchester and Liverpool. The act for this railway has passed the legislature. and it is now constructing under the direction of Mr Charles Vignoles, civil engineer.

A line of railroad is already in an advanced state, by which it is proposed to connect Leeds and Selby, and thus open a more easy and rapid communication between that important mart and the port of Hull. Another line is in preparation, by which to cross the neck of the island, and to connect the Irish Channel with the German Ocean, extending from Carlisle to Newcastle.

Of the shorter railroads in progress, may be mentioned that proposed to be carried from London Bridge to Greenwich. This work ought perhaps more properly to be called a *viaduct*, since it will be sustained by masonry, supported by a series of arches for nearly the whole distance: its length will be three miles and three quarters, and the *time* will be twelve minutes.

The only railroad yet undertaken in Ireland is that which connects Dublin with King's Town, a distance of about seven miles. This road, which is now completed, has been executed under the superintendence of Mr Vignoles. King's Town and its neighbourhood is the most populous district around Dublin; and besides being the most favourite watering-place, is at present the place of residence of the families of most of the wealthier mercantile and professional classes. By a recent arrangement, the post-office steam-packets from Liverpool and Holyhead land at King's Town harbour, instead of Howth. These circumstances, combined with other local advantages, present a fair probability of the success of this railway.

Notwithstanding the unquestionable commercial advantages which have resulted to the joint-stock company which established the Manchester railroad, it is certain that these advantages are considerably less than they would have been, had there been sufficient previous experience in the working of rail-

roads, under the circumstances of so vast an amount of rapid transport as the company have found it necessary to undertake. Much still remains to be learned, not only with respect to the construction of the locomotive power, but likewise respecting the construction of the railroad itself. The cost of the locomotive power has been so great, that the directors lately thought it advisable to appoint a sub-committee of their own body, assisted by Mr Booth their treasurer, to enquire and report respecting the causes of the amount of this item of their expenditure, and to ascertain whether any and what measures could be devised for the attainment of greater economy. A very able and satisfactory report was made by this committee, or, to speak more correctly, by Mr Booth, who was the only individual connected with it who really had a competent knowledge of the subject of enquiry.

It appears that previous to the establishment of the railway, Messrs Walker and Rastrick, engineers, were employed by the Company to visit various places where steam-power was applied on railways; for the purpose of forming an estimate of the probable expense of working the railway by locomotive and by fixed power. These engineers recommended the adoption of locomotive power, and their estimate was, that the transport might be effected at the rate of .278 of a penny, or very little more than a farthing per ton per mile. In the year 1833, five years after this investigation took place, it was found that the actual cost was .625 of a penny, or something more than a halfpenny per ton per mile; being considerably above double the estimated rate. Mr Booth very properly directed his enquiries to ascertain the cause of this discrepancy, by comparing the various circumstances assumed by Messrs Walker and Rastrick in making their estimate, with those under which the transport was actually effected. The first point of difference which he observed was the *speed* of transport: the estimate was founded on an assumed speed of ten miles an hour, and it was stated that a four-fold speed would require an addition of 50 per cent to the power, without taking into account wear and tear. Now the actual speed of transport being double the speed assumed in the statement, Mr Booth holds it to be necessary to add 25 per cent on that score.

The next point of difference is in the amount of the loads: the statement is founded upon the assumption, that every engine shall start with its full complement of load, and that with this it shall go the whole distance. The facts, however, are, says Mr Booth, that instead of a *full load* of profitable carriage *from* Manchester, about half the waggons *come back empty;* and instead of the tonnage being conveyed the whole way, many thousand tons are conveyed only half the way: also, instead of the daily work

being uniform, it is extremely fluctuating. It is further remarked, that in order to accomplish the transport of goods from the branches, and from intermediate places, engines are despatched several times a-day, from both ends of the line, to *clear the road*; the object of this arrangement being rather to lay the foundation of a beneficial intercourse in future, than with a view to any immediate profit. Mr Booth makes a rough estimate of the disadvantages arising from these circumstances, by stating them at 33 per cent in addition to the original estimate.

The next point of difference is the fuel. In the original estimate, *coal* is assumed as the fuel, and it is taken at the price of five shillings and tenpence per ton: now the Act of Parliament forbids the use of coal, which would produce smoke; the company have, therefore, been obliged to use *coke*, at seventeen shillings and sixpence a-ton. Taking coke, then, to be equivalent to coal, ton for ton, this would add .162 to the original estimate.

These several discrepancies being allowed for, and a proportional amount being added to the original estimate, the amount would be raised to .601 of a penny per ton per mile; which is within one-fortieth of a penny of the actual cost. This difference is considered to be sufficiently accounted for by the wear and tear produced by the very rapid motion; more especially when it is considered that many of the engines were constructed before the engineer was aware of the great speed that would be required.

When we formerly called the attention of our readers to this subject, we stated that the proceedings on this railway ought to be regarded as merely experimental; that the engines must be consequently varied in weight and proportion; that each quarter would produce new ones of increased power and efficiency; and that, consequently, the expenses thus incurred for a given amount of traffic ought not to be regarded as the permanent and regular expenses of the road, but rather as the price paid for that knowledge which could be obtained by no other means than by experiments on the same vast scale. We find that subsequent events have fully confirmed our opinions.

'What then,' says Mr Booth, in the Report already alluded to, 'is the result of these opposite and mutually counteracting circumstances? and what is the present position of the Company in respect of their moving power? Simply, that they are still in a course of experiment, to ascertain practically the best construction, and the most durable materials, for engines required to transport greater weights, and at greater velocities, than had till very recently been considered possible; and which, a few years ago, it had not entered into the imagination of the most daring and sanguine inventor to conceive; and farther, that these experiments

have necessarily been made, not with the calm deliberation and quiet pace which a salutary caution recommend, making good each step in the progress of discovery before advancing another stage, but amidst the bustle and responsibilities of, and large and increasing, traffic; the directors being altogether ignorant of the time each engine would last, before it would be laid up as inefficient, but compelled to have engines, whether good or bad; being aware of various defects and imperfections, which it was impossible at the time to remedy, yet obliged to keep the machines in motion, under all the disadvantages of heavy repairs, constantly going on during the night, in order that the requisite number of engines might be ready for the morning's work. Neither is this great experiment yet complete; it is still going forward. But the most prominent difficulties have been in a great measure surmounted, and your committee conceive, that they are warranted in expecting that the expenditure in this department will, erelong, be materially reduced, more especially when they consider the relative performances of the engines at the *present time,* compared with what it was two years ago.'

We must not conclude these observations on the Manchester railroad without noticing what appears to us of scarcely less importance than the subject to which the Committee have directed their enquiries,—we mean the state of the road itself. No one who has recently travelled on it can be ignorant to what a great extent the rocking and swinging of the carriages from side to side is increased. We are quite aware of the impossibility, under the circumstances, to obviate entirely an effect of this kind; but it now amounts to a degree which is not only inconvenient to travellers, but which cannot fail to be highly detrimental both to the carriages and to the road. This effect will doubtless be traced to the inequalities which have been produced in the joinings of the rails. On examining the rails in various parts of the road, we found a very small proportion of them in which the joinings had maintained that degree of exactness which is indispensable to safety and stability, when great speed is attempted. In most cases the surface of one rail at the joint is more or less depressed below the surface of the other, and in some cases this depression amounts to a serious fraction of an inch. The consequence is, that the passage of the wheels over the rails can be distinctly felt in the carriages, and wherever two inequalities do not occur together at corresponding joints, and in the same direction, the carriage receives a lurch more or less violent according to the amount of the inequality. The effect of the collision of the wheels on the rails at the joints is, in many cases, rendered quite perceptible. We have ourselves taken from the road pieces of iron of considerable magnitude, detached from the rails at those joints by the succession of blows which they receive as the wheels pass over them. The remedy for these defects must be sought

in giving greater stability to the sleepers and chairs which sustain the rails. It would be also extremely desirable to keep an exact register of the breakages of rails in different parts of the road,—specifying in every case the part of the rail where the fracture takes place. By this means we should be enabled to trace, with some degree of certainty, the causes of this source of wear. For example, it is at present doubtful on what part of the road fractures most frequently take place; it is said to be on the descending planes; but we apprehend that this statement depends more on conjecture than on ascertained facts. It would be also useful to ascertain whether the fractures take place more frequently *over* the chairs or *between* them; also, whether they happen oftener at the extremities of the rails, or in some intermediate part. The surface of the fractures should also, in every case, be carefully examined, to determine whether any accidental flaw has existed in the structure of the metal. Such a body of facts as it is in the power of the Directors to collect, at no cost to the Company, but by giving the necessary directions to their subordinate agents, would form an invaluable storehouse of knowledge for the guidance of their future operations, and those of other railroad companies.

We believe that one source of extraordinary expense, to which the Company have been subjected, may be traced to the adoption of *fish-bellied* instead of parallel rails, and to the insufficient weight of metal in them. The theory of the fish-bellied rail is doubtless seductive; and if the sleepers and blocks were absolutely immovable, they would, with a given weight of metal, have the advantage over the parallel rail; but in a rail of this form, on the slightest subsidence of the sleeper, or shifting of the chair, the rail being deserted by its support, its weakest point is immediately exposed to the incumbent weight of the waggons under the most disadvantageous mechanical conditions. In a word, the very circumstances which constitute the advantage of the fish-bellied rail are here reversed, and produce a proportionate liability to fracture. Independently of this, the weight of the rails (35 lbs. per yard) was quite insufficient; and we believe that where fractures take place, the Company have deemed it advisable to replace them by rails at 50lbs. to the yard.

The Leeds and Selby Railroad Company have profited by this experience, and have rejected the fish-bellied rail; laying down a durable road of parallel rails at 50 lbs. per yard.

The advantages of railroads have of late years become so apparent, that their construction has been undertaken to a certain extent on the Continent. In France, a double line of railroad

has been constructed, extending from St Etienne to Lyons, a distance of thirty-four miles. This road is not adapted for very heavy transport, the rails weighing only 26 lbs. per yard. To obtain a sufficient level, fourteen tunnels were constructed; one of these is a mile in length; another, more than half a mile, is carried under the river Gier. The road is carried by a viaduct over the Soane. In the cost of this road we have a notable example of the commercial wisdom of our neighbours, who paid for the iron used on it four times the price at which they could have obtained it from us! A part of this road is a self-acting plane, on which the loads are moved by their own weight; on the other parts of it locomotive engines have been used.

A continuation of this road has been constructed from St Etienne to Roanne, extending about fifty-five miles. It consists of a single track; the first thirteen miles being formed of cast-iron rails of 43 lbs. to the yard, and the last forty-two miles of rolled iron, 26 lbs. to the yard.

Among the enterprises of this kind undertaken in Germany, the railroad from Budweis to Lintz merits notice. The extent of this line is about eighty English miles; it was commenced under the direction of Gerstner in 1825, and is composed of wooden beams, bearing flat rails of iron, six yards in length, two inches in width, and one-third of an inch in thickness. It is intended for the purposes of general commerce, but more especially for the transport of salt.

But the country, which surpasses all others in the spirit and rapidity by which its means of inland transport have been improved, is the United States. The number and extent of railroads completed, in progress, or projected throughout the union, must surprise all who have not attended to the advances made by this country in the arts of life. We extract from a tabular view, published under the direction of Congress in 1833, the following list of railroads then executed and projected in different States:—

	Completed.	Projected.
Massachussets,	5	4
Rhode Island,	—	2
New York,	6	25
New Jersey,	5	1
Pennsylvania,	15	67
Delaware,	2	—
Maryland,	2	2
Virginia,	2	5
North Carolina,	3	3
South Carolina,	1	—
Carried forward,	41	109

Brought forward,	41	109
Georgia,	1	2
Alabama,	2	1
Mississippi,	—	2
Louisiana,	1	1
Kentucky,	1	—
Ohio,	0	12
Indiana,	—	8
Illinois,	—	1
D. of Columbia,	—	1
Total,	46	137*

From the above statement, it will be seen that the State of Pennsylvania takes the lead in the construction of inland communications. The earliest and most extensive railroad constructed in this State was undertaken by the Government, and forms a continuation of the Union Canal; stretching from the eastern to the western extremity of the State, and connecting the city of Philadelphia with the banks of the Alleghany and the Ohio. This great line of communication consists of three divisions: the first extending from Philadelphia to Columbia, which consists of a railroad constructed in a manner nearly similar to, and in some respects with a greater degree of stability than the Liverpool and Manchester road. Nearly the whole of it is formed of what is called the edge rail of rolled iron, similar to that used on the Wigan road; the weight of iron being 41¼ lbs. per yard, which is 6¼ lbs. more than the weight of the Manchester rails. The line is conducted very nearly level; the slopes being such that the effect of the power of traction upon the line is 71 per cent of what it would be on a dead level of equal length. The road is conducted over several rivers, which it intersects nearly at right angles: the valleys, where embankments could not conveniently be constructed, are crossed by thirty-one viaducts, the aggregate length of which is about a mile and a half. There are seventy-three stone culverts, from 3 to 25 feet span; five hundred stone drains, 2 feet wide, and 3 feet high; eighteen road and farm bridges, eight of which have stone arches of 25 feet span, and the remainder stone abutments, with wooden superstructures of 31 to 54 feet span. The excavations are frequently deep, and the embankments lofty: in one place the road is elevated 80 perpendicular feet above the bottom of the ravine, and, in other places, cuttings of 40 feet deep occur.

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* *Continuation of the Tabular and Statistical Views of the United States.* By G. Watterston and N. B. Van Lant, p. 206: Washington, 1833.

From the extremity of this road at Columbia to Hollidaysburg, on the Juniata, extends the Union Canal, by which the communication is continued. From Hollidaysburg to Johnstown, on the Conemaugh river, the railroad is resumed for a distance of thirty-six and a half miles. This line of road crosses the Alleghany mountains by a series of slopes, and by a tunnel 900 feet long, 19 feet high, and 22 feet wide. There are 400 askew viaducts, besides seventy-two culverts and other structures of masonry; the rails are similar to those on the Manchester railway, but are $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. heavier, weighing $39\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per yard: the rails are constructed upon stone sleepers in the same manner as on the Manchester line, except on embankments, where wooden string pieces are used.

One of the principal branches of this line of communication connects it with the town of West Chester, and is about nine miles in length.

Another railroad is in process of construction to connect Philadelphia with Germantown and Norristown, extending, first in a northern, and then in a north-western direction from that city. The length of this road will be about nineteen miles; the rails similar to those used on our best railways.

The little Schuylkill railroad extends from Port Clinton to the town of Tamaqua, a distance of about twenty-three miles. It is formed, like many other railroads in the States intended for light traffic, of wooden rails, shod with iron bars. Although the chief design was the transport of coals, it has been executed with a view to general trade, and stage-coaches worked by horses, already ply on it.

One of the most important of the Pennsylvania railroads is that which extends from Carbondale to Honesdale, connecting the whole country, watered by the great branch of the Susquehanna, with the Hudson, and by that river with the city of New York. A canal commences on the Roundont, near its junction with the Hudson, and terminates at Honesdale, 106 miles from the town of Eddyville, on the Roundont, and ninety miles from New York. The railroad continues the line from thence to the coal mines near Carbondale, on the Lackawanna. An act, authorizing a railroad from the Lackawanna to the Susquehanna, has passed the Legislature of Pennsylvania; and if that line be executed, an immense amount of merchandise will be conveyed along the Carbondale and Honesdale line.

The railroads of Pennsylvania are chiefly constructed in those districts which produce anthracite and bituminous coal. The greater number of these being adapted for low velocities, and light transport, are formed of wooden string pieces, which are some-

times shod with iron bars. In many cases the road follows the natural surface of the ground, and their construction is therefore attended with but small expense, especially in a country where the expense even of the best timber scarcely exceeds the labour of cutting it.

Another important railroad is that by which the cities of Philadelphia and New York are connected. This road commences at Camden, a town on the bank of the Delaware, opposite Philadelphia, and from thence it is carried nearly in a straight line to Amboy, at the mouth of the Hudson. The length of this road is about sixty miles; the rails are of rolled iron, similar to our best railroads, and 4½ lbs. heavier than the Manchester rails, being 39½ lbs. per yard: they are attached to stone sleepers, by pins at the sides, without chairs.

The Newcastle and Frenchtown railroad connects the Delaware with the Chesapeake, and forms the great line of communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore. This road is formed of wooden rails, shod with iron bars; the former are of Georgian pitch pine, 6 inches square in the section, and the latter 2 inches and a quarter wide, and five-eighths of an inch thick, attached to the timber by iron nails. The entire length of this line is sixteen miles.

A line of road, one part of which is called the Hudson and Mohawk, and the other the Schenectady and Saratoga railroad, continues the line of transport from New York by the Hudson, in a direction northward from Albany. A prodigious intercourse by steam-boats takes place between New York and Albany, on the Hudson. The line of railroad from Albany to Schenectady, a distance of sixteen miles, has been constructed to connect this line of communication with the grand canal at Shenectady, by which it is carried from thence in a westward direction, a distance of about 259 miles, to the town of Buffalo on Lake Erie. From Schenectady the second branch of the railroad continues the line of communication in a northern direction, a distance of about twenty miles, to the shores of Lake George; from which, by Lake Champlain, there is a continuous water communication with the river St Lawrence.

One of the most magnificent American railroad projects is that which has been entitled the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. This splendid line of communication will commence at the city of Baltimore and cross the state of Maryland in a westerly direction, passing south of Frederick Town and the city of Washington, to each of which, branches have been constructed. It will thence proceed to some point on the Ohio river, between Pittsburg and the mouth of the little Kennoway river.

The whole length of the road, from Baltimore to Pittsburg, will be about 330 miles. The most difficult and expensive portion of this railroad has, we believe, been already completed: it extends from Baltimore to a place on the Potomac river called the Point of Rocks, a distance of seventy miles. It consists of a double track; and it appears, by the reports quoted at the head of this article, that on the 1st December, 1831, the communication was opened between Baltimore and the city of Frederick, and has been continued without interruption since that time. The communication between the Point of Rocks and Baltimore commenced on the 1st April, 1832. The directors state, in their seventh report, dated in October 1833, that they are justified in assuring the stockholders of their entire confidence in the final success of the work; that the practicability of applying steam power upon it had been satisfactorily ascertained; and that new sources of revenue, not contemplated by the original projectors, had been developed, by the opening of adjacent quarries, and the felling of forests, the products of which have become objects of transport upon the railroad. They had entered into a compromise with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, to carry the railway along the bank of that canal, to a place called Harper's Ferry; which distance, it was calculated, would be completed by the 1st of January, 1835. This section of the road, communicating with the Winchester and Potomac railroad, which likewise terminates at Harper's Ferry, opens a continued railroad communication between Baltimore and the rich valley of Virginia. The thriving and enterprising town of Winchester would thus be likewise connected with Baltimore; nor would it be too much to anticipate that the line of communication would be continued by Stanton, in a south-westerly direction, to the cotton districts of Tennessee; finding its way to the tributaries of the Ohio, and connecting, by a grand line of communication, the waters of the Atlantic with those which empty themselves through the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico.

In the autumn of 1830 was commenced a line of railroad, extending from Baltimore to the town of York, in Pennsylvania, a distance of seventy miles. This road is formed of wooden string pieces, shod with iron rails, two inches broad, and half an inch thick.

In 1831 was commenced a line of railroad to connect the northern and southern states, commencing at Petersburg, in Virginia, and terminating at Wolden, on the Roanoke. The structure is similar to that of the last-mentioned line.

The South Carolina railroad was commenced in the autumn of 1830, and nearly 100 miles of the line were completed in 1833. The road extends from the city of Charleston to the town of

Hamburg, situate on the Savannah, opposite to Augusta. This is a single line of road 135¼ miles in length. The plan is nearly straight, and the undulations extremely gentle; no slope exceeding thirty feet in a mile, with the exception of one inclined plane, which is worked by a stationary engine. The rails are flat iron bars, attached to strong wooden beams. These beams are supported throughout almost the whole length of the road on piles driven into the ground, secured also by strong ties. In some of the marshes which are crossed by the road, these piles are driven to a great depth. On this road there are but few embankments; the valleys being almost invariably crossed by viaducts supported by piles and carpentry. In fact, the railway is described as resembling a continuous bridge. Locomotive engines have been for some time worked on this road. It is intended that this great line of communication shall be continued from Augusta to the Tennessee river, a distance of about 230 miles.

In our enquiries regarding the American Railroad Companies, we have been struck by the public spirit and candour which characterise the proceedings of our Transatlantic countrymen. This is especially conspicuous when we compare the meagre statements put forth by the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad Directors, with the copious and satisfactory reports published by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. The reports now before us, published between the years 1828 and 1833, occupy upwards of a thousand octavo pages, illustrated with numerous plans and tables. In these we find not merely the formal reports of the directors, but also the detailed reports of the engineers, and of the subordinate engineers to the engineers in chief. We find also the most minute details of the various contracts, with the names of the contractors. These details are not merely submitted to the stockholders themselves, but are laid before the public. The volumes in which they are recorded form a rich storehouse of knowledge for guidance in other similar enterprises; whilst the publicity thus given to every particular, operates as a check upon the spirit of jobbing. It is only by this carefully recorded experience, that we can hope to see this new and powerful means of transport brought to perfection. In the absence of such information, every new undertaking will have to work its way, in a great measure, in the dark, reproducing, at infinite labour and expense, the precious fruits of that experience which are withheld by those who have already obtained them.

ART. VII.—*Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine, Switzerland, and a Corner of Italy.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

IF Sterne had extended his amusing notice from travellers to books of travels, he would have found variety quite as great, and classification rather more difficult. There is in them as much diversity as in works of imagination; and we cannot take up a new poem or novel with more uncertainty as to the character of its contents, than the last new record of a foreign tour. Between the best and the worst in every class of literature there is of course a vast difference; but we are speaking of the varieties, not of excellence, but of style. Exclude the bad—take only the good, and what dissimilarity do we still find! The same compartment of a classified library comprises Humboldt's 'Personal Narrative,' and 'Matthew's Diary of an Invalid'—both good of their kind—yet how unlike! A person who professed a preference for Travels, and was equally pleased with these two excellent productions, could scarcely be accused of an exclusive taste. These works, it is true, do not belong to the same class—but, even in the same, what dissimilarity! Look at two journalizing tourists in the same country. How compare the light and easy fluency of Matthews, with the terse epigrammatic pedantry of Forsyth! and which again of these can we place in the same category with the diffuse and languid Eustace? As well could we match the attractive inaccuracies of the enthusiastic and eloquent Clarke with the dull fidelity of Coxe; or the sententious wisdom of Johnson's 'Tour to the Hebrides,' with the froth of Carr's 'Caledonian Sketches.' In attempting to classify books of travels, we shall find that in all of them one of two styles prevails—the historical, or the personal. They are either descriptions of the visited country, in which the author himself is little prominent; or they are records of his feelings and adventures. Of these two kinds the latter is generally to be preferred. It is to be preferred, not on account of its egotism—for nothing that deserves that obnoxious name is necessarily inherent in a personal narrative—but for the sake of the stricter fidelity and vividness of effect which such a narrative is likely to insure. A model among works of this kind was the Journal of the lamented Bishop Heber—a free current of unlaboured truth, flowing, sparklingly and unostentatiously,—adorned in its course by the candour, the benevolence, the acuteness, the sound judgment, and the poetical fancy of that distinguished writer. To

rival in every respect its unstudied merits would demand an equality of talent. To attain excellences similar in *degree* may not be possible: yet may it serve to show what they should be in *kind*. Works of this description do not always sufficiently possess the distinctive qualities of their class. When the Journal borrows from the commonplace-book, and is prodigal in quotations—when it evinces an ambition to display rather what the traveller has read than what he has observed—when instead of the brief and apposite reflection naturally suggested by the passing occurrence, it includes elaborate disquisitions—when the *lima labor* is apparent,—then has it deviated from its true province, and it is no longer good of its kind. A Journal should be, what that name implies—a record of daily impressions. It should convey to us the sight that was seen, the tale that was heard, the emotion that was felt, the reflection that was suggested—set down at once in all their freshness—and even, (if it so be,) in all their inaccuracy. The impression of the moment will have a bloom and vividness which tardy recollections hardly ever can bestow. As for their inaccuracy—even if they are hasty opinions, which the writer afterwards finds cause to change, yet will they still possess one species of accuracy. They will be genuine records of the actual effect produced at the time on the mind of the traveller. The impression may be erroneous; yet that it was produced is a positive fact, which, though less valuable than many others, is not unimportant, and far from being uninteresting.

If we could imagine ourselves sitting in judgment upon a foreign nation, or writing the history of a country or people, we ought to desire a careful and impartial deduction from the well-sifted evidence of numerous pens. We should want, rather the average truth than the best statement of a single case. But if we eschew the painful process of investigation and comparison, and desire only the immediate gratification derived from the reception of new ideas, give us the single narrative fresh from the pen of an intelligent witness, who possesses the art of communicating his impressions, of placing us in his position, and making us see, hear, and feel in fancy, what he saw, heard, and felt in reality. Such narratives, compared with general statements, are what pictures are to plans. In each instance what the former gains in individuality, it also gains in vividness and force. It conveys less knowledge of the whole, but a more lively comprehension of a particular part. It is interesting for instance, to examine a plan of Rome, or designs and measurements of its architectural remains. But for our pleasure, give us rather a single picture which should make us feel that we are

seeing all that was seen from that one spot by the artist who painted it—that even so looked that deep blue line of distant hills—that even so rose that stately ruin, distinct and clear against an azure sky—that even so emerged that identical fragment of a marble shaft from amidst that graceful cluster of acanthus.

The knowledge of all that may be learned through the generalities of comprehensive description, comes to us not with half the pleasure which we derive from being able to station ourselves in imagination by the side of the traveller, and witness the identical scene and circumstance which is called into being by his pen or pencil. The present year has been fertile in works which, in a greater or less degree, have afforded this gratification. Some are recommended principally by the information they convey; others less by what they tell than by the manner in which they tell it. Such is that agreeable volume, 'Bubbles from the 'Brunnens of Nassau,' by Sir Francis Head; such, too, is the very entertaining work before us, modestly entitled 'Slight Re-'miniscences.' We learn from the preface that an incorrect edition of all, except the supplementary chapters, was printed at Paris for private distribution in 1830. The authoress (for it is by a female hand) also thus apologizes for its supposed deficiencies.

'If it has any merit, it is that of truth; for I am not conscious of having noted down any thing which I have not looked at with my own eyes; though I may perhaps have seen sunbeams, where others saw shadows,—or the contrary.

'I have had no advantage of encouragement or advice, no literary friend or counsellor, none to interest themselves in my success, or to be mortified by my failure, beyond the precincts of my own fireside. My notes have never been submitted to any other eyes than those too partial to be critical; they are probably full of inaccuracies, and perhaps of repetitions. I have no skill in composition, nor opportunity of referring to any judgment but one which affection renders fallible; if I had, they might be better. As it is, I must trust to the gentle virtue of indulgence, without venturing to count upon the more encouraging sentiment of approbation.'

The humility of these apologies will be thought overweening; and the authoress is deprecating a severity of criticism which she is not likely to incur. Rarely have we seen a work, which, without either interesting the feelings, or augmenting our knowledge, renders itself so acceptable as a companion. It is not much easier to describe what constitutes an agreeable book—a book which we treat as *society*, and take up by way of relaxation to while away a vacant hour—than to define that felicitous combination of social qualities which constitute an agreeable companion. One may enumerate good-humour, tact, wit,

information, the alternating lights and shadows of the serious and the sportive vein—of trifles and learning—of imagination and reflection: but when one has summoned up all these elements, one finds that it is but a cold inexpressive catalogue, and that the subtle essence, the general effect of all combined, is that which, however felt, can scarcely be described. So is there in this work a charm, of which an enumeration of its component qualities will not afford an adequate idea. Yet the existence of this charm must not be taken upon trust, without some attempt being made to show in what it consists. Vivacity, variety, a felicitous command of descriptive language—a power of painting by a well-chosen epithet, and of vividly illustrating by a pointed allusion—an ever-lively interest in the passing scene—a graceful enthusiasm, not so intense and absorbing as to tax our sympathies too severely—a happy tact in never dwelling too long on any circumstance, though always seeming to describe it fully—much pleasantry introduced, not as if it was meant for wit, but naturally interwoven with the thread of the discourse—and, to shade and relieve these lighter qualities, a frequent vein of grave reflection—these are among the attractive qualities which give this work a high place among agreeable specimens of *light reading*. The style is negligent, and not always grammatical; but it is always sparkling and expressive. It has faults which care and experience could remove, and merits which mere care and experience could never give. One great source of our pleasure in reading it is, we believe, a sense of its sincerity. It seems to be the genuine expression of what the writer saw and thought, and written not under the influence of that chilling interval which the ill-chosen word 'reminiscences' implies, but as if at once committed to paper with all the glow of the immediate impression; ere the excited feeling had subsided, or the scene vanished from the mental eye. It has also, if it is not the result of recollection, the advantage of awakening recollections in others. It is, fortunately for its popularity in this locomotive age, addressed rather to the travelled many, than to the untravelled few; and gratifies, by laying before us, not scenes which the reader has never witnessed, but by reproducing, in all their freshness, those which lay dormant in the memory until awakened into life by a graphic description. Who that has ever been at Genoa will fail to recognise the following picture, and to feel assured that the eye of the writer has dwelt on all that she describes?

'A hum and bustle (indications of the vicinity of a great city rather unusual in this lovely country) tell us that we approach Genoa It is not indeed a bustle of equipages, nor even of stage coaches, but a

coming and going of carts laden with merchandise, of muleteers with loose jackets into which the arms seldom enter, and hats thrown on one side of the head over the gay coloured night-cap, trudging slowly after their fine animals, or riding sideways on the least heavily laden of the file; of peasant girls (very fine creatures sometimes), with natural flowers placed carelessly in the hair, and a dash of powder occasionally thrown in with them; and nearer to the town, plying carriages with three windows at each side, full of gay girls fanning themselves violently in their charming white veils, which make even the plain look pretty, and swarthy men less smartly dressed than their brisk companions; boys playing at mora, soldiers looking on, and sandalled friars with nothing symptomatic of contrition about them but the hempen girdle,—jolly full-blown souls, whose very looks carry absolution with them, and testify to the fidelity of some at least of Boccaccio's sketches. At last comes Genoa, bursting at once upon the sight, and most magnificently, —with a gay dazzle about its white palaces and glittering basin, original and splendid: I do not know why it should be compared to Naples; it appears to me to have quite another character; it has not Capri, nor Ischia, nor Procida,—the purple islands of that beautiful bay,—nor the great Vesuvius, nor the classical recollections that hang upon Baia and Puzzuoli, Missena, and Sorrentum, but it has a strong and striking character of its own. A noble amphitheatre proudly decorated, a sweeping bay full of movement, where ships from all parts of the Levant, from the Ionian isles, from the shores of Sicily and Greece, from countries whose very name has witchcraft in them, lie at anchor, sending their busy hum into the streets of the city; boats gliding between the larger vessels, villas rising upon terraces, fortresses upon the hills, and life every where.

'So far, so good; but when we desired to be driven to the Hôtel des Quatre Nations, we were told that we could not get up to it in a carriage. We unpacked ourselves grumblingly, in the middle of a lane, as full of mire and oranges as Lower Thames Street; and after dabbling through one or two passages of most forbidding aspect, reached the hotel. The first peep was highly characteristic. A saloon of handsome dimensions, with gilding and mirrors, hangings of light-blue satin damask, and a brick floor encrusted with dirt, looking down upon a sort of terrace projecting sufficiently to shut out the street, and furnished with mutilated statues, and boxes filled with scrubby orange-trees. Beyond this terrace a narrow rampart, with idle sailors in the red cap of the Levant and jackets of all shades, from chocolate to saffron, lounging as sailors always lounge, from Blackwall to the Mola at Naples, with their hands stuck in their sides and their backs against the parapet, looking out for spots in the horizon.'

A sketch of the town of Novi is also a good specimen of that union of fidelity and spirit which gives such value to the descriptive portions.

'Novi itself is like every town of the same modest calibre in this part of Italy. Thin long streets, slanting roofs, coffee-houses

with wide curtains drawn before the sashless windows (a fashion shared with the barber and some other small crafts), poor shops, meagrely furnished with the minor articles of fashionable life, and profusely with fruit, macaroni, flax. Parmasan cheese, aquavitæ, rosolio, and vino d'ogni qualità; and, jammed in between every five or six of high pretensions, the little indispensable one, where pease, flour, and grain of various kinds, heaped on plates, or piled up in wooden bowls, are retailed to the humble purchaser. But here too is a piazza painted all over, houses covered with angels and cherubs, fruit and flowers, pilasters and balconies, mixed up with allegorical subjects rather laboriously executed, and headed by a church splashed and doted with yellow and green paint, in coarse imitation of the green and yellow *anticos*. Every roof is clustered with chimneys of various and graceful forms (chimneys in Italy are a picturesque feature), and in the centre of the place is a marble fountain, round which are gathered women in white veils, cheapening melons, nuts, tomatos, figs, and the red unnatural looking mushroom, which the people here have the courage to eat, though it smells like soap and looks like a mouldy toad. In one corner is a peasant with naked legs, stained deeply with the red juice of the vintage grape, buying long stripes of something looking like an omelet, fried on a tin plate as large as a millstone. In another, an old woman with saucer eyes and a witch's headgear, cowers over a pan of smoking chestnuts, while three or four of his Sardinian majesty's liveried loungers keep an eye on the noisy squabblers who are unloading their donkeys on the pavement, and battling for precedence for their capsicum pods and cabbages.'

The following is similar in character; but the scene is in another region: and the concluding passage affords an instance of agreeable transition from description to reflection, and the apt introduction of appropriate thoughts:—

'Passed through Offenburg triumphantly, steeds flying, whips cracking, post-boys with large bunches of artificial roses spread out in their hats. But alas! for the evanescence of human glory;—snap went a spring when we were a mile from the town, and here we are back again for the day, and the night too, getting all that we can in the way of entertainment out of a market (the markets are a benediction to us today), rich in costumes, grotesque and gorgeous as eye can desire—the women ugly, in velvet caps, so arranged as to produce the same effect as the nets worn by the *Trasteverine* at Rome, but the men incomparable. Wide skirted coats of some dark colour (occasionally black velvet), lined with white or scarlet, thrown open so as to display a red, or very bright green waistcoat, with embroidered braces (white or black) worn outside the splendid vest; a large cocked hat, gallantly thrown off from the front of the head, or soberly flapped before, and the toilet finished by a spruce nosegay in the button-hole. The younger beaus sometimes adopt the flat, low-crowned beaver, with a few flowers, or a peacock's feather, or a velvet band and silver buckle. We were amused at seeing

the carters driving from the saddle,—three-cornered hats, flowing skirts and all, looking like the worthy burghers of Quidlenburg, or Sir Walter Raleigh in the Critic, degraded to the management of a dray-horse.

'The road as we left Offenberg was brimful of life, and sabbath finery. Every hive pouring out its swarm, all with prayer-books in their hands, and nosegays in their bosoms. Many of the young men were very handsome; bold, but not vulgar; but the females have no longer the finely developed shapes of the Rhenish nymphs. The narrow shoulders, thick waist, and squat proportions of Switzerland already proclaim its vicinity. However, they looked clear and shining; no economy of soap either on linen or faces, and much sobriety of deportment. No straggling curl,—every hair alive with the spirit of premeditated mischief, or glance shot slyly in the incarnate thirst of conquest; but all trim and straight-forward, with that kind of coarse pre-concerted primness easily (time and season permitting) converted into heavy mirth. Much of Teniers, but nothing of Albano.

'But even without the colouring of poetry, there is something delightful in the repose of a village sabbath. Its chastened gaiety affects and soothes the heart; duties performed and comfort received, prepare the mind for gladness; and the very feeling of liberty and quiet after six days' labour, is in itself positive enjoyment. The stated occurrence too of duly anticipated recreation, counted upon with certainty and enjoyed with confidence in its assured return, has a charm that monotony cannot destroy, and which to a mind unaccustomed to strong excitement, is, perhaps, as powerful as that of novelty itself.'

The wild and wonderful scenery of the Handeck is thus treated:—

'At every step as we advanced towards the Handeck the scene blackened, and the road, or rather track, always alarmingly bad, became almost awfully so. At length the roaring of the cataract made itself heard above the surrounding torrents; we alighted from our horses, and a few minutes' walk brought us within view of this sublime exuberance of nature. But the front view is not the finest; it is from the upper lodge, where the eye takes in at once both the headlong Aar, leaping exultingly from its rocky bondage, and burying itself in the vanishing depths below, and the mountain torrent that comes down laughing and sparkling, and throwing about its shower of pulverized diamonds, mixing and contrasting their whiteness with the troubled foam of the great waters, that the scene is developed in all its lonely glory. I have heard it said that the accompaniments are defective, but I cannot think so; surely the stern defile, the awful depth of perpendicular rock, the scathed pine, and the eternal glacier, become it well; like the desolation that frames in Rome, and accords so finely with its ruins and its recollections. No pastoral valley, no peopled glen, or sunny upland, however lovely in its brightness, could combine so *feelingly* with the lonely Handeck, as the stony desert in which nothing but itself has life, or the stern chaos

of rocks that crowd about it, like the unshapen elements of a just-awakened world.'

The descriptions are sometimes rendered at once more vivid and more amusing, by the playfulness with which they are touched; as in this moonlight scene on the Simplon:—

'We did not reach the village of Simplon till two hours after nightfall. Fortunately we were guided by a bright moon—harvest or hunter's, I know not which;—but its melancholy, beautiful light lay upon the cold snow mountains, and transformed all the uprooted trunks and half prostrate trees into forms which St Anthony would have called temptations, (we have other notions on that subject now,) horns, hoofs and all, famously got up. I think I recognised Mephistopheles, and saw a score or two of saucer eyes glaring through the branches; but I am sure of a griffin, and an army of long-horned chimeras, with a white woman standing by the side of a torrent, and pointing upwards.'

In the following passages the authoress displays, both her command of descriptive language, and her correct sense of the insufficiency of words, to do full justice to the magnificence of nature:—

'It were endless to dwell on the scenery of the Lucerne lake. Its superb gulfs, its bays of gentler beauty, magnificent outlines, and soft details, cannot be brought by words to the mind's eye. The best descriptive painter raises but a vague and unidentified idea, even when he delineates objects similar in their general character to those with which we are habitually familiar. What then can words do for a scene that looks like a fragment of a world, made for something more exalted than man? For notwithstanding all which the most philosophic of princes has said, touching the "paragon of animals," he looks but puny here, contrasted with the colossal bearing of inanimate nature.

'Poor little Gersau! it can no longer boast its unsapped republic; but it has woods and mountains which the higher powers of the canton of Schwytz cannot take from it,—and quiet homes (the word *home* ought to be Swiss, as well as English), and sunny creeks, with boats drawn up into them, and trees, and chalets, falling just in the right places, and making sweet miniatures, each in its own appropriate setting.

'But above all, the sunset!—our young party will, I think, never forget it. The gloom of the mountain background, on which the purple twilight was already gathering,—the radiance of the nearer scene,—rocks catching the red light, which, as it fell upon their kindling masses, seemed to force them out from their clinging drapery of pines,—the lake glittering like liquid fire, and the sky like a temple in which angels might hold their jubilees. As darkness came on, the promontories seemed to detach themselves from the main land, and to advance into the lake, where they stood darkly and firmly, taking the form of islands as the back screen gradually receded from them, and was lost in the shroud of night.

'But again I feel how meagre is the gorgeousness of words, when we

would embody the bright casualties of nature in her moments of glory! Poor cobweb,—at least in common hands,—yet I have it in my heart, and in my fancy; but when I try to fix it, it flies off, and will not be whistled back again.'

'No words can arrest the shifting aspects, or present a living likeness of the exquisite combinations of nature. We say "this is beautiful, that is superb," we exhaust the vocabulary of superlatives, without conveying to others the image with which we are ourselves impressed, even in its faintest tracings. The pencil is more effective than the pen. While the most laborious details and the truest local colouring fail in giving individuality to a description, the scenery of the Mediterranean ports, and the ineffable colouring of Italian skies have been thrown with such bright fidelity upon canvass, that the eye at once acknowledges the living originals of all which the pencil of Claude has imbedded in the memory. The same light dances on the waters, the same delicious coast brightens in the same golden sunbeams. It is not that objects are recalled, they are recognised, just as at Venice, where one finds that to be familiar with Canaletti's views, is almost to have seen the thing itself. In short, painted scenery, if faithful, is like a well-executed portrait, and description like a black profile; it may serve to recall a well-known face, but can convey no idea of one to which we are strangers.'

One of the captivating qualities of this work, is the hearty spirit of enjoyment with which the writer enters into the pleasures of travelling; and especially of that elevated species of pleasure which springs from the contemplation of natural scenery. There is an acute sense of the ridiculous and the disagreeable, but there is also an intense appreciation of the grand and beautiful. If we do not always agree with the authoress on points of taste, we can never accuse her of morbid fastidiousness; nor do we find that she ever seems ashamed of admitting how thoroughly she has been pleased. See, for example, this glowing narrative of a day passed in one of the most enchanting spots that even Italy can produce :—

'Passed the whole day—and such a day!—in the Serbelloni gardens. My brother brought up his sunny mind and charming susceptibility of enjoyment, Mr M—— his store of thought and knowledge, and we our happy hearts and joyous feelings. Our host of Belaggio, too, brought up something rarely overlooked, even in the most sentimental moments; an excellent dinner, which we were kindly allowed to place in a saloon looking on both branches of the lake, and all the necromancy of its shores. Three large windows open upon beds of flowers, and arcades covered with the foliage of plants that are exotics with us; beyond these gay parterres a bank swells upward, hung with the contrasting verdure of the oak, the olive, the tall spare cypress, and the softer green of many summer trees; and higher than all, the feathery outline of the Scotch fir, appears firmly traced on a clear blue sky, while its bark glows and reddens in the evening sun.

'A door opens from this charming saloon on a truly Italian vista. Stone steps rising in perspective, and shaded by broad laurels, through which the sunbeams dart slantingly, chequering at intervals the grassy openings. Large vases, from which cape jessamine and heliotrope diffuse their foreign odours, are placed at regular distances. Aloes grow as weeds do with us, and many of the sharp and broad-leaved things, which we cherish in our hot-houses, shoot out or trail along here with an untutored luxuriance that shows them indigenous. Indeed all rare and beautiful things seem to be so in this soft Arcadia.

'What a spot to sit in, and talk over happy subjects, as we did. Mr M—— dwelt on our village ramble with delight; it had interested him, as simple scenes of strong character always interest highly intellectual minds. All the fine things about us had sharpened our appetites; we found our carp and beccaficos, our grapes and truffles, figs and coffee, the most delicious that we had ever tasted, and sat talking down the sun until the sweet evening air tempted us out again,—and then we lingered amongst the vineyards, and on the platform before the old castle, till the bats came wheeling round us, and the red lights had faded entirely from the tops of the mountains;—when we descended to our sleeping quarters, some running, others lagging, but all agreeing that we had passed a day not soon to be forgotten.

'While the scenes of this morning are yet impressed in all their living sweetness on my memory, I sit at my window and think what a summer paradise this would be to live in. Better even than Interlacken,—more uninterrupted quiet, and a softer colouring. Nothing ever approached the colouring of the hill countries in Italy. In Switzerland, nature cuts with a harder chisel,—grandly,—magnificently,—but perhaps too distinctly. Here the undefined outline melting into the sky and mingling with it, takes the vague shading which may be called the sentiment of landscape,—the poetic distance, that gives an impulse to the mind, and sends it bounding forward far beyond the narrow sphere of actual vision. How delightful it would be to live like sea gipsies, floating all day long upon the lake,—steering up to Gravedona, and growing poetical amongst the mountains,—cheating the hot hours in the shades of Luchino, where the sun never shines, or under the fig-trees of Cavagnola, or loitering out the cooler ones on some of those balmy terraces "où les citronniers fleurissent." Then, if the gay fit prompt, or the musical one, dropping down to Como, and passing the evening with Tancredi, or the gentle Desdemona; and should this whet the appetite for finer things, driving on to Milan, to meet them again on higher ground, or to shudder with La Pallarina, or sit down before the Hagar of the Brera, and think what hard hearts they had in Canaan. Delightful it would be, with health to enjoy and friends to share it;—with such blessings, O, what a gift is life! when we are wise and grateful enough not to abuse it.'

We have mentioned with commendation the occurrence of passages interspersed with reflections arising naturally from the circumstances narrated, and giving at once elevation and variety to

the general character of the narrative. Take, for example, the following on the love of nature:—

'I always find the rhetoric of nature more heart-stirring than that of the schools, and I believe the love of nature is one of the affections which lingers longest in the heart. How strongly, as we advance in life, is the vanity of those things which we most prized in youth made manifest; what importance have we given to untried joys and distinctions, and even to the lightest trifles,—a little while, and the most solid amongst them seem like old toys not worth playing with. We find that feelings, opinions, modes, and even hearts change,—every thing but nature; she alone is immutable, and for that reason her spells are often the last broken. We confide in her promises, and know that she will never deceive us; every thing may be false—hope, love, beauty, friendship, fame,—but nature never. If we sow an acorn by the side of a grave, we are sure that an oak will overshadow it; if we return to the country of our birth, changed and forgotten, we find the same hills and streams, and even the same flowers—if man has not disturbed them—which we loved in childhood. Pæstum has still its roses, though its tombs have long been swallowed up in the general oblivion. These are the reasons why the love of nature has been known to ripen in the heart amidst the ashes of other, and once warmer, feelings. We love, and lean on things that we know will not break down, or forsake us. Of others—even those which flatter us most—we can too often spell the duration; but we are sure of nature, for she must outlive ourselves.'

Such, too, are these brief comments upon natural scenery:—

'Light is the physiognomy of scenery; a landscape is like a regular set of features, both may be good, but neither speak, unless the light of nature or of the mind brighten on them.'

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'Montesquieu was right: the monotony of contrasts becomes at the long run as fatiguing as that of symmetry. The power of contrast consists in the shock, or charm, of opposition, and the excitement of surprise; but when its effects are too regularly repeated, they weary like the voice of an echo, which at first astonishes and delights, but soon loses its charm when we become aware of its unfailing return. It seems ungrateful to find fault with nature in this divine country, but the oppositions of colouring (for instance) fatigue like sameness, and in the end become so.'

An incident witnessed in an Italian church, introduces remarks which, if not original, are at least just and well expressed:—

'I love the Italian churches, with their broad aisles, vast and unfrittered,—no pews, no divisions, no aristocratical screenings; all kneeling together, the high and mighty and the lowly, on the same pavement; all sending up their thanksgiving, or their prayer, to the same great being in whose eyes all are equal. No dread of vulgar contact, no elbowing of the tattered penitent. I shall never forget the impression made upon

me, on my first visit to St Peter's at Rome, by a young lady who came into the church, folded up in a cachemere, and followed by a servant in gorgeous livery: her appearance was that of a *petite maitresse*, as far as dress was concerned, but her air was devout and collected; she passed on slowly to the illuminated shrine of the saint, and inserted herself amidst a group of masons in their working dresses, kneeling with them on the pavement, and praying earnestly. This was beautiful, and similar acts of humility are performed every hour in the day in every church in Italy.

'Principles are better things than impulses, even when both are good. Religion in this country seems less a principle than a feeling; it does not appear to influence the moral conduct,—but for the period during which its forms are exercised, the abstraction seems deep and real. Whether the visible image of the Saint or Virgin then implored be not the paramount object of adoration, may be questioned, and probably the zeal awakened through the medium of the imagination can only be sustained by the same means. The interceding Saint, protecting Madonna, or familiar image, long known, and long revered,—implored in sorrow, and relied upon in repentance, receives the fervent homage of the tender and devout. The enlightened may see in these palpable forms only a memorial, and while kneeling before a terrible crucifix, may lift up their souls to the Divine Nature, triumphing over sin and death, or send out their thoughts from the foot of the decorated altar to him whose "way "is on the sea, and his path on the great waters." But the vulgar,— "the great vulgar and the small,"—do they look beyond the identical picture or statue (always invested with miraculous powers)?—I should doubt it.'

She has been alarmed by a false report, and says,—

'All well to-day, "pas un mot de Caron," the canon died of an old invincible phthisic, and the raging fever was the invention of our showman. The vulgar in all countries love to frighten the credulous. It is an exercise of power,—an indulgence prohibited in general by their position in society,—and they particularly love to exert it over minds, to whose will they are by their condition subservient.'

The three principal personages in the *Nouvelle Heloise*, are well characterised as 'that philosophical, rhapsodical, unnatural, and 'most eloquent trio, who discussed virtue as a problem, and 'found that its solution was a vice;' and Rousseau's eloquent exaggerations are thus amusingly noticed:—

'When that illustrious visionary, Jean Jacques, got hold of an idea, how he hugged and fondled it, and dressed it up in colours snatched from that palette which now lies buried, with all its dewy freshness, in his tomb. No one since has found it; other writers use live tints, and bright ones too,—but his touch was magical. The poor Valaisannes on whom he lavished his delicious colouring, are wretched realities, and may take rank amongst the least dangerous of the fair sex. One comes amongst them, seeking under every little hat for the charming

face; and peering at every tinselled jacket for the light shape, which St Preux, even while the fair form of the impassioned Julia floated before his mind's eye, found so perplexingly lovely, and a squalid half-awake race, disfigured by goitres which they show off as our women do white teeth or ivory fingers, presents itself. I should think the most fire-and-tow *garde-du-corps* in the service of his majesty Charles Dix, might dine in perfect tranquillity of heart, though waited upon by a legion of such damsels as the leaden-eyed she, who is at this moment laying a log of wood upon the fire.'

National characteristics appear to have been acutely observed; and we find the following lively and sensible remarks upon the difficulty of estimating them correctly:—

'Joined the table d'hôte party to-day upon principle, wishing to see a little of the manners of Heidelberg, though it must be confessed that its usually mixed society can afford but an imperfect criterion. However, if it does not give us the Corinthian capitals, it at least offers flying sketches of men and manners, and those are all that a stranger can ever hope to seize. In fact, we birds of passage can form no positive judgment on any point susceptible of fluctuation. We look at society through a kaleidoscope; a jog to the right or to the left scatters our materials just as we are preparing to sketch from them, and no twisting or turning can bring back the same pattern again; while stationary people fix their microscopes firmly, fasten their subject before them, and dissect it at their leisure. After all, our grand error is, that, instead of looking through our own eyes and judging by our own impressions, we run to our books of reference, pinning our faith on other men's sleeves, without considering how time and season, sunshine and rain, bile and blue devils, alter matters. It is like judging of a nation by an individual, a thing so often done dictatorially and senselessly too. "He's knight o' the shire, and represents them all," is a common presumption, and always goes down.'

Here follows a sketch of German students, and a comparison of them with the same class in France,—

'An eye of defiance, an exulting step, an intrepid carriage, are the marks and tokens of a German student. This audacious bearing is strengthened and set off by the open collar, short frock (generally of Lincoln green, and of Robin Hood's own cut), small casquette, the point pressing flatly on the forehead, and hair cropped like Giotto's or Cimabue's apostles, floating or bristling at each side of the face. These "chartered libertines," for such they are during their collegiate life, run a course of unbridled riot, mastering the quieter classes of society by their force and number: to be formidable seems their point of honour, and they sustain it fiercely. Many of these swaggerers are certainly of an age to have long since finished their studies, and others curl their angry mustaches as if they had already smelt powder, and were "fit for treason, stratagem, or strife." Indeed, their general appearance is more that of lawless desperadoes, robbers of the cave and forest, than of

dwellers in the quiet groves of Academus; and yet these same students, when absent from their universities, appear to be persons of peaceful and respectable habits, earnest in the pursuit of knowledge, and often battling courageously for its attainment in the very teeth of poverty and its concomitant disadvantages.'

* * * * *

'The fearless, lawless air of a German student bespeaks a man who dreams of equality of station and unlimited license, and who will bluster about his rights and expectancies boldly and fiercely, at least while the hey-day of youth lasts. His mind is like his dress, manly and fanciful, but the black cravated student of the *pays latin* shows in his thoughtful eye, and abstracted yet ardent look, the spirit that never dies, the absorbing hope which clings to the heart through life, and never loses sight of the indemnifying moment. Perhaps the cause of an observation frequently made, that a German youth, on quitting college, soon forgets the day-dream of liberty, the projected efforts of patriotism which have amused his boyhood, and quietly settles into the peaceful subject of some petty prince, while a Frenchman who has once taken a political bias, rarely sobers down into the pliant and contented citizen of a government inimical to his early opinions and feelings, may be traced to the different positions of their respective countries. The one, a member of a vast empire divided into many states, more or less powerful, can never hope to see the different portions of his variously ruled country united under one enlightened and paternal system of government, while from the still and unpartitioned state of France, every Frenchman looks to one central point, from which a constitution, inspired by the love of liberty, and matured by wisdom,—a constitution, affording equal protection and equal advantages to all, may emanate.'

Of the Italians, she says,—

'The Italian character has great breadth and raciness, and a fine natural colouring, never sullied by affectation; not but they are tricking too in their way, but their cunning goes straight forward to its aim, and is never wasted on points of display or vanity,—things which rarely enter into an Italian head. Fashion, whose laws are in England a kind of interior police, by which our most domestic concerns are regulated, has little influence here; the Italians, as Madame de Staël has observed with her usual skill in character, "ne font rien, parce qu'on les "regarde, et ne s'abstiennent de rien, parce qu'on les regarde."'

* * * * *

'Unquestionably the Italians are the noisiest people in Europe,—singing like angels, and talking (as far as voice is concerned) like traffickers in fish or charcoal, the ear knows not whether it seizes the notes of a prima donna, or of a macaroni vender. Last night, a party from Milan, (capital gentry, our hostess said,) who were either convivial or quarrelsome till an unreasonably late hour, put sleep quite out of the question,—such shouting,—such screaming,—a dozen voices raised together, and sustained with incredible power of lungs,—each striving to maintain the upper key, but a sharp female treble always *lady* of the ascendant. And then the hostess, with soft, sweet eyes, and a delicate

outline, raving like an infuriated bacchante, and even the little girl of the bodkins throwing in a note. It is extraordinary that a people whose song is all passionate tenderness,—all soul,—all sweetness,—should have frequently the speaking voices of porters and oyster women. Yet they are a kind, good tempered people,—not rough, I think, in any thing but their voices. I have seen instances of flexible mildness in Italy, that were really edifying.'

What is said on the unpoetical temperament of the Swiss, is not new; but it is well expressed:—

'The Swiss are an excellent people,—calm, religious, lovers of order, good citizens, worthy of liberty, and strong to maintain it. But they are neither poets nor painters. A country that might

"Create a soul,
Under the ribs of death,"

seems to act like a wet blanket on the fancy. A man naturally imaginative, but who has always lived in the world, may perhaps be more sensible of the soul-stirring marvels of nature when they suddenly open on him, than one who has grown up in the midst of her familiar and unheeded riches, though he may not prize or love them with such home feelings. But I am surprised that the constant intimacy with scenes and objects of infinite beauty and splendour, does not give an habitual colouring of poetry to the mind. I can comprehend why a man of acute understanding, liberal education, and studious habits, but unaccustomed to society or the intercourse of the world, may fail in the developement of the passions. Man's nature is intricate, and must be studied intensely. He who would lay open the magnificent structure of the human mind, must watch it through the changeful phases of active life, and meditate what he has there marked, in the stillness of solitude, with the door barred upon the world and its distractions. But nature is more communicative than man; she spreads open her page, and he who will may read its ample characters, and catch light and inspiration from them. But light comes not here, nor inspiration either. Why it does not is a problem, the solution of which I leave to others.'

There is not much allusion to works of art; but there is enough to show an appreciation of their merits, unmixed with the cant of connoisseurship. Michael Angelo and Caravaggio are well distinguished:—

'In the chapel is a Pieta (basso relievo) by Michael Angelo, full of beauty and expression. This powerful master was not often tender, but he could be so; the proof is here. I once knew a clever man who greatly admired Caravaggio, and used to place him on a line with Michael Angelo. Caravaggio, too, was a genius, one full of strong, broad-shouldered ideas; a perturbed and gloomy spirit, throwing his dark soul out upon his canvass with startling effect; but he did not think or feel like Michael Angelo, his genius was not sublime; he painted

like a coarse bad man, of monstrous capacity, but not like one who had unsealed the book of judgment, or lifted up the Pantheon and hung it in the air.'

The following remarks on the works of two celebrated portrait-painters are equally just :—

'Genoa is rich in living portraits,—portraits that one dares not trust with a secret. I should as soon think of conspiring against the state, before the "reverend signiors" of the assembled senate, as in the presence of those lofty Dorias or Durazzi, or even of their gentle wives, who look and listen till you feel almost confused at having discussed their charms as it were in their hearing. Vandyke was a powerful master; few have possessed in a higher degree the art of giving vitality to their portraits. Unlike the glossy monotony of Sir Peter Lely, (whose courtly shepherdesses are all as like each other as the fifty daughters of Danaus, in the melodrame,) his personages have the air of life so freshly on them, that when we see the same portraits a second time, it is like meeting old acquaintances, family people with whom one has lived in friendly intercourse. We contract an intimacy with them, as we do with the dramatis personæ of Sir Walter Scott's novels. Who that has ever contemplated Vandyke's portrait of Charles I., but fancies he has seen and known that melancholy visage? or read Rob Roy, without the conviction of having been personally acquainted with Bailie Jarvie?'

We are tempted to extend our quotations to some of the many short anecdotes and lively sketches which meet our eye at every turn; but we should mar their effect, if we were to take them out of their setting. We differ from the authoress on some subjects; but they are either not sufficiently important to demand discussion, or too extensive for the slight notice which our limits will afford. As an instance of the former, we would say that she has not done justice to the beauties of Heidelberg; of the latter, that she over-rates the beneficence of Napoleon's sway in Italy. We complain, too, of occasional sentimental deviations from that good sense which characterises the greater part of the work. To be shocked at finding a spacious comfortable boarding-house at Nonnenwerth, and a steam-boat on the Lake of Como, is neither sensible nor original. Any mawkish twaddler, can put in a claim to fine feeling by such fastidious agonies as these. Nor is there much of either wisdom or taste in the following passage :—

'What a country for the geologist!—but to me who know nothing of the *ologies;* who am altogether ignorant of the sweet science and mystery of lichens; to whom gypsum is Hebrew, and who can hardly tell limestone from sandstone; to me, in short, who dare not mention the word strata, and have no other name for the starved yellow flower that represents Flora in this bleak region, than mere marigold; it is only

a grey desert, long, and drear, and uniform, but solemn and original,—a chaotic and forgotten nature, made and left in anger.'

This is too much like that tone of mock humility, in which persons immeasurably inferior to this writer, try to avert the imputation of some species of knowledge of which they have no chance of being accused, and of which, could the charge be proved, they would have reason to be proud. Neither geology nor botany are such despicable sciences, that, to possess a knowledge of the one or the other, need lower the authoress in her own estimation, or in that of any rational person. We must also observe that the fertility of her fancy, while indulging in simile and illustration, sometimes leads her into those prettinesses which are best expressed by the Italian word 'concetti;' and sometimes, to use the words of Sheridan, we have tropes and metaphors almost as plentiful as nouns-substantive. We may farther notice, among minor errors, the unusual employment of certain words—such as 'ori-'ginal,' and 'benediction.' The former is more than once oddly applied to natural scenery; and the latter still more strangely. 'A little gunpowder,' she says, 'judiciously applied to a few of 'the flamingr ed, red houses, that stare at one everywhere, 'and put out the eyes with their effrontery of brick-dust, would 'be a benediction.' There are benedictions for the ears, too. At an opera at Lucerne, she says, 'never was noise as loud, 'yet so merciless;—a dozen kettle-drums would have been a 'benediction.' The same serviceable word may be found masquerading in other places, and with the same disregard of its everyday meaning. We notice this, because an inclination to disregard the usual import of words is too observable in other instances. Here end our censures—and we conclude with a cordial recommendation of this work as one that will animate the untravelled by its promises, and gratify the travelled by the recollections it awakens.

Art. VIII.—*Animal and Vegetable Physiology considered with reference to Natural Theology.* By Peter Mark Roget, M.D., Secretary to the Royal Society. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

The ideas which are excited in the mind by the contemplation of the planets of our system, and by the study of the siderial universe, are at once impressive and sublime. The most gigantic intellect stands awe-struck amid the miracles of revolving worlds: and it is only when the transports of veneration are subdued, and the reaction of self-abasement is past, that the mind recovers its wonted serenity. This tumult of mental excitation, however, is not calculated to produce permanent and useful impressions. A slight portion of unbelief, or, at least, of scepticism, mingles itself with the piety of our astronomical reasonings: and, however unwilling we may be to confess the venial heresy, yet its truth may be inferred from the existence of 'indevout astronomers,' and the transitory influence of all objects whose real phenomena are not visible to the eye, and whose attributes of magnitude and of distance are inferred, and not apprehended by the senses.

The evidence of Divine power and wisdom, as exhibited in the mechanism of the heavens, varies in its intensity with the knowledge of the individual, with his habits of thought, and with his mental docility, or disposition to rely on the testimony of others. It is impossible to apprehend the magnificence, and order, and beauty of the system of the universe, unless we know the facts, and understand the laws, from which the magnitude, and arrangement, and motions of its constituent parts have been determined; and unless we are thoroughly convinced that such a system is the legitimate consequence of the facts and laws upon which it is founded. Such profound and varied knowledge, however, is the portion of but a few gifted individuals; and hence the great body of educated men, and all those who have not received the advantage of a scientific education, must rest their conviction on the testimony of the chosen few who have been permitted to explore the mysteries of the inanimate universe. But this species of conviction is feeble in its intensity, and unsettled in its influence. We naturally rely on the testimony of good men in favour of facts which they have witnessed; but the reasonings and deductions of the same persons are received always with distrust, sometimes with unbelief, and never with absolute confidence. We place to the credit of our disbelief their mistakes and failures

in the ordinary concerns and calculations of life; and we increase the balance in its favour, by marshalling the errors and presumptions which have marked the history even of scientific discovery.

Those who have devoted much of their time to the general study of the heavens, and who have the most unflinching conviction of the truth of many of the steps which conduct us to the leading doctrines of astronomy, must still draw a tribute from human testimony; but with an auxiliary who speaks a different language, and often combats for a different interest, they may be finally dispossessed of a stronghold of which they have obtained only a temporary occupation.

But even when knowledge, and habits of sober thought, and a disposition to rely upon the testimony and judgments of others, are all happily combined, the devotional sentiment which is inspired by the phenomena and laws of inorganic nature is feeble and transient. A deep swell of veneration, and even pious emotion, often passes over the mind; but the feelings of love and gratitude, if they exist at all, circulate in under-currents, which exercise no influence on the ebbing and flowing tide of our religious convictions.

The same observations are applicable, with but little variation, to the phenomena of sublunary matter, which is more within the reach of our senses. In the wonderful exhibitions of chemistry, light, heat, electricity, and magnetism, we recognise the exercise of the same inscrutable power; but, brilliant as their phenomena are, and simple and beautiful as are the general laws by which they are regulated, yet the theological sentiment which they inspire is less vivid, and more transitory than that which is the result of astronomical study.

It is only in the organic structures of our own globe that the mind experiences in its full force the strong and united impulse of admiration, gratitude, and love. In the mechanism of life and of living nature,—in the forms which compose the breathing and reproductive world, our senses are enchanted with the variety of their loveliness, and our sympathies are roused by the study of sentient natures sustained by the same vital functions, urged by the same impulses, and subjected to the same decree of enjoyment, of suffering, and of death: But the enthusiasm of our wonder rises still higher when we explore the minute structures, and study the curious instincts of animals,—when we trace the almost invisible germ of life through its ever-varying developements, till it attains the elaborate perfection of its nature,—and when we witness the transmutation of the same individual into a new form of being, and recognise in this wonderful metamorphosis the

rehearsal of that glorious renovation which awaits our own disintegrated frame.

In these interesting studies, the mind is arrested at every step by new combinations of matchless skill and beneficent design, and it willingly surrenders itself to the predominant feeling of profound awe and boundless astonishment. But when we pursue these enquiries, and ask ourselves the question, for what purpose, and for whose use, our globe is thus peopled with animated beings, and thus teems with an exuberance of organic wealth?—when we see MAN the principal guest at this wide-spread and plentiful board, with the tenants of the earth, the air, and the deep ministering to his appetites and desires; and when we discover that we ourselves have been joyous partakers of the luxurious and never-failing meal, and still depend on the continuance of this splendid hospitality:—when all this is seen and felt as it ought, our admiration of Divine skill cannot fail to be succeeded by the more personal emotions of a full and overflowing heart.

When gratitude and love are not thus the spontaneous results of the study of animal and vegetable nature, the judgment must have been perverted by some fatal error, and the heart rendered callous by some morbid induration. In the ardour of original enquiry, the mind is often absorbed in the love of fame or of wealth, and the theological feeling, when it does present itself, is feeble and transient: and hence it is a melancholy fact, that those who have done most in the field of natural science, have learned the least of the sacred lesson which it conveys. There are many exceptions, however, to this observation: and men of talent and piety have been found in every age, who have felt it a duty and a pleasure to establish the important doctrines of natural theology, by exhibiting the evidence of the power, wisdom, and goodness which are manifested in the creation. One of the most celebrated of these individuals is the late Earl of Bridgewater, whose munificent bequest for this useful purpose has been sufficiently referred to in a former article.

The subject of Animal and Vegetable Physiology, which was justly considered as one of the most important chapters of Natural Theology, was assigned to Dr Roget, whose knowledge of general physics, as well as of natural history, qualified him in an especial manner for the task. The views with which he entered upon this arduous undertaking, and the plan which he has pursued in executing it, will be best seen in the following extract from his preface:—

'The object of this treatise is to enforce the great truths of Natural Theology, by adducing those evidences of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, which are manifested in the living creation. The scientific

knowledge of the phenomena of life, as they are exhibited under the infinitely varied forms of organization, constitutes what is usually termed Physiology, a science of vast and almost boundless extent, since it comprehends within its range all the animal and vegetable beings on the globe. This ample field of enquiry has, of late years, been cultivated with extraordinary diligence and success by the naturalists of every country; and from their collective labours there has now been amassed an immense store of facts, and a rich harvest of valuable discoveries. But in the execution of my task, this exuberance of materials was rather a source of difficulty; for it created the necessity of more careful selection and of a more extended plan.

'In conformity with the original purpose of the work, which I have all along endeavoured to keep steadfastly in view, I have excluded from it all those particulars of the natural history, both of animals and of plants, and all description of those structures, of which the relation to final causes cannot be distinctly traced: and have admitted only such facts as afford manifest evidences of design. These facts I have studied to arrange in that methodized order, and to unite in those comprehensive generalizations, which not only conduce to their more ready acquisition and retention in the memory, but tend also to enlarge our views of their mutual connexions, and of their subordination to the general plan of creation. My endeavours have been directed to give to the subject that unity of design, and that scientific form, which are generally wanting in books professedly treating of Natural Theology, published prior to the present series; not excepting even the unrivalled and immortal work of Paley. By furnishing those general principles, on which all accurate and extensive knowledge must substantially be founded, I am not without a hope that this compendium may prove a useful introduction to the study of Natural History; the pursuit of which will be found not only to supply inexhaustible sources of intellectual gratification, but also to furnish, to contemplative minds, a rich fountain of religious instruction.'

In carrying these views into effect, and particularly in executing the happy idea of making his work so systematic, as to render it a useful introduction to Natural History, Dr Roget has adopted the following arrangement: After two admirable introductory chapters on Final Causes and on the Functions of Life, he treats successively, in *four* separate *parts*, of the Mechanical Functions—the Vital Functions—the Sensorial Functions—and the Reproductive Functions of Plants and Animals. Although the functions of plants and animals are thus nominally combined, yet the work is substantially a treatise on Animal Physiology; for, in the first volume, we have only two short sections on Vegetable Organization and the Developement of Vegetables, and in the second volume only a single chapter, of thirty-five pages, on Vegetable Nutrition. The botanical reader will no doubt be greatly disappointed at finding his favourite science thus slightly appreciated;

and the fair philosopher of the greenhouse, as well as the green grocer himself, will stand aghast at the animals having thus devoured the vegetables. The small dish of herbs, however, which our learned physician has served up along with so large a portion of animal food, has been prepared according to the most recent modes of the *Cuisine*, and has only whetted our appetite for a more copious meal. The want of this luxury, indeed, we must not impute to Dr Roget, but to the untoward allotment of treatises which characterises the Bridgewater plan. The subject of animal physiology alone affords materials for the largest chapter in Natural Theology; and the curious subject of Vegetable Physiology would have formed an interesting volume from the pen of Mr Brown, Dr Hooker, or Dr Greville.

The Natural Theology of Animal Life, as Dr Roget has treated it under the four divisions already mentioned, forms the plainest and most striking appeal in favour of a wise and a beneficent Creator that has ever been made to the judgment of man. In place of selecting those instances of design that appear to himself most remarkable, he introduces the reader to all the varied functions of living beings, so that minds of different degrees of culture, and of various temperaments and tastes, cannot fail to find, among such multifarious descriptions, numerous facts which will rouse and interest them. In these details, above four hundred and fifty well executed diagrams are employed for the purpose of illustration; and by his simple and forcible style, which, in the introductory and some other chapters, rises to a chaste and glowing eloquence, Dr Roget has produced a work which will bear a comparison with any of the Bridgewater treatises which we have perused, whether we consider them in reference to the science and learning which they display—to the acuteness and sobriety of their argument, or to the tone of piety and religious feeling in which they are composed. Owing to this last quality, indeed, the work of Dr Roget is preeminently delightful. The great lesson which he has to teach, though at no time needlessly obtruded, is never overlooked. It is interwoven in an under tissue, with the whole chain-work of his discourse, and reappears only when it is necessary to display the embroidery of the fabric. Nor does our author content himself with chanting the hymn which the living world, in the rich drapery of its loveliness, raises to its sovereign king. His harp is strung to softer and higher strains; and amid the full diapason of created grandeur, there often falls upon the ear, in faint but truly harmonic numbers, the occupation of the blest abodes—the relief of them that are bound—the perfection of earth-born wisdom—the healing of broken, and the union of severed hearts.

Having made these general remarks on Dr Roget's book, we

shall now proceed to give our readers some idea of its contents; and in doing this we shall follow as much as possible the arrangement adopted by our author, and omitting the more technical and scientific discussions, we shall select chiefly those details which are most amusing and instructive.

The whole of the first volume is occupied with an account of the mechanical functions of animal and vegetable bodies—functions which depend on the more simple properties of matter, and on the ordinary laws of mechanism. He is thus led to describe, in succession, the framework, as it were, of these bodies, or that arrangement of solids and fluids which constitute their general fabric or organic structure. The parts thus described form the workshop, so to speak, and the apparatus and machinery by which the vital, the sensorial, and the reproductive functions are performed.

The Zoophytes, or animated plants, seem to be the lowest in the scale of living beings, and it is to our distinguished countryman, Professor Grant, of the London University, that we owe all the accurate information we possess respecting these anomalous bodies. They are found in the sheltered recesses of the deep, and they form a covering to naked rocks, lining the walls of submarine caverns, and hanging in stalactites from their roof. Through the myriads of its minute pores, the materials necessary for the subsistence of the *sponge* are conveyed, along with the water, into its interior; and after the fluid has percolated through the numerous channels of the body, it is collected into wider passages terminating in fæcial orifices, from which, by a mechanism not yet discovered, the water is discharged, along with the fæcal particles it contains.

Although adult sponges are permanently attached to rocks and other bodies, yet the young are provided with the power of locomotion for the purpose of seeking a habitation at some distance from their birthplace; and when they have thus made their choice of a home, they become a fixture during the rest of their lives. The process by which this more remarkable effect is produced, is so well described by Dr Roget, and so extremely interesting, that we shall extract it with as little abridgement as possible.

'The parts of the *Spongia panicea*, which are naturally transparent, contain at certain seasons a multitude of opaque yellow spots, visible to the naked eye, and which, when examined by means of a microscope, are found to consist of groups of ova, or more properly *gemmules*, since we cannot discover that they are furnished with any envelope. In the course of a few months these gemmules enlarge in size, each assuming an oval or pear-like shape, and are then seen projecting from the sides of the in-

ternal canals of the parent, to which they adhere by their narrow extremities. In process of time, they become detached, one after the other, and are swept along by the currents of fluid, which are rapidly passing out of the larger orifices. When thus set at liberty, they do not sink by their gravity to the bottom of the water, as would have happened had they been devoid of life; but they continue to swim, by their own spontaneous motions, for two or three days after their separation from the parent. In their progression through the fluid, they are observed always to carry their rounded broad extremity forwards. On examining this part with a microscope, we find that it is covered with short filaments, or *cilia*, which are in constant and rapid vibration. These cilia are spread over about two thirds of the surface of the body, leaving the narrower portion, which has a whiter and more pellucid appearance, uncovered. They are very minute transparent filaments, broadest at their base, and tapering to invisible points at their extremities: they strike the water by a rapid succession of inflexions, apparently made without any regular order, but conspiring to give an impulse in a particular direction. When the body is attached by its tail, or narrow end, to some fixed object, the motion of the cilia on the fore part of the body determines a current of fluid to pass in a direction backwards, or towards the tail; but when they are floating in the water, the same action propels them forwards in the opposite direction, that is, with the broad ciliated extremity foremost. They thus advance, without appearing to have any definite object, by a slow gliding motion, totally unlike the zig-zag course of animalcules in search of prey. Yet they appear to have a consciousness of impressions made on them; for on striking against each other, or meeting any obstacle, they retard a little the motion of their cilia, wheel for a few seconds round the spot, and then, renewing the vibrations, proceed in their former course.

'In about two or three days after these gemmules have quitted the body of the parent, they are observed to fix themselves on the sides or bottom of the vessel in which they are contained; and some of them are found spread out, like a thin circular membrane, on the surface of the water. In the former case, they adhere firmly by their narrow extremity, which is seen gradually to expand itself laterally, so as to form a broad base of attachment. While this is going on, the cilia are still kept in rapid motion on the upper part, scattering the opaque particles, which may happen to be in the fluid, to a certain distance around. But these motions soon become languid, and, in the course of a few hours, cease; and the cilia, being no longer wanted, disappear. The gemmule then presents the appearance of a flattened disk, containing granules, like the flesh of the parent sponge; and also several spicula interspersed through the central part. In less than twenty-four hours, a transparent colourless margin has extended round the whole gemmule, and continues to surround it during its future growth. The spicula, which were at first small, confined to the central part, and not exceeding twenty in number, now become much larger and more numerous; and some of them shoot into the thin homogeneous margin. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the spicula make their appearance completely formed, as if by a sud-

den act of crystallization, and never afterwards increase their dimensions.

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'In the course of a few weeks, the spicula are assembled in groups, similar to those of the parent sponge; assuming circular arrangements, and presenting distinct openings at the points they enclose. The young animal now rapidly spreads and enlarges in every direction, becoming more convex, and at the same time more opaque, and more compact in its texture; and before it has attained the tenth of an inch in diameter, it presents, through the microscope, a miniature representation of its parent.'

The polypiferous animals, such as the corals and madrepores, form the next step in animal life. If we conceive the orifices of the sponges to be drawn out into a tube, and provided with cilia, and if beside this a circular row of larger and very flexible filaments is placed round the margin of the tube, so as to twine round any object and convey it into the tube or mouth, each tube thus formed is denominated a *Polype*, the term *Polypus* being applied to the general animal mass composed of the aggravated polypes. These polypes are generally attached to some inorganic shell or base, and in many cases they are multiplied by the detachment of gemmules, which seek a fixed habitation like the sponges. They revolve rapidly round their longer axis while they swim, and they generally finish their voyage between a few hours and three days. These tentacula on which the cilia are placed, are exquisitely sensible, and in the *Flustra carbasea*, they are twenty-two in number, there being about fifty cilia on each, or 2200 in each polype; but as there are above 18,000 cells in each square inch, and ten square inches in an ordinary specimen, the number of polypes in each will be 18,000, the number of tentacula 396,000, and the number of cilia *thirty-nine millions* and upwards. On a single flustra foliacea, Professor Grant has computed the number of polypes to be 400 millions.

Another of these curious animals is the *Hydra*, discovered by Trembley in aquatic plants. It consists of a fleshy tube, open at both ends, the largest of which is furnished with a single row of six or eight tentacula. It has the singular power of contracting its body into a mere globule, or of giving it a considerable elongation. The tentacula are tubular filaments, which can be extended to a great length, and bent in all directions. With these they grasp small objects, and convey them to the mouth, where they are quickly swallowed. When irritated or alarmed, the whole animal contracts itself into a small and almost invisible globe. In order to move, it fixes its foot, no doubt by the power

of suction, and advances its head as far as possible. The foot being then detached, it is brought near the head, and the head again raised and advanced as before. Even in summer, a day's journey is no longer than about seven or eight inches; but when the hydra is in a hurry, it advances by a series of somersets, throwing its foot over its head when fixed, and then fixing its foot. The head is in like manner thrown over its foot. This curious animal is reproduced by tubercles or buds on the surface of the parent. In this state, it grows and stretches out its tentacula, learning the art of catching and swallowing its prey. The tube which connects it with its parent gradually closes, and the young hydra commences its separate existence. The hydra can also be multiplied indefinitely by simple division. If it is cut asunder transversely, the part containing the head supplies itself with a new tail, and the tail sends forth a new head, with a new set of tentacula. A mutilated tentaculum is in like manner soon repaired; and if the whole animal is divided into a great number of pieces, each fragment soon acquires all the parts which are necessary to make it a complete hydra.

Dr Roget next treats of the infusory animalcula, which swarm in all infusions of vegetable and animal substances that have stood for a sufficient time; and we are happy to state that the curious and important information which he has given us on this subject furnishes the most demonstrative confirmation of the views which we submitted to the philosophical naturalist in our review of Mr Whewell's Bridgewater Treatise.

The smallest of the *infusoria*, namely the monads, had been considered as the 'ultimate term of animality,' and Mr Whewell not only considers them as 'at the boundaries of the animal 'world,' but regards their homogenity and simplicity of composition as 'almost excluding them from the domain of animal 'life.' Upon the assumption that, because the organs of an animal are not visible, they are therefore not in existence, Mr Whewell has propounded the extraordinary theory of the finity of animal life; and so decided is his conviction on this subject, that he seems to hesitate in the decision whether the monads of Muller and Cuvier constitute the unit *above* or *below* the termination of animal life. The difficulty, however, is easily solved. According to his views, a living monad may be included as the lowest link of the chain of animal life, but excluded entirely from the chain of organic life. We have no doubt that our philosophical readers have readily adopted the views upon which we combated these opinions; but it is more useful to science, and to the dissemination of those theological feelings which the Bridgewater Treatises were intended to cherish, that a heresy, which

appears unfavourable to such views, should be overturned by facts published in the series of works in which it occurs.

Professor Ehrenberg has proved that there are monads not larger than the 24,000dth part of an inch, and that they are so thickly crowded in the fluid, as to leave intervals not greater than their own diameter. Hence each cubic line, or a single drop of the fluid, contains five hundred million of monads; a number equal to all the human beings on our globe. This able naturalist has proved that even the *Monas termo* possesses *internal cavities for the reception and digestion of its food;* and has rendered it probable that they have an organization as complete as that of the larger infusoria, such as the Rotifera, in which he has distinguished traces of *a muscular, a nervous, and even a vascular* system. This animal is so curious, that we must extract Dr Roget's description of it, and his observations which bear on the question of the finitude of animal life.

'But this problem has at length been solved by the discoveries of Ehrenberg, who, in his observations of the larger and more highly organized species belonging to the order of *Rotifera,* has, with a magnifying power of 380, distinctly seen muscular bands running in pairs between the two layers of transparent membrane which envelope the body. When the animalcule throws itself into its violent lateral contortions, these fibrous bands are observed to become broader and thicker, as well as shorter, on the side towards which the contractions take place. There can, therefore, be no doubt that these are muscular organs, and that they are the real agents by which the motions witnessed are effected.

'These *Rotifera,* or wheel animalcules, are so named from their being provided with an apparatus for creating a perpetual eddy, or circular current in the surrounding fluid. The remarkable organs, by which this effect is produced, are generally two in number, and are situated on the head, but do not surround the opening of the mouth, as is the case with the tentacula of polypes. They consist of circular disks, the margins of which are fringed with rows of cilia, bearing a great resemblance to a crown wheel. This wheel appears to be incessantly revolving, and generally in one constant direction; giving to the fluid a rotatory impulse, which carries it round in a continual vortex. The constancy of this motion would seem to indicate that it is related to some function of vital importance, such as respiration. But even considered as a mechanical action, which is the view we have now to take of it, this phenomenon is of a nature to excite much curiosity; for the continued revolution round an axis of any part or appendage to the body, is quite inconsistent with any notion we can form of the solid organic attachment of such appendage; and we can have no conception of organization extending through the medium of a fluid, or of any substance, which, like a fluid, admits of the continual displacement of its parts. Mr Dutrochet has offered an ingenious solution of this difficulty. He suggests that the revolution of the wheels of the Rotifera may not be real, but apparent only. The indented margin of each wheel being

composed of a material so exceedingly flexible as to be capable of assuming quickly all kinds of curvatures, may be conceived to be thrown into undulations, which follow one another round the circumference; each part, in succession, becoming alternately convex and concave, and thus producing the appearance of the actual advance of the portions that are raised; while their real motions are only those of elevation and depression, by the elongation and contraction of their perpendicular fibres.

'Besides possessing extensive powers of locomotion, the infusoria manifest in several of the vital functions, as we shall hereafter find, a degree of complication, which appears to entitle them to a higher station in the animal scale, than that which most naturalists have assigned to them. They are certainly superior to the sponges or the polypi, doomed by nature to be permanently fixed, like plants, to the same spot; and of which, if we consider them as compound beings, the individual animals are often so minute as to be scarcely visible without the aid of the microscope. Mere size, indeed, is, of all the circumstances attendant on organised beings, that which should least be assumed as the criterion of complication or refinement of structure. An object is great or small, only in relation to the standard of our own limited and imperfect senses; but with reference to the operations of creative power, all such distinctions must vanish. There is not, as far as we have the means of judging, in the colossal fabric of the elephant, any structure more complicated than exists in the minutest insect that crawls unheeded at our feet.'

In examining the nutritive and reproductive functions of the infusoria, Professor Ehrenberg has been equally successful. In order to display their digestive organs, he conceived the happy idea of supplying them with coloured food, which tinged the cavities through which it passed. For this purpose he employed a highly attenuated solution of pure indigo, and disclosed the existence of a system of digestive cavities in all the known genera of this tribe of animals. These organs exhibit great variety in their form, situation, and arrangement; and though they differ in their degree of complication, yet *this difference has no relation to the size of the animalcules.* In the *Monas atomus*, the minutest of animals, there are 'a number of sacs opening by 'as many separate orifices from a circumscribed part of the sur-'face.' The *Leucophra patula* has a long alimentary canal traversing the greater part of the body, taking several spiral turns, and furnished with from one to two hundred blind pouches or cæca, which are regarded as separate stomachs; and hence these animals, *which Lamarck and others called* AGASTRICA, *from their having no stomach, are actually called* POLYGASTRICA *by* EHRENBERG, *from their having more than a hundred stomachs!* In some *Vorticellæ* one intestine furnished with numerous cæca makes a complete circular turn, ending where it began; and 'Thus,' says

Dr Roget, ‘ do we discover the same diversity in the structure of ‘ the digestive organs of the several races of these diminutive ‘ beings as is found in the other classes of animals.’

The manner in which the monads and other infusory animalcules are reproduced, is little known. The spherical monad is propagated by fissiparous generation. A slight groove appears round its equator, and becomes deeper and deeper till it resembles an hour-glass. The two halves then appear, like the Siamese twins, united by a single ligament, which is quickly broken when the two animals swim about with antagonist volitions. In many of the Rotifera, Professor Ehrenberg has seen globular ova the 12,000dth of an inch in size, and when they had grown to the 1700dth of an inch, they excited currents, and swallowed food. Nay, he detected the young perfectly formed, in the interior of the *rotifera vulgaris*, moving, and then excluded in a living state, thus showing them to be viviparous, and on a level, both in structure and functions, with the largest animals.

Passing over the *Medusæ*, which, by decomposition or heat, may be reduced from 20 or 30 lbs. of transparent gelatine to a few grains of solid matter, and which float passively on the deep, the unresisting prey of innumerable enemies;—the melon-shaped *Beroe*, which moves upwards and downwards by its meridional fins, extending from pole to pole, and which swims and lives even when cut into separate pieces;—the Physalia, or *Portuguese Man of War*, which unfurls, for the purposes of navigation, a beautiful purple sail, and which floats itself by an oval air-bladder, the air in which it has the power of absorbing and reproducing, to enable it to dive or to swim;*—the *Actiniæ*, or animal flowers, which, though generally fixed to rocks, have yet the power of changing their abode by a slow progressive motion;—the *Echinodermata*, with their singularly diversified forms, all passing into one another by the most gradual transition;—and the Mollusca, which derive their support and protection from the shells which contain them, in place of an internal skeleton,—we come to the class of articulated animals, the families of which are the *Annelida*, or *Worms;* the *Arachnida*, or *Spiders;* the *Crustacea*, or Crabs; and the *Insecta*, or Insects.

The Natural History of the spider is, in many respects, highly interesting, not only from its organic developement, but from its wonderful instincts, in constructing its web, in watching over its young, and in surprising and destroying its victims.

* Numerous fleets of these animals are seen quietly sailing in the tropical seas in calm weather; and they are distinguishable by the vivid hues of the tentacula which hang down beneath them.

'In common with all articulated animals, spiders, in the progress of their growth, cast off their outer skin several times, and at regular periods. In the earlier stages of their existence, although they have the general form of the mature insect, yet they have a smaller number of legs: the last pair not making their appearance till after the spider has attained a certain size. We may here trace the commencement of that system of metamorphosis, which, as we shall afterwards find, is carried to so great a length in winged insects.

'Spiders are endowed with extensive powers of progressive motion, and display great activity and energy in all their movements. The long and elastic limbs on which the body is suspended, being firmly braced by their articulations, enable the muscles to act with great mechanical advantages in accelerating the progression of the body. Hence these animals are enabled to run with great swiftness, and to spring from a considerable distance on their prey; powers which were necessary to those tribes that live altogether by the chase. The greater number of species, however, as is well known, are provided with a curious apparatus for spinning threads, and for constructing webs to entangle flies and other small insects. Every species of spider weaves its web in a manner peculiar to itself: and, besides the principal web, they often construct in the neighbourhood a smaller one, in the form of a cell, in which they conceal themselves, and lie in ambush for their prey. Between this cell and the principal web they extend a thread of communication, and by the vibrations into which this thread is thrown, on the contact of any solid body, the spider is immediately acquainted with the event, and passes quickly to the spot, by the assistance of the same thread.

'Some species have the power of conveying themselves to considerable distances through the air by means of threads which they dart out, and which are borne onwards by the wind, while the spider is clinging to the end of the thread which is next to it. In this manner these spiders are often carried to a great height in the air: and it has been supposed that during their flight they often seize upon gnats and other flies: because the mutilated remains of these insects are often seen adhering to the threads: this point, however, is still open to much doubt.'

As the arachnida present a higher organic developement than the annelida, so the crustacea have a more consolidated framework than the spiders. The bodies of crabs are encased in tubes of solid carbonate of lime, and these tubes are carefully articulated, and almost always compose large joints. The following account, given by Dr Roget, of the periodical casting of the shell of the lobster is very interesting:

'The process by which this periodical casting and renewal of the shell are effected, has been very satisfactorily investigated by Reaumur. The tendency in the body and in the limbs to expand during growth is restrained by the limited dimensions of the shell, which resists the efforts to enlarge its diameter. But this force of expansion goes on increasing, till at length it is productive of much uneasiness to the animal, which is,

in consequence, prompted to make a violent effort to relieve itself; by this means it generally succeeds in bursting the shell; and then, by dint of repeated struggles, extricates its body and its limbs. The lobster first withdraws its claws, and then its feet, as if it were pulling them out of a pair of boots: the head next throws off its case, together with its antennæ; and the two eyes are disengaged from their horny pedicles. In this operation, not only the complex apparatus of the jaws, but even the horny cuticle and teeth of the stomach, are all cast off along with the shell: and, last of all, the tail is extricated. But the whole process is not accomplished without long continued efforts. Sometimes the legs are lacerated or torn off, in the attempt to withdraw them from the shell; and in the younger crustacea the operation is not unfrequently fatal. Even when successfully accomplished it leaves the animal in a most languid state: the limbs, being soft and pliant, are scarcely able to drag the body along. They are not, however, left altogether without defence. For some time before the old shell was cast off, preparations had been making for forming a new one. The membrane which lined the shell had been acquiring greater density, and had already collected a quantity of liquid materials proper for the consolidation of the new shell. These materials are mixed with a large proportion of colouring matter, of a bright scarlet hue, giving it the appearance of red blood, though it differs totally from blood in all its other properties. As soon as the shell is cast off, this membrane, by the pressure from within, is suddenly expanded, and by the rapid growth of the soft parts, soon acquires a much larger size than the former shell. Then the process of hardening the calcareous ingredient commences, and is rapidly completed; while an abundant supply of fresh matter is added to increase the strength of the solid walls which are thus constructing for the support of the animal. Reaumur estimates that the lobster gains, during each change of its covering, an increase of one-fifth of its former dimensions. When the animal has attained its full size, no operation of this kind is required, and the same shell is permanently retained.

'A provision appears to be made, in the interior of the animal, for the supply of the large quantity of calcareous matter required for the construction of the shell at the proper time. A magazine of carbonate of lime is collected, previous to each change of shell, in the form of two rounded masses, one on each side of the stomach. In the crab these balls have received the absurd name of crab's eyes; and during the formation of the shell they disappear.

'It is well known that when an animal of this class has been deprived of one of the claws, that part is in a short time replaced by a new claw, which grows from the stump of the one which had been lost. It appears from the investigations of Reaumur, that this new growth takes place more readily at particular parts of the limb, and especially at the joints; and the animal seems to be aware of the greater facility with which a renewal of the claw can be effected at these parts; for if it chance to receive an injury at the extremity of the limb, it often, by a spontaneous effort, breaks off the whole limb at its junction with the trunk, which is the point where the growth more speedily commences. The wound soon

becomes covered with a delicate white membrane, which presents at first a convex surface: this gradually rises to a point, and is found, on examination, to conceal the rudiment of a new claw. At first this new claw enlarges, but slowly, as if collecting strength for the more vigorous effort of expansion which afterwards takes place. As it grows, the membrane is pushed forwards, becoming thinner in proportion as it is stretched; till at length it gives way, and the soft claw is exposed to view. The claw now enlarges rapidly, and in a few days more acquires a shell as hard as that which had preceded it. Usually, however, it does not attain the same size; a circumstance which accounts for our frequently meeting with lobsters and crabs which have one claw much smaller than the other. In the course of the subsequent castings this disparity gradually disappears. The same power of restoration is found to reside in the legs, the antennæ, and the jaws.'

The curious subject of insect life next occupies the attention of Dr Roget: but its vast extent compels him to be general in his views, and brief in his details. Among the apterous or wingless insects, the *Pulex*, or flea, is the only one which undergoes complete metamorphosis during its developement. It has at first the form of a long worm without feet, and having thirteen segments, each provided with a tuft of hair; but in its mature stage, it has six articulated legs, by the hindmost of which, which are of great size, it takes those prodigious leaps which astonish the observer, and which can be effected only by the most exquisite mechanism. The *Podura*, or spring-tail, leaps into the air by means of a long, forked, and articulated tail, which lies concealed in a groove under its abdomen, and which, by being rapidly unbent by the action of its muscles, acts like a powerful spring in propelling it forward to a considerable distance. In some species, the tail is flattened, to enable the insect to leap from the surface of the water, as from a solid plane. The *Julus* and the *Scolopendra*, experience a partial metamorphosis during their developement, resembling the simpler worms. They have no feet whatever when hatched. Legs, however, arise in succession, and it is not till the later periods of their growth, that they acquire the whole of their segments, with their accompanying legs. The *Julus terrestris*, for instance, has only eight segments, and six feet at its birth, but finally acquires *fifty segments, and about two hundred feet.*

From the structure of insects, our author proceeds to give an account of their developement in the following interesting passage.

'The progress of the metamorphoses of insects is most strikingly displayed in the history of the *Lepidopterous*, or butterfly and moth tribe. The egg, which is deposited by the butterfly, gives birth to a

caterpillar; an animal, which, in outward shape, bears not the slightest resemblance to its parent, or to the form it is itself afterwards to assume. It has, in fact, both the external appearance and the mechanical structure of a worm. The same elongated cylindric shape, the same annular structure of the denser parts of its integument, the same arrangements of longitudinal and oblique muscles connecting these rings, the same apparatus of short feet, with claws, or bristles, or tufts of hairs, for facilitating progression; in short, all the circumstances most characteristic of the vermiform type are equally exemplified in the different tribes of caterpillars, as in the proper Annelida.

'But these vermiform insects have this peculiarity, that they contain in their interior the rudiments of all the organs of the perfect insect. These organs, however, are concealed from view by a great number of membranous coverings, which successively invest one another, like the coats of an onion, and are thrown off, one after another, as the internal parts are gradually developed. These external investments, which hide the real form of the future animal, have been compared to a mask; so that the insect, while wearing this disguise, has been termed *larva*, which is the Latin name for a mask.

'This operose mode of developement is rendered necessary in consequence of the greater compactness of the integuments of insects, as compared with those of the annelida. In proportion as they acquire density, they are less capable of being further stretched, and at length arrive at the limit of their possible growth. Then it is that they obstruct the dilatation of the internal organs, and must be thrown off to make way for the farther growth of the insect. In the meantime a new skin has been preparing underneath, moulded on a larger model, and admitting of greater extension than the one which preceded it. This new skin, at first, readily yields to the distending force from within, and a new impulse is given to the powers of developement; until, becoming itself too rigid to be further stretched, it must, in its turn, be cast off in order to give place to another skin. Such is the process which is repeated periodically, for a great number of times, before the larva has attained its full size.

'These successive peelings of the skin are but so many steps in preparation for a more important change. A time comes when the whole of the coverings of the body are at once cast off, and the insect assumes the form of a *pupa*, or *chrysalis;* being wrapt as in a shroud, presenting no appearance of external members, and retaining but feeble indications of life. In this condition it remains for a certain period: its internal system continuing in secret the farther consolidation of the organs; until the period arrives when it is qualified to emerge into the world, by bursting asunder the fetters which had confined it, and to commence a new career of existence. The worm, which so lately crawled with a slow and tedious pace along the surface of the ground, now ranks among the sportive inhabitants of the air; and expanding its newly acquired wings, launches forward into the element on which its powers can be freely exerted, and which is to waft it to the objects of its gratification, and to new scenes of pleasure and delight.

'Thus do the earlier stages of the developement of insects exhibit a recurrence of those structures which are found in the lowest department of this series of animals. The larva, or infantile stage of the life of an insect, is, in all its mechanical relations, a mere worm. The *imago*, or perfect state, on the other hand, exhibits strong analogies with the crustaceous tribes, not only in the general form of the body, but also in the consolidated texture of its organs, (especially of those which compose its skeleton,) and in the possession of rigid levers, shaped into articulated limbs, and furnished with large and powerful muscles, from all which circumstances great freedom and extent of motion are derived. To this elaborate frame, nature has added wings, those refined instruments of a higher order of movements, subservient to a more expanded range of existence, and entitling the beings on which they have been conferred to the most elevated rank among the lesser inhabitants of the globe.'

The mechanism by which insects move, varies in their several states of *larva*, *pupa*, and *imago*. In the larva of the *Libellula*, or dragonfly, nature has adopted a remarkable contrivance for giving it motion, by alternately absorbing water into a cavity in the hinder part of its body, and suddenly propelling it from the same cavity in a continued stream; so that the animal is impelled in a contrary direction to that of the issuing current, like the revolving arms in Barker's mill, or upon the same principle as a rocket. The larvæ of the *Stratiomys*, and other insects, collect a bubble of air within a tuft of hair at the end of the tail, in order to diminish their specific gravity, and aid their muscular action in advancing them through the water. The same tufts of hair, by repelling the water, allow the insect to suspend itself from the surface of the fluid, in the same manner as a dry needle is supported upon water. Terrestrial larvæ have the annular segments of their body moved like those of worms, by muscles, exceedingly numerous and beautifully arranged. In the body and limbs of the *Bombyx Cossus*, Lyonet reckoned about 4000 separate muscular bands, arranged with the most perfect symmetry, and fitted to perform their office with the most exquisite precision.

'There is one tribe of caterpillars,' says Dr Roget, 'called *Surveyors*, or *Geometers*, which walk by first fixing the fore feet, and then doubling the body into a vertical arch; this action brings up the hind part of the caterpillar, which is furnished with prolegs, close to the head. The hind extremity being then fixed by means of the prolegs situated at that part, the body is again extended into a straight line; and this process being repeated, the caterpillar advances by a succession of paces, as if it were measuring the distance, by converting its body into a pair of compasses. At the same time that they employ this process, they further provide for their security by spinning a thread, which they fasten to different points of the ground as they go along.

'Many other species of caterpillar practise the same art of spinning fine silken threads, which especially assist them in their progression over smooth surfaces, and also in descending from a height through the air. The caterpillar of the cabbage butterfly is thus enabled to climb up and down a pane of glass, for which purpose it fixes the threads that it spins in a zigzag line, forming so many steps of a rope-ladder. The material of which these threads are made is a glutinous secretion, which, on being deposited on glass, adheres firmly to it, and very soon acquires consistence and hardness by the action of the air.

'Other caterpillars, which feed on trees, and have often occasion to descend from one branch to another, send out a rope made with the same material, which they can prolong indefinitely; and thus either suspend themselves at pleasure in the air, or let themselves down to the ground. They continue, while walking, to spin a thread as they advance, so that they can always easily retrace their steps, by gathering up the clue they have left, and reascend to the height from which they had allowed themselves to drop.'

In the developement of the imago, or perfect insect, the organs are gradually hardened and consolidated in their texture, and all united and concentrated. The hardness of their integuments is not produced like that of shells by carbonate of lime, but by the phosphate. Their texture is liker that of horn than of any other animal substance. The peculiar substance which enters into their composition has been called *Chitine* and *Entomoline*, and occurs in large quantities in the wings and elytra of the Coleoptera. As it does not melt by heat like horn, the integuments which it composes retain their original form, even when reduced to a cinder by a red heat. Colouring matter, usually of a dark brown or black hue, is blended with the Entomoline, but the colour of the external surface is produced by the same matter in the form of a varnish, which is soluble in alcohol or ether. The gorgeous colours which distinguish some of the tropical insects, are, we are persuaded from several experiments, not the result of the action of their transparent plates, but of the absorption of specific rays of the spectrum, by the colouring matter above described.

In the formation of insects, M. Audouin has discovered a very interesting law. Notwithstanding the endless diversity of forms which they exhibit in their skeletons, they are always composed of the same number of elements, having the same relative positions and order of arrangement; the only source of difference being a variation in the proportional developement of these elements—a great expansion of one part being generally accompanied by a corresponding diminution of others. Insects in their perfect state have constantly six legs, which are the expansion

of the six proper legs of the larva; the spurious legs of the latter having disappeared during the metamorphosis.

The structure of the feet of insects, by which they can walk on the smoothest surfaces, and even on the most polished ceilings, is thus described by Dr Roget.

'Many insects are provided with cushions at the extremity of the feet, evidently for the purpose of breaking the force of falls, and preventing the jar which the frame would otherwise have to sustain. These cushions are formed of dense velvety tufts of hair, lining the underside of the tarsi, but leaving the claw uncovered; and the filaments, by insinuating themselves among the irregularities of the surfaces to which they are applied, produce a considerable degree of adhesion. Cushions are met with chiefly in large insects which suddenly alight on the ground after having leaped from a considerable height: in the smaller species they appear to be unnecessary, because the lightness of their bodies sufficiently secures them from any danger arising from falls.

'Some insects are furnished with a still more refined and effectual apparatus for adhesion, and one which even enables them to suspend themselves in an inverted position from the under surfaces of bodies. It consists of suckers, the arrangement and construction of which are exceedingly beautiful; and of which the common house-fly presents us with an example. In this insect that part of the last joint of the tarsus which is immediately under the root of the claw, has two suckers appended to it by a narrow funnel-shaped neck, movable by muscles in all directions. The sucking part of the apparatus consists of a membrane, capable of contraction or extension, and the edges of which are serrated, so as to fit them for the closest application to any kind of surface. In the *Tabanus*, or horse-fly, each foot is furnished with three suckers. In the *Cimbex lutea*, or yellow saw-fly, there are four, of which one is placed upon the under surface of each of the four first joints of the toes; and all the six feet are provided with these suckers. In the *Dytiscus marginalis*, suckers are furnished to the feet of the male insect only. The three first joints of the feet of the fore-legs of that insect have the form of a shield, the under surface of which is covered with suckers having long tubular necks; there is one of these suckers very large, another of a smaller size, and a great number of others exceedingly small. In the second pair of feet, the corresponding joints are proportionally much narrower, and are covered on their under surface with a multitude of very minute suckers. The *Acridium biguttulum*, which is a species of grasshopper, has one large oval sucker, under the last joint of the foot, immediately between the claws. On the under surface of the first joint are three pair of globular cushions, and another pair under the second joint. The cushions are filled with an elastic fibrous substance; which, in order to increase the elasticity of the whole structure, is looser in its texture towards the circumference.

'The mode in which these suckers operate may be distinctly seen, by observing with a magnifying glass the actions of a large bluebottle-fly in

the inside of a glass tumbler. A fly will, by the application of this apparatus, remain suspended from the ceiling for any length of time without the least exertion; for the weight of the body pulling against the suckers serves but to strengthen their adhesion: hence we find flies preferring the ceiling to the floor as a place of rest.

'Insects which, like the gnat, walk much upon the surface of water, have at the ends of their feet a brush of fine hair, the dry points of which appear to repel the fluid, and prevent the leg from being wetted. If these brushes be moistened with spirit of wine, this apparent repulsion no longer takes place, and the insect immediately sinks and is drowned.'

The progressive motion and flight of insects, is another subject in which the skill of the Creator is eminently apparent. Those which move upon water have either one pair of their legs, or all of them, lengthened and expanded into broad triangular surfaces, like oars; and these surfaces are enlarged by fringes of hair round their margin, which project and act upon the water at each impulse, and again bend down when the leg is drawn up, as in the feathering of an oar. The *dytiscus*, or water beetle, has its body flattened, and shaped like a boat, without any projecting parts. It thus glides under the water with the least possible friction, and it again rises to the surface by its own buoyancy, merely by stopping its paddles. The *notonecta*, or waterboatman, always swims on its back. It is of a semicylindrical shape, with its legs, and a pair of long paddles which perform the office of oars, fixed to the flat surface, so that the centre of gravity is below the centre of figure; and if the insect were placed on its belly, with its legs undermost, it would tilt over into its right position.

Dr Roget has described, without a diagram, and too technically to be understood by the general reader, the unique and extraordinary provision by which the *elater* makes a somerset in the air. Its legs are so short, that when laid on its back, it cannot possibly turn itself, from its feet being unable to reach the place on which it lies, and thus procure a fulcrum for the action of its muscles. By means of an elastic spine, however, which acts like a spring, it is enabled to throw itself to a considerable height in the air, and recover its proper position. We regret that the want of a diagram prevents us from explaining the fine burrowing implements which Dr Kidd has described in the *mole cricket*. It is singularly formed for the purposes of burrowing, and can move either backwards or forwards. The fine down of its skin keeps the moist earth, through which it excavates its passage, from adhering to it. Compared with the other legs, and the general size of the animal, Dr Kidd observes, that the burrowing imple-

ments are as if the brawny hands and arms of a robust dwarf were set on the body of a delicate infant.

The flight of insects forms a pleasing chapter in our natural theology. The flight of a living body through the air, by its own internal mechanism, has baffled the repeated efforts of human ingenuity. The wings of insects, by which they perform this feat, consist of delicate fibres, giving strength to a fine light and transparent membrane. To unite lightness with strength, these fibres are tubular, and contain air; and it is believed that the insect is able during its flight to direct air into these tubes, in order to dilate and stiffen them. The *libellulæ* and *æschnæ* never close their wings: and when not flying, they keep them constantly expanded, and ready for action. They fly with the greatest facility in all directions, backwards as well as forwards, and even sideways, and they can instantly take a new direction without ever turning their bodies—a power which is of great avail in chasing their prey, and in escaping from their enemies. Bees move with a velocity generally much greater than that of a bird in reference to their comparative size. The silk-worm moths have been known to travel more than 100 miles in a short time.

The agility and strength of insects are well known; and in our own day, the feats of the *pulex* are performed before crowded audiences. Ants can carry loads forty or fifty times heavier than themselves. Linnæus has calculated that the *melolontha* is, relatively for its size, six times stronger than the horse; and he asserts, that if the proportional strength of the *lucanus*, or stag-beetle, had been given to the elephant, it could have torn up the largest trees by the roots, and, like the giants of mythology, could have hurled huge rocks against his assailants.

From the lower classes of animals, Dr Roget proceeds to those higher efforts of divine skill, which are displayed in the extensive series of vertebrated animals,—embracing all the larger varieties of living beings, and including man. One general principle of organization runs through all these various tribes; and however much they may deviate in minor details, yet one perfect example of an insulated structure never occurs. Interesting as this part of Dr Roget's work is, yet the structures of quadrupeds, fishes, and birds, are so familiar to us as to lose in a great measure their miraculous character; and our brief limits will not permit us to dwell upon any thing that has not the character of novelty, and the power of surprise. With regard to our own organization, we must be sufficiently familiar with its obvious wonders; and we have only to stretch out our hand, to look, to listen, or to think, in order to obtain materials for our astonishment and our gratitude.

In treating of the subject of ossification in vertebrated animals, Dr Roget mentions a curious fact, which we cannot pass over.

'It has been found that by mixing certain colouring substances with the food of animals, the bones will soon become deeply tinged by them. This fact was discovered accidentally by Mr Belchier, who gives the following account of the circumstances that led him to notice it. Happening to be dining with a calico printer on a leg of fresh pork, he was surprised to observe that the bones, instead of being white as usual, were of a deep red colour; and on enquiring into the circumstances, he learned that the pig had been fed upon the refuse of the dyeing-vats, which contained a large quantity of the colouring substance of madder. So curious a fact naturally attracted a good deal of attention among physiologists, and many experiments were undertaken to ascertain the time required to produce this change, and to determine whether the effect was permanent, or only temporary. The red tinge was found to be communicated much more quickly to the bones of growing animals than to those which had already attained their full size. Thus the bones of a young pigeon were tinged of a rose colour in twenty-four hours, and of a deep scarlet in three days; while in the adult bird, fifteen days were required merely to produce the rose colour. The dye was more intense in the solid parts of those bones which were nearest to the centre of circulation, while in bones of equal solidity, but more remote from the heart, the tinge was fainter. The bone was of a deeper dye in proportion to the length of time the animal had been fed upon the madder. When this diet was discontinued, the colour became gradually more faint, till it entirely disappeared.'

Passing over the interesting chapters on the structure, composition, and developement of the osseous fabric of vertebrated animals, and those on fishes, reptiles, and the mammalia, we come to the chapter on birds, which, though brief, contains many curious facts. In the structure of animals intended to fly, the union of strength and lightness becomes necessary. The bony substance has, with this view, been rendered very dense, and most of the bones have been made hollow, and their cavities filled with air in place of marrow. The stems of the feathers too are fastened into hollow cylinders, which are very strong in relation to their weight. By these means, the skeleton has become very light —that of the white pelican, for example, which is five feet long, weighing only twenty-three ounces, while the bird itself weighed twenty-five pounds. Large air-cells are placed in various parts of the body, in order to supply the cavities of the bones with air; and this air, when rarified by the ascent of the bird into the upper or lighter atmosphere, finds an exit by means of canals into the air passages of the lungs. Notwithstanding this great lightness and delicacy of structure, birds are capable of exerting much strength. The leg of a man may be broken by the flap of

a swan's wing: and a blow of the same kind from an eagle has been known to be immediately fatal.

In the structure of the feathers of birds, there is much to surprise and instruct us. Feathers consist of two parts—the stem, terminating in the quill, and the vane or feathery appendages on each side of the stem. The horny portion is tough and elastic, and is formed into a hollow cylinder, to combine the opposite qualities of lightness and strength: but it is in the construction of the vane that the most singular skill is displayed, and we have no hesitation in saying, that it exhibits the most striking proofs of design that we have had occasion to witness in any other animal fabric. Many years ago, we had occasion to investigate with the microscope this curious structure: but never having found leisure to publish the results, Dr Roget has the merit of having first disclosed the peculiarities of this unique fabric;—completing, by his own observations with the microscope, the general account of the mechanism which had been given by Paley.

'The vane of the feather is still more artificially constructed; being composed of a number of flat threads, or filaments, so arranged as to oppose a much greater resistance to a force striking perpendicularly against their surface, than to one which is directed laterally; that is, in the plane of the stem. They derive this power of resistance from their flattened shape, which allows them to bend less easily in the direction of their flat surfaces than in any other; in the same way that a slip of card cannot easily be bent by a force acting in its own plane, though it easily yields to one at right angles to it. Now it is exactly in the direction in which they do not bend that the filaments of the feather have to encounter the resistance and impulse of the air. It is here that strength is wanted, and it is here that strength has been bestowed.

'On examining the assemblage of these laminated filaments still more minutely, we find that they appear to adhere to one another. As we cannot perceive that they are united by any glutinous matter, it is evident that their connexion must be effected by some mechanism invisible to the unassisted eye. By the aid of the microscope the mystery is unravelled, and we discover the presence of a number of minute fibrils, arranged along the margin of the laminæ, and fitted to catch upon and clasp one another, whenever the laminæ are brought within a certain distance. The fibrils of a feather from the wing of a goose are exceedingly numerous, above a thousand being contained in the space of an inch; and they are of two kinds, each kind having a different form and curvature. Those which arise from the side next to the extremity of the feather are branched or tufted, and bend downwards, while those proceeding from the other side of the lamina, or that nearest the root of the feather, are shorter and firmer, and do not divide into branches, but are hooked at the extremities, and are directed upwards. When the two laminæ are brought close to one another, the long, curved fibrils of the one being carried over the short and straight fibrils of the other, both

sets become entangled together; their crooked ends fastening into one another, just as the latch of a door falls into the cavity of the catch which is fixed in the door-post to receive it. The way in which this takes place will be readily perceived by making a section of the vane of a feather across the laminæ, and examining with a good microscope their cut edges, while they are gently separated from one another. This mechanism is repeated over every part of the feather, and constitutes a closely reticulated surface of great extent, admirably calculated to prevent the passage of the air through it, and to create by its motion that degree of resistance which it is intended the wing should encounter. In feathers not intended for flight, as in those of the ostrich, the fibrils are altogether wanting: in those of the peacock's tail, the fibrils, though large, have not the construction which fits them for clasping those of the contiguous lamina; and in other instances they do so very imperfectly.'

This description, though, generally speaking, correct, is in many points defective, and the structure is much more complicated and beautiful than that which is above explained. The following observations were made on the feathers from the wing of the vulture:—The fibrils on the side of the lamina next the end of the feather, and marked *a*, *a*, in Dr Roget's figure, are not, properly speaking, branches or tufts; they are rather one main fibre from the middle of the length, of which there hang down, like the legs of the letter *m*, other smaller fibrils. The root of the fibril is plain for the first third of its length; the middle, or second third, is like the letter *m*, with several depending fibrils, and the last third, or extremity, is plain like the root. These fibres are all nearly cylindrical. The fibres marked *b b*, in the same figure, are like the blade of a pen-knife, thin and deep, being concave towards the extremity of the cutting edge, and having several teeth in this concavity. From the front of the fibril there proceeds a long slender filament, very flexible, so as to apply itself along the terminations of all the adjacent fibres before it; and a margin is formed by these filaments along the whole of the edge, which, in place of being open like the teeth of a comb, has all the openings closed by the overlapping filaments. Hence, if we were to insert a fine needle between two of the fibrils, we could not draw it out in the direction of the length of the fibril, without bending and pulling back the filaments which close the openings, and form a beautiful rim, or margin, to the system of fibrils. Now, in the perfect state of the feather, the *m*-like fibrils hanging from the middle of the fibrils *a a*, fall into the openings between the fibrils *b b*, and are detained there by adhesion and friction, and when these are overcome, by the resistance of the marginal filaments above described, which at last give way on the application of a sufficiently powerful force.

But the curious fact is, that the adjacent laminæ, where fibrils are thus drawn out from one another, again approximate, and the *m*-like fibrils of *a* again enter into the openings between the fibrils *b*, so as to heal the rupture in the surface of the vane. The plain roots of the fibrils *a*, form the beautiful systems of short and equidistant parallel lines which are seen in looking through the feather, and which produce the well-known colours of grooved surfaces; and the plain extremities of the same fibrils extend themselves towards, or over the edge, of the next laminæ, to form the fibrous surface of the vane. Towards the root of the stem, the laminæ are entirely separate, and form *down*; and farther up the stem, the ends of some of the laminæ only are separated and converted into down. The fibrils of the downy laminæ are larger than the others, and have only small short spines projecting from them; being, no doubt, the rudiments of the *m*-like fibres above mentioned. It is difficult to understand the process by which the one set of fibrils lays hold of the other set, to restore the rupture of the vane; to say that they become entangled together is the fact, but the entanglement is so regular, and the broken surface of the vane is so perfectly restored, that it must arise from some regular cause,—such as the attraction of the minute fibrils, or a slight electrical action excited by the friction of bringing the two laminæ together.* The difference between *Down* and *Feather*, and the perfect transition of the one into the other in the same laminæ, is very curious. As down is not intended to resist the action of the air, the laminæ become cylindrical, and the fibrils, for the same reason, become round also; and the *m*-like fibres of the one class of fibrils being no longer wanted to form an extended surface, are only rudimental. In the beautiful and variegated feathery fur of the pelican's neck, we have observed a curious union of down and hair in each of the small feathers which are set into the skin. The lower part of each feather is *down*, and the upper part hair. The slender fibrils have, in this case, their minute spines more than rudimental: but the extremities of the upper laminæ, or rather cylindrical stems, have no fibres, and resemble the hairs of fur.

If our wonder has been excited by the lovely forms, the exquisite organization, and the unrivalled mechanism of the animal frame, how great must be our astonishment when we study the phenomena of nutrition, reproduction, and sensation? In works of

* Several accurate drawings would be necessary to render this description perspicuous; but those who possess Dr Roget's work will have no difficulty in understanding it.

human ingenuity, partial and ignorant man may descry some remote resemblance to the mechanical structures of the natural world; but who has been bold enough to imitate the phenomena, or sufficiently presumptuous to scan the mysteries of LIFE? The most exalted philosophy, and the most profound science, stand convicted of incapacity before the minutest monad, or the most dwarfish plant.

In the brief, though interesting, view which Dr Roget has given of vegetable physiology, he treats of the *food* of plants, which consists of water, conveying along with it a certain portion of air, and carbonic acid gas, and the earthy, saline, and metallic ingredients which it holds in solution; of the *absorption* of this aqueous nutriment by the spongioles of the roots, and sometimes by every part of the surface of the plant; of the *ascent of this food*, or *sap*, in a crude state, along the stem and into the leaves, traversing the ligneous substance of the stem chiefly, and in trees the alburnum, or recently-formed wood, and passing along the intercellular spaces; of the *exhalation* of the purely aqueous part of the sap, and the stomata, or pores of the leaves; of the *aeration of the sap* by the action of solar light upon the leaves, which disengages its oxygen in the form of gas, leaving in the sap the carbon, one of the principal elements of vegetable structures; of the *return of the sap*, highly charged with nutriment, (oxygen and hydrogen having been obtained from its water, and combined with carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and various earths, metals, and salts, so as to form the proximate vegetable products, the most abundant of which is *gum*,) along the lobes, or innermost layer of bark, and the alburnum, or outermost layer of wood,—depositing the different materials which are necessary for the growth and health of those parts of the plant; of the *secretion* by the glands of the cells of gummy, saccharine, amylaceous, or ligneous products; of the *cyclosis*, or circular movement of the globular particles of sap in the *chelidonium;* in the cells of the *chara* and *caulinia fragilis;* and in the jointed hairs projecting from the cuticle of the calyx of the *tradescantia virginica;* and of the excretion of the superfluous, or noxious particles which are left in the returning sap.

Our limits will not permit us to enlarge upon any of these curious processes of vegetable life; but the facts which have been detailed by Dr Roget respecting the excretory function, are so new and important as to require special notice. If noxious matter is thrown out by the roots of vegetables as unfitted for the purposes of their growth, the soil where any plant has been long cultivated, is less fitted for its continued growth than it originally

was; but the excretory matter thus thrown out as useless for the nourishment of one plant, may be excellent food for another. Hence it will be easy to explain the principle of the rotation of crops in agriculture, and to determine, by observation, the precise plants which ought to be cultivated in succession,—selecting those whose excretory matter becomes wholesome nutriment for its successor. These important results have been satisfactorily established by M. Macaire, and we are greatly indebted to Dr Roget for the first account of them in our language.

'The roots of the *Chondrilla muralis* were carefully cleaned, and immersed in filtered rain water: the water was changed every two days, and the plant continued to flourish, and put forth its blossoms; at the end of eight days, the water had acquired a yellow tinge, and indicated both by the smell and taste, the presence of a bitter narcotic substance, analogous to that of opium; a result which was farther confirmed by the application of chemical tests, and by the reddish brown residuum obtained from the water by evaporation. M. Macaire ascertained that neither the roots nor the stems of the same plants, when completely detached, and immersed in water, could produce this effect, which he therefore concludes is the result of an exudation from the roots, continually going on while the plant is in a state of healthy vegetation. By comparative experiments on the quantity of matter thus excreted by the roots of the French bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) during the night and the day, he found it to be much more considerable at night; an effect which it is natural to ascribe to the interruption in the action of the leaves when they are deprived of light, and when the corresponding absorption by the roots is also suspended. This was confirmed by the result of some experiments he made on the same plants by placing them, during day-time, in the dark, under which circumstances the excretion from the roots was found to be immediately much augmented: but even when exposed to the light, there is always some exudation, though in small quantity, going on from the roots.

'That plants are able to free themselves, by means of this excretory process, from noxious materials, which they may happen to have imbibed through the roots, was also proved by another set of experiments on the *Mercurialis annua*, the *Senecio vulgaris*, and *Brassica campestris*, or common cabbage. The roots of each specimen, after being thoroughly washed and cleaned, were separated into two bunches, one of which was put into a diluted solution of acetate of lead, and the other into pure water, contained in a separate vessel. After some days, during which the plants continued to vegetate tolerably well, the water in the latter vessel being examined, was found to contain a very perceptible quantity of the acetate of lead. The experiment was varied by first allowing the plant to remain with its roots immersed in a similar solution, and then removing it, after careful washing, in order to free the roots from any portion of the salt that might have adhered to their surface, into a vessel with rain water; after two days, distinct traces of the acetate of lead

were afforded by the water. Similar experiments were made with lime-water, and with a solution of common salt, instead of the acetate of lead, and were attended with the like results. De Candolle has ascertained, that certain maritime plants which yield soda, and which flourish in situations very distant from the coast, provided they occasionally receive breezes from the sea, communicate a saline impregnation to the soil in their immediate vicinity, derived from the salt which they doubtless had imbibed by the leaves.

'Although the materials which are thus excreted by the roots are noxious to the plant which rejects them, and would consequently be injurious to other individuals of the same species, it does not therefore follow that they are incapable of supplying salutary nourishment to other kinds of plants; thus it has been observed that the *Salicaria* flourishes particularly in the vicinity of the willow, and the *Orobanche*, or broom-rape, in that of hemp. This fact has also been established experimentally by M. Macaire, who found that the water in which certain plants had been kept was noxious to other specimens of the same species, while, on the other hand, it produced a more luxuriant vegetation in plants of a different kind.'

These interesting facts afford a satisfactory explanation of the remarkable natural phenomenon called *Fairy-rings*, or *Circles*. This name has been given to rings in old grass pastures, which are covered with dark green grass, or are barer than the rest of the field. Dr Hutton described these rings very minutely, as occurring on Arthur's Seat, and concurred in the general opinion, that they were formed by lightning. Dr Withering accounted for them by the growth of fungi, the spawn of which he actually found below the bare circles, while he could not discover any spawn beneath the green grass. Dr Wollaston, however, was the first person to study the phenomenon with success. He found the rings to extend themselves gradually from a central point; and he has proved that the fungi absorb so completely all the nutriment from the soil, that a second crop cannot grow upon it. Hence the second year's crop of fungi will appear in a small ring surrounding the original and now decayed centre; the defect of nutriment, on one side, causing the new roots to extend themselves in the opposite direction outwards. The luxuriance of the grass, Dr Wollaston regards as the necessary consequences of the decay of the fungi; the soil of every exterior circle being enriched by the decayed roots of the fungi of the preceding year, and therefore manured, as it were, for the next year's grass. When two adjacent circles of fungi interfere with one another in the course of their progress, both circles are invariably obliterated between the points of contact; at least, in more than twenty cases, the exhaustion of the soil produced by each circle obstructing the progress of the other, and causing

both to be starved. Dr Wollaston likewise observes, that different species of fungi require the same kind of nutriment, for when a circle of puff-balls interfered with one of mushrooms, they did not intersect each other: the exhaustion occasioned by the one being as injurious to the progress of the other, as if it had been produced by the previous vegetation of its own species.

From the phenomena of nutrition in vegetables, Dr Roget proceeds to treat of animal nutrition; and he explains, in successive chapters, the preparation of liquid and of solid food by mastication, trituration, and deglutition, the processes of digestion, chylification, lacteal absorption, circulation, respiration, secretion, absorption and nervous power. These various topics are discussed with Dr Roget's usual ability, and the details are not only perfectly intelligible, but highly interesting to the general reader. Among the many contrivances by which animals seize their food, there are several beautiful adaptations which are peculiarly striking. The tongue of the frog, for example, is singularly fitted for the rapid seizure of its prey. The root of it is fixed close to the fore part of the lower jaw, while its cloven point is turned backwards into the throat, so as to act like a valve in closing the passage into the lungs. When the frog is very near the insect which it is about to devour, the *insect is seen to disappear before we can perceive what has become of it*; the tongue, with the force of a spring, and impelled probably by the air in the lungs, having been darted out and withdrawn with such extreme quickness that the eye cannot follow its motions. The cameleon, with its club or spoon-shaped tongue, tipped with glutinous matter, practises a similar stratagem in seizing its insect prey. In order to enable the wolf-fish (*Anarrhichas Lupus*) to break the strong shells which enclose its food, its mouth is almost paved with teeth, a triple row being implanted on each side of it. The mechanism of the bill of the *Loxia Curvirostra*, or cross-bill, as detected by Mr Yarrel, is equally adapted to the peculiar nature of its food. When its mouth is closed, its upper and lower mandibles cross each other; a structure which enables it to split cherry-stones with the utmost ease, and to tear open the pine and fir cones, by insinuating its bill between the scales in order to reach the seeds. The apparatus by which the woodpecker darts out with inconceivable velocity its long pointed and barbed tongue, in order to transfix the insects which form its chief food, is singularly ingenious and beautiful; but we cannot, without Dr Roget's diagram, make it intelligible. The motions of the tongue, which the eye can scarcely follow, are effected by long and slender muscles, combined with long and tortuous arched cartilages, which are nearly as elastic as steel

springs; owing to the saving of muscular power by these cartilaginous processes, the bird is enabled to repeat these motions almost incessantly, perforating the bark, and picking up the smallest insects with the utmost accuracy and despatch. When it falls in with an ant hill, it speedily lays it open by the aid of its feet and its bill, and makes a copious meal of the ants and their eggs.

Among quadrupeds which have no teeth, the ant-eater is supplied with a curious tongue for deceiving and catching its prey. It is a long and slender cylinder, *very like an earthworm;* that of the two-toed ant-eater being almost one-third the length of its body, and about the thickness of a crow-quill at its base. When this tongue is stretched out on the ground on the track of the ants, it is soon covered with these insects; and being quickly retracted by means of a long and powerful muscle, it transfers the ants to its mouth, swallowing them whole, so that the animal has no occasion for teeth.

Various other animals exhibit curious contrivances for seizing their food; but one of the most truly wonderful is that which we may call the *Filter of the Whale.* From the cupola of its enormous palate there descend into the mouth a multitude of thin plates, lying parallel to each other, one of their edges being directed towards the circumference, and the other to the middle of the palate.

'They are connected to the bone by means of a white ligamentous substance, to which they are immediately attached, and from which they appear to grow; at their inner margins, the fibres, of which their texture is throughout composed, cease to adhere together; but, being loose and detached, form a kind of fringe, calculated to intercept, as in a sieve, all solid or even gelatinous substances that may have been admitted into the cavity of the mouth, which is exceedingly capacious; for as the plates of whalebone grow only from the margins of the upper jaw, they leave a large space within, which though narrow anteriorly is wider as it extends backwards, and is capable of holding a large quantity of water. Thus the whale is enabled to collect a whole shoal of mollusca, and other small prey, by taking into its mouth the sea water which contains these animals, and allowing it to drain off through the sides, after passing through the interstices of the net work formed by the filaments of the whalebone. Some contrivance of this kind was even necessary to this animal, because the entrance into its œsophagus is too narrow to admit of the passage of any prey of considerable size; and it is not furnished with teeth to reduce the food into smaller parts. The principle food of the *Balæna Mysticetus*, or great whalebone whale of the Arctic Seas, is the small *Clio Borealis*, which swarms in immense numbers in those regions of the ocean.'

In the formation, developement, and structure of the teeth of

animals, and in the structure and movements of the jaw for the purposes of mastication, the same examples occur of skilful and provident design. The structure of the poison-fangs of serpents is particularly curious. These fangs, like the stings of nettles,* are furnished with a receptacle at their base for holding a poisonous liquor, which is forced out by the pressure of the tooth the instant it makes the wound, and carried through a canal opening near the end of the tooth. The bite through which the poison is conveyed is formed by the folding in of the edges of a deep longitudinal groove, extending along the tooth: and no trace of these grooves is found in serpents that are not venomous.

The trituration of the harder kinds of food in the internal cavities of many animals, is a curious and little known operation. In the stomach of the lobster there is a cartilaginous framework, carrying hard calcareous bodies like teeth, which grind and pulverize the shells of the mollusca swallowed by the lobster. In the craw-fish, the same teeth are more adapted to divide than to grind the food. In the stomach of the *Bulla aperta*, a molluscous animal, there are three calcareous plates, which cut and grind the food; and similar organs are found in many others of these animals.

In most of the insects of the order Orthoptera, a still more complicated kind of apparatus is inserted in their alimentary canal. In that of a kind of grasshopper called *Acrida aptera*, which feeds chiefly on the dewberry, there is a round or heart-shaped gizzard, of a very singular kind. It has six longitudinal rows of large teeth, and six intermediate double rows of smaller teeth, making in all 270 teeth. Each row of large teeth has at one end five small hooked teeth, succeeded by four broad teeth consisting of quadrangular plates, and twelve teeth having three cusps or points at their edges. All these teeth are of a brown colour, and horny texture like tortoiseshell.

The most curious grinding machinery, however, is met with in the gizzards of granivorous birds. The gizzard in the swan consists of two powerful hemispherical muscles, having their flat sides applied to each other, and covered with a thick and dense horny substance. These two surfaces are the two mill-stones between which the grain is dropped in small quantities from the

* When the hand is slightly pressed on the hairs of the nettle leaves, the fluid in the vesicles at their base passes out at their points, so as to enter the skin and produce the irritation which ensues. M. De Candolle, junior, has found that the stinging fluid is of an *alkaline* nature, and hence an *acid* should be rubbed upon the irritated part.

sac or hopper called the craw. In opening the gizzards of birds, numerous small pebbles are generally found. Several hundred were found in that of a turkey, and *two thousand* in that of a goose. Spallanzani supposed that these stones were taken in accidentally and ignorantly by the bird along with its food; but this opinion is exploded, and the gizzard is regarded by Dr Hunter as a pair of jaws, into which stones are occasionally taken in for teeth to assist in the grinding process. Dr Hunter has also shown, that the great muscular force in the gizzard is directed in the plane of the grinding surfaces; and hence he accounts for its singular power in grinding to powder balls of glass, flattening and bending tin tubes, and blunting and breaking off the points of needles and lancets. It is probable, however, that, in producing these powerful effects, it is aided by the pebbles which are swallowed by the bird.

In following Dr Roget through the very interesting chapter of his work on deglutition, and the subsequent processes, our limits will not permit us to attempt even the slightest analysis of his admirable observations and details. We are indeed so familiar with many of these processes, that some of our readers will scarcely thank us for giving them a more profound acquaintance with themselves; and in our capacity of reviewers, whether we rank ourselves among the *ruminantia* of literature, who convert to our own and to general use the fine herbage of cultivated minds, or are placed by others among the omnivorous *rodentia* that subsist on tough bark and dry fibres, we are not disposed to analyze the process of our mental assimilation, or to explain the reaction of anti-nutritives upon those biliary ducts which we are sometimes forced to open upon our prey. There is only one reference which we shall make to the human stomach, which is too important to be omitted, and too recent to have found a place in Dr Roget's work.

In 1822, Alexis Martin, employed by the American Fur Company, was wounded in the side by the discharge of a musket. The contents of the gun blew from his left side integuments and muscles the size of a man's hand, so as to leave, when the wound had healed, a perforation in his stomach about two and a half inches in circumference. Hence the cavity of his stomach is exposed to view; its surface, and secretions from it, can be readily examined, and different articles of food can be introduced and taken out at pleasure, to study the changes which they have undergone. Since the recovery of Martin, he has enjoyed the best health. He has performed the duties of a labourer—has married, and become the father of a family; and Dr Beaumont, a physician stationed at the place where the accident happened,

has retained Martin several years in his service, for the express purpose of examining the functions of an organ which was so accidentally thrown open for his inspection and study. The results of this laborious enquiry have been published* by Dr Beaumont, and he has added much important information to Animal Physiology. He found the inner coat of the stomach to be of a light or pale pink colour, varying in its hues according as it was full or empty. It had a soft or velvet-like appearance, and was constantly covered with a thin transparent viscid mucus, secreted from small oval-shaped glandular bodies beneath the mucous coat. When aliment or other irritants were applied to the inner coat of the stomach, there were seen, with a magnifying glass, innumerable minute lucid points, and very fine nervous and vascular papillæ, arising from the villous membrane, and protruding through the mucous coat, and from which distilled a pure, limpid, colourless, and slightly viscid fluid. This fluid is always distinctly acid, and is the gastric juice, which converts the food into chyme. Dr Beaumont regards, with much probability, the sensation of hunger as occasioned by a distension or repletion of the gastric vessels, which cannot discharge their contents till the stomach is irritated with food. When food was placed in the gastric juice taken out of the stomach, the same chemical result was obtained, as when it was kept at the temperature of 100° Fahrenheit, which Dr Beaumont found to be that of the stomach. This artificial digestion, however, occupied a period two or three times longer than when the gastric juice acted upon the same materials in the stomach.

Dr Beaumont has published the times in which various articles of food are digested. A full meal of various articles of food was digested in from three to three and a half hours; but when the stomach was diseased, or affected by narcotics, or when the mind was agitated by anger or other strong emotions, or when the food was taken in large masses, the time of digestion was prolonged, while, on the contrary, it was shortened when the food had been minutely divided and mingled with saliva, and when the temperature of the stomach, and the rest of the body, had been elevated by moderate exercise. Among vegetable substances, rice was the soonest converted into chyme, viz. in one hour; and of all animal substances, broiled venison, which was converted into chyme in *one hour and thirty-five minutes;* while

* Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice, and the Physiology of Digestion. By William Beaumont, M.D., Surgeon in the United States Army.

beef, roasted or broiled, required *three hours;* broiled veal and fowls four hours, and roasted pork five and a quarter hours.

Beside the vulgar stomachs for digestion and rumination, the camel, dromedary, and horse have a stomach which is employed solely as a reservoir of water. Dr Roget gives the following account of this stomach in the camel, and of an analogous cavity in the elephant for a different purpose.

'The remarkable provision above alluded to in the *Camel*, an animal which nature has evidently intended as the inhabitant of the sterile and arid regions of the East, is that of reservoirs of water, which, when once filled, retain their contents for a very long time, and may minister not only to the wants of the animal that possesses it, but also to those of man. The second stomach of the Camel has a separate compartment, to which is attached a series of cellular appendages; in those the water is retained by strong muscular bands, which close the orifices of the cells, while the other portions of the stomach are performing their usual functions. By the relaxation of these muscles, the water is gradually allowed to mix with the contents of the stomach, and thus the Camel is enabled to support long marches across the desert without receiving any fresh supply. The Arabs, who traverse those extensive plains, accompanied by these useful animals, are, it is said, sometimes obliged, when faint, and in danger of perishing from thirst, to kill one of their camels, for the sake of the water contained in these reservoirs, which they always find to be pure and wholesome. It is stated by those who have travelled in Egypt, that camels, when accustomed to go journeys, during which they are for a long time deprived of water, acquire the power of dilating the cells, so as to make them contain a more than ordinary quantity, as a supply for their journey.

'When the elephant, while travelling in very hot weather, is tormented by insects, it has been observed to throw out from its proboscis, directly upon the part on which the flies fix themselves, a quantity of water, with such force as to dislodge them. The quantity of water thrown out, is in proportion to the distance of the part attacked, and is commonly half a pint at a time: and this Mr. Pierard, who resided many years in India, has known the elephant repeat eight or ten times within the hour. The quantity of water at the animal's command for this purpose, observes Sir E. Home, cannot therefore be less than six quarts. This water is not only ejected immediately after drinking, but six or eight hours afterwards. Upon receiving this information, Sir E. Home examined the structure of the stomach of that animal, and found in it a cavity, like that of the camel, perfectly well adapted to afford this occasional supply of water, which may, at other times, be employed in moistening dry food for the purposes of digestion.'

The conversion of the food into blood, and its circulation through the body in arteries, for the purpose of carrying to each part of the animal frame its requisite supply of nourishment, and the return of the vitiated blood to the heart by the veins, in order

to be purified by the influence of the air in the lungs, previous to its again setting out on its beneficent errand, afford most exquisite examples of transcendent skill and benignant design. The tender vessels of this fine hydraulic apparatus are every where conducted in safe courses: the arteries which go to the foot of the horse pass through a perforation in the coffin-bone, in order to protect them from injury: and in the fore leg of the lion, which is required for prodigious exertion of strength, the artery passes through a perforation in the bone itself in order to defend it from the violent contraction of the muscles.

The construction of the heart, and its power of propelling the blood through the arterial system, by its successive contractions, is an object of never-ceasing wonder. The prodigious force with which the blood is drawn into the aorta may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Dr Roget, that 'when we sit cross-legged 'the pulsation of the artery in the ham, which is pressed upon the 'knee of the other leg, is sufficiently strong to raise the whole leg 'and foot at each beat of the pulse.' 'The ventricle of the human heart,' he adds, 'does not contain more than an ounce of 'blood, and it contracts at least seventy times in a minute, so 'that above 300 lbs. of blood are passing through the organ every 'hour that we live.' 'The aorta of a whale,' says Dr Paley, 'is 'larger in the bore than the main pipe of the water-works of London Bridge, and the water roaring in its passage through that 'pipe is inferior in impetus and velocity to the blood gushing 'through the whale's heart.'

The local rotatory circulation, or *cyclosis*, which we have already noticed, as existing in certain plants, has been recently found by Mr Lister to exist in a great number of polypiferous zoophytes. The following is Dr Roget's account of the principal results of these experiments:

'In a specimen of the *Tubularia indicisa*, when magnified one hundred times, a current of particles was seen within the tubular stem of a polype, strikingly resembling, in the steadiness and continuity of its stream, the vegetable circulation in the *Chara*. Its general course was parallel to the slightly spiral lines of irregular spots on the surface of the tube, ascending on the one side, and descending on the other; each of the opposite currents occupying one-half of the circumference of the cylindric cavity. At the knots, or contracted parts of the tube, slight eddies were noticed in the currents; and at each end of the tube the particles were seen to turn round, and pass over to the other side. In various species of *Sertularia* the stream does not flow in the same constant direction: but, after a time, its velocity is retarded, and it then either stops, or exhibits irregular eddies, previous to its return in an opposite course; and so on alternately, like the ebb and flow of the tide. If the currents be designedly obstructed in any part of the stem, those in

the branches go on without interruption, and independently like the rest. The most remarkable circumstance attending these streams of fluid is that they appear to traverse the cavity of the stomach itself, flowing from the axis of the stem into that organ, and returning into the stem without any visible cause determining these movements. Similar phenomena were observed by Mr. Lister in *Campanulariæ* and *Plumulariæ*.

'In some of the minuter species of Crustacea, the fluids have been seen, by the aid of the microscope, moving within the cavities of the body, as if by a spontaneous impulse, without the aid of a propelling organ, and apparently without being confined in membranous channels, or tubes of any sort. This kind of diffused circulation is also seen in the embryos of various animals, at the earliest periods of their developement, and before any vessels are formed.'

In the phenomena of respiration, whether it is effected in water, as in fishes, or in air, as in most other animals, the skill and provident arrangement of the Creator are highly conspicuous. In fishes, the blood is exposed to the oxygen absorbed by the water, when it passes through the myriads of minute blood-vessels spread like a delicate net-work over every part of the surface of the gills. These blood-vessels, which are thickly set, like one pile of velvet, present an extensive surface to the aerated water; and in the case of the skate, Dr Monro has computed that the surface of the gills is at least equal to the whole surface of the human body. When the fish is taken out of water, the minute filaments collapse and adhere together in a mass, so that they cannot receive the vivifying influence of the oxygen of the atmosphere, and therefore they die. A few fishes, such as the *perca scandens*, which can travel to a considerable distance on land, the *ophicephalus*, the eel, and the *silurus costatus*, which makes long marches over land in search of water, have a particular provision to enable them to live out of their native fluid. This provision consists in the gills being constructed to retain the water for a considerable time, either, in one case, from the narrowness of the aperture for the exit of the water from the bronchial cavity, or from the spongy structure of the pharyngial bones. River water contains about one per cent of oxygen, measured in volumes, but when the oxygen has been consumed by the fish in a pond frozen over, they soon perish, although they require only a small quantity of air, for a tench is able to breathe when the quantity of oxygen is reduced to the 5000dth part of the bulk of the water.

In the act of atmospheric respiration, the venous blood parts with its superabundant carbon, which escapes in the form of carbonic acid gas, and having thus recovered its natural vermilion colour, it is fit to renew its journey through the arterial system. The carbonic acid gas is of course formed by the union of the carbon with the oxygen, inhaled from the atmosphere, but it is

still uncertain whether the whole of the oxygen is employed in the formation of the carbonic acid gas, or whether a part is permanently absorbed by the blood.

From the mechanical and chemical functions of the animal world, Dr Roget's plan leads him to the Third Part of his Treatise, '*on the Sensorial Functions*.' In adding to the mere physical existence of animals, the functions of sensation, perception, and voluntary motion, the medullary substance composing the greater part of the brain, the spinal marrow, and the nerves, has been organized and endowed with strange and mysterious properties. This substance in the brain enables it to receive through the medium of the senses impressions from external objects, and thus to furnish the mind with the materials of thought. What the mind is, and how the brain acts as its organ, it is in vain to enquire. The all-wise Creator has placed here a barrier to human genius, and man exhibits only his weakness when he presumptuously attempts to surmount it. Dr Roget confines himself to the legitimate objects of philosophical inquiry; and treats successively of the senses of Touch, Taste, Smell, Hearing, and Vision. The four chapters in which he discusses these subjects evince great learning and science; and we would particularly distinguish the chapter on Vision as an able and accurate dissertation, which very few of his contemporaries could have composed. The section on the 'Comparative Physiology of Vision' contains much curious information on the compound Eyes of Insects, which consist of a great number of separate cylinders, closely packed together on the surface of a central bulb, which may be regarded as a part of the optic nerve, while the outer ends of the cylinders form a hemispherical convex surface corresponding to the cornea of common eyes. Each cylinder consists of a transparent horny substance, convex externally, and the form of each is hexagonal, like the cells of a honeycomb. Each of these cylinders performs the part of a convex lens, and converges the rays of light upon the retina; and hence each point of an object is seen through the cylinder which is opposite to it. In some of the crustacea, these horny eyes are placed at the end of movable pedicles; and there is a species of crab in the Mediterranean, which has its eyes supported on a long jointed tube, having two articulations, enabling the animal to direct them like the arms of a telegraph to different quarters.

We would willingly detain our readers a little longer in giving them some account of the last part of Dr Roget's work, on the Reproductive Functions, and the Organic Developement of Animal Bodies; but the nature of the subject, as well as our limits, compel us to bring our observations to a close. We

cannot do this, however, without recommending, in the strongest manner, the perusal of Dr Roget's work to all classes of readers, and earnestly requesting its author to publish a popular abridgement of it for the benefit of those who are either unable to purchase the original work, or whose attention could not be sustained during the perusal of two volumes. The knowledge which fits us for the world must always be deemed worthy of acquisition; but that which prepares us for quitting it is still more deserving of our anxious study. Science, like the thread of the spider, enables us to maintain a communication with regions otherwise inaccessible. It connects us with what is remote in the past, and interests us in what is distant in the future. While the vulgar gaze in mysterious wonder at the results of creative power, the student of nature perceives the unity of design and of purpose which pervades the whole; and he is permitted to trace the steps and pursue the laws by which the Omniscient Spirit has accomplished his Work. Had the stately tree or the perfect animal stood before us at the instant of its creation, our wonder would doubtless have been raised by their beauty and their grandeur; but when we see the one gradually unfolding itself from the tiny seed, and the other developing the organs of life, and motion, and sensation, till it passes from a gelatinous molecule to a living, a moving, and a thinking being, we recognise the continued exercise of unparalleled skill and unlimited power. When the mind has been trained to such humbling enquiries, and has been thoroughly imbued with the precious knowledge which they bring, the doubts and fears which have darkened its path gradually disappear. The reconstruction of the body from its mouldered elements becomes more easy of belief than its known developement from a transparent grain; and we at last learn the important lesson, that if ignorance was the cause of our early scepticism, 'Knowledge is the wing wherewith we fly 'to Heaven.'

Art. IX.—1. *Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical, and Historical.* By Mrs Jameson. 2 Vols. 8vo. London: 1832.

2. *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad.* By Mrs Jameson. 4 Vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

If it be true, as some Catholic divine maintained, that the streets *below* are 'paved with good intentions,' we fear we have ourselves, in the case of Mrs Jameson and some others, contributed a few stones to the causeway. We plead guilty to the fact of having only lately become acquainted with her 'Diary of an Ennuyée;' we have yet to make our acquaintance with her 'Female Sovereigns;' but her striking and eloquent 'Characteristics of Women,' which we *did* peruse immediately on their publication, impressed us at once with a high idea of her powers, and a wish to express in a more public form the pleasure they had afforded us. But our intention of noticing them, though honestly entertained, was never executed,—forgotten, we confess, among the many topics of immediate interest, which in the last two stirring years have solicited attention. Now, however, the appearance of another work from the same pen at once reminds us of our omission, and enables us, though tardily, in some measure to redeem our error.

In no point, we think, is Mrs Jameson's talent more conspicuous, than in her correct appreciation of the bent of her own powers, and the department in which they might most efficiently and conspicuously be exercised. Minds of less discernment follow in the track of some popular fashion,—adding their historical romance, novel, play, or poem, as the case may be, to the multitude which already loads the table of the reading public, or piles the groaning shelves of the publisher. In such a crowd, even persons of some note can hardly expect to attract observation; the uniformity of garb seems to place all upon a level; and if some individual by his grotesque manner, or more eccentric movements, succeeds for a moment in fixing the public eye, he is sure in a short time to be surrounded with imitators, who copy his strange raiment and evolutions so exactly, that we are ready to swear 'there be six Richmonds in the field,' and no possibility of knowing 'the true prince.'

Whether Mrs Jameson could have written a good romance, or a popular poem, we can hardly say; but we are quite sure she has acted more wisely in choosing a different department, —one of the few in which there really existed an opening for female talent in English literature. As a novelist or a poet, she

would have been surrounded by female rivals, not to mention the numbers beyond number of the ruder sex, who haunt those walks of literature,—jostling with little ceremony every new intruder,—and who, worse even than the Turk, will not bear a *sister* near the throne. In poetry, what corner is not at the present day illustrated by female genius,—from stately tragedy or not less stately lyric, to the most simple strain of domestic tenderness, or artless expression of feeling; from 'scene un-' dividable,'—to use Polonius' comprehensive classification—to 'poetry unlimited?' In the novel or romance, may they not say with just pride, as they point to the circulating libraries, *Quæ terra nostri non plena laboris?* What remains to be gleaned where Miss Edgeworth, Miss Austin, Miss Ferrier, Mrs Shelley —(we stop here, because we perceive the line might lengthen inconveniently,) have reaped already? We must now wait till the changes that are going on without and within us have created new manners, have brought into play new opinions, or motives of action; have created, in short, a new mine of fiction —before the prospects which that department of literature holds out, will be flattering enough to tempt the possessor of high talent into that all but exhausted field.

But in the path of eloquent and philosophic *female* criticism, there has certainly existed a great gap in literature since the death of Madame de Staël. The quick observation and discrimination, the lively sensibility and warmth of imagination, the command of eloquent expression and illustration requisite for philosophic criticism—for any criticism indeed, of a high and original character,—found a vent so much more popular and attractive in poetry or novel writing, that the void left by the death of Madame de Staël seemed likely to remain not only unfilled up—(for with all our admiration for Mrs Jameson's fine talents, it would be absurd to represent her as a fit successor to that remarkable woman)—but absolutely untouched, yawning in all its original length, breadth, and depth: no female Curtius being to be found self-devoted enough to sacrifice her popularity in such a cause. But Mrs Jameson had sufficient faith in herself, and the public, to think that the experiment might be made, and that too on a theme at first sight the most threadbare and unpromising—the characters of Shakspeare. Not that profit and popularity were in this way the most likely to be obtained; but that she felt that if she could, from her own resources, her own thoughts and feelings, contribute any thing towards the better elucidation of those immortal creations—if, by studying them in the spirit of love and veneration, she could find the clue to any of the enigmatic appearances they present, or call forth any of their

hidden beauties,—'the world would not willingly let it die;' and that her fame, connected even by this remote affinity with that of Shakspeare, might be remembered when many of the popular Romancers of the day were forgotten. 'Not now nor ever,' she says, in her lively introduction, 'have I written to flatter any prevailing 'fashion of the day, for the sake of profit, though this is done by 'many who have less excuse for thus coining their brains. This 'little book was undertaken without a thought of fame or money: 'Out of the fulness of my own heart and soul have I written it. 'In the pleasure it gave me—in the new and varied forms of 'human nature it has opened to me—in the beautiful and soothing 'images it has placed before me—in the exercise and improve-'ment of my own faculties—I have already been repaid.'

To say any thing new on the subject of Shakspeare's characters, is not an easy task—to say any thing both new and true is indeed most difficult—and yet Mrs Jameson has done both; simply because she has viewed them from a point from which they have not been contemplated before, and brought to bear upon them a light to which they have not hitherto been exposed.

The critics of Shakspeare hitherto have been men. For though we have a great respect for Mrs Montagu, we really cannot consider her lucubrations as an exception. She deals more in generalities, in defences of what nobody would now think of attacking—such as Shakspeare's violation of the unities, or his blending of the comic with the tragic—than in the criticism of character; and her opinions are much more those of the literary men with whom she mingled in society, than the reflections of her own breast, or the expression of her feelings as a woman. Shakspeare's characters therefore, we say, have hitherto been viewed and criticised only on the male side. All that could be seen from that point of view, and by the light of masculine genius or reasoning, has been noted with singular sagacity, and portrayed with the most forcible colours. What man could say of man, 'or woman either,' has been said, and said well a hundred times. What escaped the strong grasp of Johnson's powerful reasoning and knowledge of life—seldom erring save where it dealt with creations beyond the visible diurnal sphere—could scarcely fail to be gathered up by such followers as Schlegel, with his imaginative and elevated principles of criticism—Tieck, with his genial and glowing sensibility—and Goëthe, with his intuitive poetical perception, and comprehensive sympathies.

But a wide field still remained unexplored—a cloudy and perilous limbo, in which masculine sagacity was at fault—a labyrinth that could only be traversed with assurance, by those to whom was given the clue of a congenial nature,—the same weaknesses,

the same strength. It remained to be seen how these wonderful creations of the imagination would present themselves to a female eye—how, in particular, the female characters of Shakspeare would be judged of by one of their own sex, possessed of the secrets of that freemasonry which man strives after in vain. Great poets, or rather only the greatest, overleap this barrier; and, as Lady Macbeth wished to do, 'unsex' themselves, or become, as it were, androgynous. But this perfect transference of one's self into another nature, is only possible to those who, like Shakspeare, can rise, even above human nature itself, into regions of pure and serene air—who, having 'exhausted worlds, can imagine 'new,' and people them too with congenial inhabitants. It is only the creative spirit which could form a Caliban, an Ariel, the Witches of Macbeth, or the Elves of the Midsummer Night's Dream, and give life and consistency to these airy shadows—which could with equal certainty, and, as if by intuition (for assuredly Shakspeare's acquaintance with the female world was hardly likely to have furnished him with many archetypes of his dramatic characters), catch the shifting impulses, and lay open the undiscovered depths of the female heart—which could invest with an equal halo of innocence and truth a divine Miranda, seated in 'maiden meditation,' though not 'fancy-free,' on the rocky shore of the still vex'd Bermoothes—or an enamoured but innocent Juliet, leaning from her balcony in luxurious Mantua, and listening 'for the far footsteps of her mortal lover:'—alike in one point—for both abandon themselves to the irresistible sweep of a first love, at once and for ever; but in all else how different—yet in every feature how true to nature, how self-consistent, 'how express and admirable!'

To the critic,—the calm, reasoning, uncreative critic,—such insight, which is a revelation rather than a result of observation, or a deduction of reason, is not given. Even of men, and their motives and actions, we generally judge mainly by the study of our own minds. It is from our own heart we draw our microcosm. A blind guide in many cases, even when applied to characters whose elements resemble our own, but how bewildering or imperfect when we reason from it to the thoughts and actions of beings whose clay seems of another temper; and who are acted on by many secret and complex influences which we cannot see, or with which we cannot sympathize. Study and observation may afford a sufficient glimmer of light to illuminate the common apartments and familiar passages, as it were, in the labyrinth of the female heart, but they desert us entirely, or only lead us astray, when we endeavour, by their fitful ray, to thread our way through the more mysterious recesses of the edifice;—

its sacred retirements, its 'chambers of imagery,' its wells of feeling, its vaults of secrecy, suffering, or crime. The torch that would guide us surely through these must be held by a female hand.

With truth, therefore, we think it may be said that the female characters of Shakspeare have never yet had justice done them; not that their mere outward and visible attributes have not been forcibly and correctly set forth: for in our own country, as well as in Germany, much has been written eloquently, and truly—as far as it goes—upon this subject: but that after all it is *but* the outward and visible show that is presented to us,—the broad meridians, as it were, which could not be mistaken, on the map of character,—while the nicer shades and gradations, the feelings and impulses, that lie too deep for the external manifestation either of tears or smiles, wit, eloquence, or passionate invective,—nay, sometimes the very points which give the key to the apparent difficulties or inconsistencies of the character, if they are of a subtile or unobtrusive kind, have been neglected, because unperceived. What but the want of this delicacy of perception could account for Hazlitt's confession that Portia is no favourite of his, and that her character seems to him pedantic and affected? What but this incapacity of comprehending her character, in which the real vastness of the conception is only concealed by the admirable harmony in which its elements are proportioned, could ever have induced a greater than Hazlitt, William Schlegel, in the midst of a rapturous eulogy on the Merchant of Venice, to dismiss her with the brief character of being a 'rich, beautiful, *clever* heiress.' Portia *clever!* in whose character the moral, intellectual, and sentient faculties—feeling, wisdom, beauty, gentleness, energy, and faith, are blended like the tints in the sunbeam;—whose suitors are princes thronging 'from the four quarters of the earth,' crossing seas and lands 'as o'er a brook, to see fair Portia,'—beside whom the grave Antonio, the quick-tongued Gratiano, the noble Bassanio, nay, the inexorable, able, terrible Shylock, sink into comparative inferiority! What an epithet! He might as well have called Shakspeare a *clever* poet. What shall we say of the manner in which another of Shakspeare's noblest characters, Isabella, in 'Measure for Measure,' has been treated by his commentators—passed over by the black-letter school of criticism, and even by Johnson—who was no black-letter man, but viewed life and human character in general in a learned spirit—without a word; and dismissed by Hazlitt, with the dry and somewhat caustic observation, that 'we are not greatly 'enamoured of her rigid chastity, nor can feel much confidence in

'the virtue that is sublimely good at another's expense?' In this most assuredly we cannot 'say *ditto*' to Mr Hazlitt. *We are* greatly enamoured of the rigid chastity of Isabella, and can only express our special wonder that any one with Hazlitt's great acuteness and general rectitude of poetical feeling—any one who had traced the character of Isabella from the commencement of the play to its close,—who had read and recollected the scenes with Claudio and Angelo,—could for a moment be so insensible to the sublimity of the character of Isabella;—could suspect her of a mere assumption of generosity and self-devotion, or doubt that she would have readily encountered death to save her brother, though she shrinks from what she deems worse than death, the commission of crime, and expresses in burning words her contempt for his cowardly weakness and selfishness, which, to escape a brief pang for himself, would entail the lasting misery of disgrace and remorse upon his sister.

These are but two, out of many instances that might be selected, of this insensibility to the beauty and true meaning of Shakspeare's female characters to be found among his male critics. Perhaps in such extreme cases as these, it may be said, the error lay not in the sex in general, but in the bluntness of perception of the individuals; it did not require a female's quick tact and knowledge of her sex's character to perceive that they had been strangely misapprehended. But many cases occur where the matter lies not so obviously on the surface. And it is in these the debateable land, as it were, of character, that the criticism of a woman of genius may so often throw light on the singularities or moral enigmas of the part; while even in those where there are no inconsistencies or difficulties to solve, a thousand little shades of meaning, and delicacies of feeling, and traits of character, are made palpable by her delicacy of analysis, which have escaped the notice of others, who have occupied themselves only with the mere marked lines of character, and to whose duller vision their microscopic features have been either invisible or meaningless. This is the service which in many particulars Mrs Jameson has rendered to the female characters of Shakspeare;—in some cases placing the whole character in a new light, in almost all, elucidating and bringing out, unsuspected beauties in individual situations or speeches;—in looks, in actions, in smiles or sighs, in half sentences, in silence—meaning is seen to lurk, intimations of character are detected; and all these little traits are woven together with so much art into a consistent whole, and so set off by the graces of language and illustration, that it is hardly too much to say that in these Characteristics the full beauties of Shakspeare's female characters have been for the

first time understood or portrayed. Nor is the service thus rendered to Shakspeare confined merely to the better understanding of his heroines: for often, from the new or clearer light thrown over these, a light is reflected back even on all the other personages of the play, and much that was startling or embarrassing in the construction of their characters, rendered consistent and intelligible.

But we are detaining our readers too long from judging for themselves as to the originality, and truth, or value of Mrs Jameson's criticisms. She has classified her heroines into characters of intellect, characters of passion and imagination, characters of the affections, and historical characters. It is evident such an arrangement must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*, but simply as indicating the *preponderance* of the one quality over others in the character. In this way the classification is in general sufficiently correct. Portia, Isabella, Beatrice, Rosalind, who are ranged under the head of characters of intellect, are sufficiently connected by that common tie: and sufficiently distinct from Juliet, Perdita, Ophelia, Miranda, Imogen, or Desdemona, in whom the gentler affections clearly predominate over the intellectual qualities; and who are ranged under the class of characters of passion and imagination. Occasionally, however, there must, in the infinite variety of Shakspeare, occur cases in which the affections and the intellectual powers are so balanced, as to render it difficult to say which gives the tone to the character. Such, we think, is Hermione, whom Mrs Jameson has placed in the class of characters of the affections. Powerful and deep as her feelings undoubtedly are, we confess that, to our minds, her superiority of intellect, her calm confidence in herself, her 'dignity without pride, love without 'passion, and tenderness without weakness;'*—the matron pride and eloquence of her defence on her trial, worthy to be placed beside that of Catharine of Arragon:—all these, we say, leave on our minds an impression of intellectual power, which would have induced us rather to place her beside the Portias and Isabellas, than the Imogens or Desdemonas of the scene.

As we alluded to the very superficial manner in which the character of Portia had been treated by Hazlitt and Schlegel, we may as well begin with some of Mrs Jameson's observations on that striking portrait; hanging, as she finely says, beside that of the inexorable Jew, 'like a beauty-breathing Titian 'by the side of a gorgeous Rembrandt:' and, in particular, her commentary on Portia's conduct during the trial scene: where she

* Vol. ii. p. 6.

combats the objection that Portia, unnecessarily and melo-dramatically as it were, prolongs the suspense and agony of the trial, when she might have cut short the proceeding at once by her famous quibble (for, after all, such it is, and we have little doubt that Portia's construction would not have been sustained in Westminster Hall) upon the terms of the bond.

'Portia maintains at first a calm self-command, as one sure of carrying her point in the end, yet the painful heart-thrilling uncertainty in which she keeps the whole court, until suspense verges upon agony, is not contrived for effect merely, it is necessary and inevitable. She has two objects in view,—to deliver her husband's friend, and to maintain her husband's honour by the discharge of his just debt, though paid out of her own wealth, ten times over. It is evident that she would owe the safety of Antonio to any thing rather than the legal quibble with which her cousin Bellario has armed her, and which she reserves as a last resource. Thus all the speeches addressed to Shylock, in the first instance, are either direct, or indirect experiments on his temper and feelings. She must be understood, from the beginning to the end, as examining with intense anxiety the effect of her own words on his mind and countenance, as watching for that relenting spirit, which she hopes to awaken either by reason or persuasion. She begins by an appeal to his mercy, in that matchless piece of eloquence, which, with an irresistible and solemn pathos, falls upon the heart like gentle dew from heaven—but in vain; for that blessed dew drops not more fruitless and unfelt on the parched sand of the desert, than these heavenly words upon the ear of Shylock. She next attacks his avarice.—

"Shylock there's *thrice* thy money offered thee."

'Then she appeals, in the same breath, *both* to his avarice and his pity:—

"Be merciful!
Take thrice thy money. Bid me tear the bond."

'All that she says afterwards—her strong expressions, which are calculated to strike a shuddering horror through the nerves—the reflections she interposes—her delays and circumlocution to give time for any latent feeling of commiseration to display itself—all are premeditated, and tend in the same manner to the object she has in view. Thus,—

"You must prepare your bosom for the knife;
Therefore lay bare your bosom."

'These two speeches, though addressed apparently to Antonio, are spoken *at* Shylock, and are evidently intended to penetrate *his* bosom. In the same spirit, she asks for the balance to weigh the pound of flesh, and entreats of Shylock to have a surgeon ready,—

"Have by some surgeon, Shylock, on your charge,
To stop his wounds, lest he do bleed to death.

SHYLOCK.

"Is it so nominated in the bond?

PORTIA.

" It is not so expressed—but what of that?
'Twere good you do so much for charity."

'So unwilling is her sanguine and generous spirit to resign all hope, or to believe that humanity is absolutely extinct in the bosom of the Jew, that she calls on Antonio, as a last resource, to speak for himself. His gentle, yet manly resignation—the deep pathos of his farewell, and the affectionate allusion to herself, in his last address to Bassanio,—

" Commend me to your honourable wife:
Say how I loved you. Speak me fair in death,"

are well calculated to swell that emotion which, through the whole scene, must have been labouring suppressed within her heart.

'At length the crisis arrives—for patience and womankind can endure no longer—and when Shylock, carrying his savage bent " to the last hour of act," springs on his victim—" a sentence, come prepare!"—then the smothered scorn, indignation, and disgust broke forth with an impetuosity which interferes with the judicial solemnity she had at first affected, particularly in the speech,—

" Therefore, prepare thee to cut off the flesh.
Shed thou no *blood;* nor cut thou less, nor more,
But just the pound of flesh: if thou tak'st more,
Or less, than a just pound, be it but so much
As makes it light or heavy, in the substance,
Or the division of the twentieth part
Of one poor scruple; nay, if the scale do turn
But in the estimation of a hair,
Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate."

'But she afterwards recovers her propriety, and triumphs with a cooler scorn and a more self-possessed exultation.

'It is clear, that to feel the full force and dramatic beauty of this marvellous scene, we must go along with Portia as well as Shylock; we must understand her concealed purpose, keep in mind her noble motives, and pursue in our fancy the under current of feeling working in her mind throughout. The terror and the power of Shylock's character—his deadly and inexorable malice would be too oppressive; the pain and pity too intolerable, and the horror of the possible issue too overwhelming, but for the intellectual relief afforded by this double source of interest and contemplation.'—Vol. i. p. 17.

In the trial scene, the intellectual resources of Portia, her acuteness, her eloquence, are displayed; it is in the casket scene that the feelings of her heart are most prominently brought forward. Like Miranda and Juliet, she is yielding her hand where she has given her heart, but her knowledge of life prevents her from doing so, with the unconsciousness of the first;—her clear and self-balanced intellect, from imitating the passionate abandonment of the latter. She knows what life and mankind are; she knows the va-

lue of what she gives, though she estimates, with the generosity of an affectionate woman, what she receives in return; she gives her hand trustfully, without fear, yet with the earnestness, the solemnity of one who feels that she has set life, and more than life, upon the cast, and that now, come what will, she must stand 'the hazard of the die.' Mrs Jameson's observations on the close of this scene, are distinguished, we think, by equal truth and felicity of expression. After adverting to the joyous burst with which Portia welcomes the successful choice of the casket by Bassanio, she proceeds,—

'Her subsequent surrender of herself, in heart and soul,—of her maiden freedom and her vast possessions, can never be read without deep emotion; for not only all the tenderness and delicacy of a devoted woman are here blended with all the dignity which becomes the princely heiress of Belmont, but the serious, measured, self-possession of her address to her lover, when all suspense is over, and all concealment superfluous, is most beautifully consistent with the character. It is in truth an awful moment that in which a gifted woman first discovers that, besides talents and powers, she has also passions and affections; when she first begins to suspect their vast importance in the sum of her existence; when she first confesses, that her happiness is no longer in her own keeping, but is surrendered for ever and for ever into the dominion of another! The possession of uncommon powers of mind are so far from affording relief or resource in the first intoxicating surprise—I had almost said terror—of such a revolution, that they render it more intense. The sources of thought multiply beyond calculation the sources of feeling, and, mingled, they rush together, a torrent deep as strong. Because Portia is endued with that enlarged comprehension which looks before and after, she does not feel the less but the more; because from the height of her commanding intellect she can contemplate the force, the tendency, the consequences of her own sentiments; because she is fully sensible of her own situation and the value of all she concedes—the concession is not made with less tenderness and devotion of heart, less confidence in the truth and worth of her lover, than when Juliet, in a similar moment, but without any such intrusive reflections, any check but the instinctive delicacy of her sex, flings herself and her fortunes at the feet of her lover.

" And all my fortunes at thy feet I'll lay,
And follow thee, my lord, through all the world."'—P. 26.

We wish we could spare room for her vindication of Isabella, which, could poor Hazlitt have read, he would, we think, have recanted his poetical heresies; or her remarks on Rosalind and Beatrice, which could only have been written by a woman; but our quotations are lengthening, and we *must* find a place for some of her fine reflections on the characters of Juliet and Miranda. 'Romeo and Juliet' is the only play of Shakspeare founded entirely on a love-story, and it seems written with his whole heart, steeped in the 'bloom of young desire and purple light of love.'

Never was there a more beautiful creation of fancy than Juliet,—enamoured but not love-sick, passionate yet pure; almost a child in years, but by the strength of her feelings elevated into woman; nay, in her power of sufferance and energy, emulating at times the courage of man,—exchanging her luxurious and tapestried chambers for the terrors of a charnel house, 'to live an unstained 'wife to my sweet love!' Mrs Jameson compares it, for singleness of purpose, and devotion of heart and soul, to the Thekla of Schiller's 'Wallenstein;' and so far certainly they do resemble each other, but she scarcely does justice, we think, to Thekla's character. True, 'the colouring in which Schiller has arrayed 'his Thekla is pale, sombre, vague, compared with the strong 'individual marking, the rich glow of life and reality which dis-'tinguish Juliet.' It could not be otherwise without a violation of propriety and truth. The one is a conception in the German, the other in the Italian taste; the one portrays the course of an overpowering attachment in the breast of a fiery daughter of the South; the other paints its calmer but not less engrossing progress in the native of a colder clime,—a being of a more dreamy, enthusiastic temperament. Thekla's position, in truth, more resembles Miranda's than Juliet's; the cloister had been to the one what the enchanted isle had been to the other,—a screen interposed between her and the world. Max Piccolomini presents himself to Thekla when he is sent to escort her to the camp at Pilsen, as Ferdinand does to Miranda; he is the angel, as she says herself in the beautiful monologue after his death, sent to greet her on the threshold of the world. From the first her attachment to him seems to her like a divine destiny; she feels that 'the heart's 'inclining is the voice of fate.' The very essence of her character is involved in this dreamy and sombre cast of her imagination; it is the absence of the 'rich glow of life' that gives to it 'the reality.' Juliet might have a thousand bonds of connexion with the world about her beside her love; we feel that Thekla could have none. She moves among the iron-handed and iron-hearted warriors by whom she is surrounded,—among them but not of them: her own imagination is the true world she lives in; the world about her but a vision, to which her attachment to Piccolomini gives a temporary reality. Thekla is, in her way, as true a portrait, that is, true to the elevated principle on which her character is constructed, as Juliet herself. Every trait of her character is marked with sufficient individuality for the effect intended to be produced. Innocence and angelic candour characterize her opening scenes; and when the prospect darkens, she developes, naturally and calmly, unsuspected energies which had

lain deep within the cistern of the heart, till they are drawn up by the strong cord of misfortune.

But comparisons are odious; and, leaving Thekla and Schiller, let us see what Mrs Jameson says of Juliet herself, when we go along with her more cordially.

'Juliet, like Portia, is the foster-child of opulence and splendour; she dwells in a fair city—she has been nurtured in a palace—she clasps her robe with jewels—she braids her hair with rainbow-tinted pearls; but in herself she has no more connexion with the trappings around her, than the lovely exotic transplanted from some Eden-like climate has with the carved and gilded conservatory which has reared and sheltered its luxuriant beauty.

'But in this vivid impression of contrast there is nothing abrupt or harsh. A tissue of beautiful poetry weaves together the principal figures and the subordinate personages. The consistent truth of the costume, and the exquisite gradations of relief with which the most opposite hues are approximated, blend all into harmony. Romeo and Juliet are not poetical beings placed on a prosaic background, nor are they like Thekla and Max in the Wallenstein, two angels of light amid the darkest and harshest, the most debased and revolting aspects of humanity; but every circumstance, and every personage, and every shade of character in each tends to the developement of the sentiment which is the subject of the drama. It is flushed with the genial spirit of the South, it tastes of youth, and of the essence of youth, of life, and of the very sap of life. We have, indeed, the struggle of love against evil destinies and a thorny world, the pain, the grief, the anguish, the terror, the despair, the aching adieu, the pang unutterable of parted affection, and rapture, truth, and tenderness trampled into an early grave,—but still an Elysian grace lingers round the whole,—and the blue sky of Italy bends over all.

'In the delineation of that sentiment which forms the ground-work of the drama, nothing in fact can equal the power of the picture, but its inexpressible sweetness and perfect grace; the passion which has taken possession of Juliet's soul, has the force, the rapidity, the resistless violence of the torrent; but she is herself as "moving delicate," as fair, as soft, as flexible as the willow that bends over it, whose light leaves tremble even with the motion of the current, which hurries beneath them. But at the same time that the pervading sentiment is never lost sight of, and is one and the same throughout, the individual part of the character in all its variety, is developed and marked with the nicest discrimination. For instance, the simplicity of Juliet is very different from the simplicity of Miranda; her innocence is not the innocence of a desert island. The energy she displays does not remind us of the moral grandeur of Isabel, or the intellectual power of Portia; it is founded in the strength of passion, not in the strength of character; it is accidental rather than inherent, rising with the tide of feeling and temper, and with it subsiding. Her romance is not the pastoral romance of Perdita, nor the fanciful romance of Viola, it is the romance of a tender heart, and a poetical imagination. Her inexperience is not igno-

rance; she has heard that there is such a thing as falsehood, though she can scarcely conceive it. Her mother and her nurse have perhaps warned her against flattering vows and man's inconstancy; or she has even

> "Turned the tale, by Ariosto told,
> Of fair Olympia loved and left of old."

Hence that bashful doubt, dispelled almost as soon as felt—

> "Ah! gentle Romeo,
> If thou dost love, pronounce it *faithfully*."

That conscious shrinking from her own confession—

> "Fain would I dwell on form; fain, fain, deny
> What I have spoke."

The ingenuous simplicity of her avowal—

> "Or if thou thinkest I am too quickly won,
> I'll frown, and be perverse, and say thee nay,
> So thou wilt woo—but else, not for the world."

And the touching-timed delicacy with which she throws herself for forbearance and pardon upon the tenderness of him she loves, even for the love she bears him—

> "Therefore pardon me,
> And not impute this yielding to light love,
> Which the dark night hath so discovered."'—P. 98.

Some critics have objected that the previous passion of Romeo for Rosaline,—a feeling by which he is still represented as influenced at the commencement of the play,—impresses us with a feeling of inconstancy on his part when he transfers his affections so instantaneously to Juliet, and of a want of delicacy on the part of the lady. This is exactly a question, we think, for a lady to decide; and after hearing both sides, we are disposed to take Mrs Jameson's word 'for a thousand pounds.'

'The incident which is found in the original story, has been retained by Shakspeare with equal feeling and judgment, and far from being a fault in taste and sentiment, far from prejudicing us against Romeo, by casting on him at the outset of the piece the stigma of inconstancy, it becomes, if properly considered, a beauty in the drama, and adds a fresh stroke of truth to the portrait of the lover. Why, after all, should we be offended at what does not offend Juliet herself? for in the original story we find that her attention is first attracted towards Romeo by seeing him "fancy sick and pale of cheer," for love of a cold beauty. We must remember that in those times every young cavalier of any distinction devoted himself, at his first entrance into the world, to the service of some fair lady, who was selected to be his fancy's queen, and the more rigorous the beauty, and the more hopeless the love, the more honourable the slavery. To go about "metamorphosed by a mistress," as Speed humorously expresses it; to maintain her supremacy in charms

at the sword's point; to sigh, to walk with folded arms, to be negligent and melancholy, and to show a careless desolation, was the fashion of the day. The Surreys, the Sidneys, the Bayards, the Herberts of the time, all those who were the mirrors "in which the noble youth did dress themselves," were of this fantastic school of gallantry, the last remains of the age of chivalry; and it was especially prevalent in Italy. Shakspeare has ridiculed it in many places with exquisite humour, but he wished to show us that it has its serious as well as its comic aspect. Romeo then is introduced to us with perfect truth of costume as the thrall of a dreaming fanciful passion, for the scornful Rosaline who had forsworn to love; and on her charms, and coldness, and on the power of love generally, he descants to his companions in pretty phrases and quite in the style and taste of the day. But when once he has beheld Juliet, and quaffed intoxicating draughts of love and hope from her soft glance, how all these airy fancies fade before the soul-absorbing reality! The lambent fire that played round his heart, now burns to that heart's very core. We no longer find him adorning his lamentations, in picked phrases, or making a confidant of his gay companions; he is no longer "for the numbers that Petrarch flowed in," but all is concentrated, earnest, rapturous, in the feeling and in the expression. . . . His first passion is indulged as a waking dream, a reverie of the fancy; it is depressing, indolent, fantastic; his second elevates him to the third heaven, or hurries him to despair. It rushes to its object through all impediments, defies all dangers, and seeks at last a triumphant grave in the arms of her he so loved. Thus Romeo's previous attachment to Rosaline is so contrived as to exhibit to us another variety in that passion which is the subject of the poem, by showing us the distinction between the fancied and the real sentiment. It adds a deeper effect to the beauty of Juliet, it interests us in the commencement for the tender and romantic Romeo, and gives an individual reality to his character, by stamping him like a historical as well as a dramatic portrait with the very spirit of the age in which he lived.'

'*Solvuntur tabulæ.*'—there is no more to be said; and Romeo leaves the bar with a triumphant verdict of acquittal. Mrs Jameson considers at some length the much contested question, whether Shakspeare has done wisely in altering the catastrophe of the story as given by Da Portā—who makes Juliet waken from her trance while Romeo still lives, and closes his tale with a harrowing scene between the lovers, as is now done in our stage version of the play—and she decides, as indeed Schlegel had done before, in favour of Shakspeare and dramatic truth. She says justly, that if Shakspeare's object had been to terrify and agonize, we cannot doubt how easily he who had formed the catastrophe of Othello, and the tempest scene in Lear, might have accomplished his object.

'But it is in truth a tale of love and sorrow, not of anguish and terror. We behold the catastrophe far off, with scarcely a wish to avert it.

Romeo and Juliet *must* die. their destiny is fulfilled; they have quaffed off the cup of life, with all its infinite of joys and agonies, in one intoxicating draught. What have they to do more upon this earth? Young, innocent, loving, and beloved, they descend together into the tomb; but Shakspeare has made that tomb a shrine of martyred and sainted affection, consecrated for the worship of all hearts, not a dark charnel vault, haunted by spectres of pain, rage, and desperation. Romeo and Juliet are pictured lovely in death as in life; the sympathy they inspire does not oppress us with that suffocating sense of horror which in the altered tragedy makes the fall of the curtain a relief, but all pain is lost in the tenderness and poetic beauty of the picture. Romeo's last speech over his bride, is not like the raving of a disappointed boy; on its deep pathos, its rapturous despair, its glowing imagery, there is the very luxury of life and love. Juliet, who had drunk off the sleeping potion in a fit of frenzy, wakes calm and collected.

> "I do remember well where I should be,
> And there I am—where is my Romeo?"

'The profound slumber in which her senses have been steeped for so many hours, has tranquillized her nerves and stilled the fever in her blood. She wakes "like a sweet child who has been dreaming of something promised to it by its mother," and opens her eyes to ask for it—

> "Where is my Romeo?"

'She is answered at once,—

> "Thy husband in thy bosom here lies dead."

This is enough; she sees at once the whole horror of her situation—she sees it with a quiet and resolved despair—she utters no reproach against the Friar—makes no enquiries, no complaints, except that affecting remonstrance—

> "O churl—drink all, and leave no friendly drop
> To help me after!"

All that is left to her is to die, and she dies. The poem, which opened with the enmity of the two families, closes with their reconciliation over the breathless remains of their children; and no violent, frightful, or discordant feeling, is suffered to mingle with that soft impression of melancholy left within the heart, and which Schlegel compares to one long endless sigh.'

This is finely thought and beautifully expressed: now let us turn to her portrait of a kindred, but a more ideal being,—a more ethereal temper; from Mantua to the magic isle, where sits—Miranda.

'Had Shakspeare never created a Miranda, we should never have been made to feel how completely the purely natural, and the purely ideal can blend into each other.

'The character of Miranda resolves itself into the very elements of womanhood. She is beautiful, modest, and tender, and she is these only. They comprise her whole being, external and internal. She is so perfectly unsophisticated, so delicately refined, that she is all but ethereal. Let us imagine any other woman placed beside Miranda—even one of Shakspeare's own loveliest and sweetest creations—there is not one of them that could sustain the comparison for a moment, not one that would not appear somewhat coarse and artificial when brought into immediate contact with this pure child of nature, "this Eve of an enchanted paradise."

'What then has Shakspeare done? "Oh, wondrous skill and sweet wit of the man,"—he has removed Miranda far from all comparison with her own sex; he has placed her between the demi-demon of earth and the delicate spirit of air. The next step is into the ideal and supernatural, and the only being who approaches Miranda, with whom she can be contrasted, is Ariel. Beside the subtle essence of this ethereal sprite, this creature of elemental light and air, that "ran upon the winds, rode the curl'd clouds, and in the colours of the rainbow lived," Miranda herself appears a palpable reality, a woman "breathing thoughtful breath," a woman walking the earth in her mortal loveliness, with a heart as frail-strung, as passion-touched, as ever fluttered in a female bosom.

'I have said that Miranda possesses merely the elementary attributes of womanhood, but each of these stands in her with a distinct and peculiar grace. She resembles nothing upon earth; but do we therefore compare her in our own minds with any of the fabled beings with which the fancy of ancient poets peopled the forest depths, the fountain, or the ocean? Oread or Dryad fleet, sea maid, or naiad of the stream? We cannot think of them together. Miranda is a consistent, natural human being. Our impression of her nymph-like beauty, her peerless grace and purity of soul, has a distinct and individual character. Not only is she exquisitely lovely being what she is, but we are made to feel that she *could* not possibly be otherwise than as she is portrayed. She has never beheld one of her own sex; she has never caught from society one imitated or artificial grace. The impulses which have come to her in her enchanted solitude, are of heaven and nature—not of the world and its vanities. She has sprung up into beauty beneath the eye of her father, the Princely Magician; her companions have been the rocks and woods, and the many shaped, many tinted clouds, and the silent stars; her playmates the ocean billows, that stooped their foamy crests, and ran rippling to kiss her feet. Ariel and his attendant sprites hovered over her head, ministered duteous to her every wish, and presented before her pageants of beauty and grandeur. The very air, made vocal by her father's art, floated in music round her. If we can suppose such a situation, with all its circumstances, do we not behold, in the character of Miranda, not only the credible, but the natural—the necessary results of such a situation? She retains her woman's heart, for that is unalterable and unalienable as a part of her being; but her deportment, her looks, her language, her thoughts—all these, from the supernatural and poetical circumstances round her, assume a cast of the pure ideal, and

to us, who are in the secret of her human and pitying nature, nothing can be more charming and consistent than the effect which she produces on others, who, never having beheld any thing resembling her, approach her as a wonder, as something celestial!

'Contrasted with the impression of her refined and dignified beauty, and its effect on all beholders, is Miranda's own soft simplicity, her virgin innocence, her total ignorance of the conventional forms and language of society. It is most natural, that in a being thus constituted, the first tears should spring from compassion, "suffering with those that she saw suffer," and that her first sigh should be offered to a love at once fearless and submissive, delicate and fond. She has no taught scruples of honour like Juliet, no coy concealments like Viola, no assumed dignity standing on its own defence. Her bashfulness is less a quality than instinct; it is like the self-folding of a flower, spontaneous and unconscious. I suppose there is nothing of the kind in poetry equal to the scene between Ferdinand and Miranda. In Ferdinand, who is a noble creature, we have all the chivalrous magnanimity with which man in a high state of civilisation disguises his real superiority, and does humble homage to the being of whose destiny he disposes: while Miranda, the mere child of nature, is struck with wonder at her own new emotions. Only conscious of her own weakness as a woman, and ignorant of those usages of society which teach us to dissemble the real passion, and assume (and sometimes abuse) an unreal and transient power, she is equally ready to place her life, her love, her service, beneath his feet. . . . . .

'The characters which I have classed together, as principally distinguished by the predominance of passion and fancy,* appear to me to rise in the scale of ideality and simplicity, from Juliet to Miranda; the last being in comparison so refined, so elevated above all stain of earth, that we can only acknowledge her in connexion with it through the emotions of sympathy she feels and inspires.

'I remember when I was in Italy, standing "at evening on the top of Fesole," and at my feet I beheld the city of Florence, and the Val d'Arno with its villas, its luxuriant gardens, groves, and olive grounds, all bathed in crimson light. A transparent vapour or exhalation, which in its tint was almost as rich as the pomegranate flower, moving with soft undulation, rolled through the valley, and the very earth seemed to pant with warm life beneath its rosy veil. A dark purple shade, the forerunner of night, was already stealing over the east; in the western sky still lingered the blaze of the sunset, while the faint perfume of trees and flowers, and now and then a strain of music wafted upwards, completed the intoxication of the senses. But I looked from the earth to the sky, and immediately above this scene hung the soft crescent moon —alone with all the bright heaven to herself; and as that sweet moon to the glowing landscape beneath it, such is the character of Miranda compared to that of Juliet.'

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* Juliet, Helena, Perdita, Viola, Ophelia, Miranda

Here we must bid adieu to the 'Characteristics,' from which we have quoted largely enough, we think, to justify the opinion of the powers of the authoress which we expressed in the outset;—to show that they are a substantial and original contribution to the criticism of Shakspeare; and to satisfy our readers how large a field of interest remains for them in the book itself; since our extracts have been taken only from three characters out of three-and-twenty; and among those we have not touched on are Rosalind and Beatrice, Imogen and Desdemona, Cordelia and Hermione, Constance and Lady Macbeth! Her remarks on the last of these characters, and her pleading against the supposition that Lady Macbeth is to be viewed as a mere impersonation of evil, are particularly worthy of attention. They may not, and probably will not, convince, at least not to the extent she carries her theory of the character: and, indeed, to say the truth, we rather adopt the view of Mr Campbell, who has been at some pains to controvert her positions in his recent Life of Mrs Siddons; but even those who doubt their soundness will hardly deny their novelty and beauty.

We have left ourselves but little space to advert to Mrs Jameson's last publication, entitled 'Visits and Sketches at Home 'and Abroad.' It consists, in a great measure, of a reprint of the 'Diary of an Ennuyée,' and of reprints of some smaller pieces. There were too things unfavourable to the effect of the 'Diary;' first, the title was a bad one; and, next, the whole of its sentimental and pathetic machinery was in the most questionable taste. The plan of killing the heroine by way of giving piquancy to a continental tour, was one which, the moment the *ruse* was detected, was sure to recoil on the head of the luckless author—for the public do not like to be cheated out of their sympathies—and to this we are disposed mainly to attribute the fact, that until attention had been again directed to this work by her later publications, it reached no second edition. Its desultory nature, of course, deprives it of any connected interest; but many of the observations it contains, particularly on works of art, are full of truth and correct feeling. The travelling 'Sketches' which compose the rest of this publication, possess many of the merits of the 'Characteristics;'—a delicate sensibility to beauty, whether in character, scenery, art, or literature, and the same power of varied, discriminating, and eloquent expression. The authoress seems to have travelled under the most favourable circumstances: to have seen every thing and every one worth seeing and knowing; and to have enjoyed the intimate and familiar acquaintance of some, to whom our English travellers in general appear to be strangers. Her remarks on Tieck,

on the German stage, and on the distinguished actors of Germany, are interesting: and she gives the best and most satisfactory account of modern German art, both in sculpture and painting, we have yet met with. As a specimen of the sort of amusement the reader is likely to meet with in these 'Sketches,' we shall conclude with her account of an artist whose name has become familiar in England, both by his illustrations of Goëthe and Schiller, and by his work now in (slow) progress on our own Shakspeare—Moritz Retzsch.

'This extraordinary genius, who is almost as popular and interesting in England as in his own country, seems to have received from Nature a double portion of the inventive faculty—that rarest of all her good gifts, even to those who are her especial favourites. As his published works, by which he is principally known in England (the Outlines to the Faust, to Shakspeare, to Schiller's Song of the Bell, &c.) are illustrations of the ideas of others, few but those who may possess some of his original drawings are aware, that Retzsch is himself a poet of the first order, using his glorious power of graphic delineation to throw into form the conceptions, thoughts, aspirations, of his own glowing imagination and fertile fancy. Retzsch was born at Dresden in 1779, and has never, I believe, been far from his native place. From childhood he was a singular being, giving early indications of his imitative power by drawing or carving in wood, resemblances of the objects which struck his attention, without the slightest idea in himself or others of becoming eventually an artist; and I have even heard that, when he was quite a youth, his enthusiastic mind, labouring with a power which he felt rather than knew, his love of the wilder aspects of nature, and impatience of the restraints of artificial life, had nearly induced him to become a huntsman or forester (Jäger) in the royal service. However, at the age of twenty, his love of art became a decided vocation. The little property he had inherited or accumulated was dissipated during that war, which swept like a whirlwind over all Germany, overwhelming prince and peasant, artist, mechanic, in one wide-spreading desolation. Since that time, Retzsch has depended on his talents alone—content to live poor in a poor country. He has, by the exertion of his talents, achieved for himself a small independence, and contributed to the support of a large family of relations, also ruined by the casualties of war. His usual residence is at his own pretty little farm or vineyard a few miles from Dresden. When in the town, where his duties as professor of the Academy frequently call him, he lodges in a small house in the Neustadt, close upon the banks of the Elbe, in a retired and beautiful situation. Thither I was conducted by our mutual friend N——, whose appreciation of Retzsch's talents, and knowledge of his peculiarities, rendered him the best possible intermediator on this occasion.

'The professor received us in a room which appeared to answer many purposes, being obviously a sleeping as well as a sitting-room, but perfectly neat. I saw at once that there was everywhere a woman's superintending eye and thoughtful care; but did not know at the moment

that he was married. He received us with open-hearted frankness, at the same time throwing on the stranger one of those quick glances which seemed to look through me: in return, I contemplated him with inexpressible interest. His figure is rather larger, and more portly than I had expected; but I admired his fine Titanic head, so large, and so sublime in its expression; his light blue eye, wild and wide, which seemed to drink in meaning and flash out light; his hair, profuse, grizzled, and flowing in masses round his head; and his expanded brow, full of poetry and power. In his deportment he is a mere child of nature, simple, careless, saying just what he feels and thinks at the moment, without regard to forms; yet pleasing from the benevolent earnestness of his manner, and intuitively polite without being polished.

'After some conversation, he took us into his painting room. As a colourist, I believe his style is criticised, and open to criticism; it is at least singular; but I must confess that while I was looking over his things I was engrossed by the one conviction—that while his peculiar merits, and the preference of one manner to another may be a matter of argument or taste, it is certain, and indisputable, that no one paints *like* Retzsch, and that, in the original power and fertility of *conception*, in the quantity of *mind* which he brings to bear upon his subject, he is in his own style unequalled and inimitable. I was rather surprised to see in some of his designs and pencil drawings, the most elaborate delicacy of touch, and most finished execution of parts, combined with a fancy which seems to run wild over his paper or his canvas; but only *seems*—for it must be remarked, that with all this luxuriance of imagination, there is no exaggeration, either of form or feeling; he is peculiar, fantastic, even extravagant—but never false in sentiment or expression. The reason is, that in Retzsch's character the moral sentiments are strongly developed; where *they* are deficient, let the artist who aims at the highest poetical department of excellence, despair; for no possession of creative talent, nor professional skill, nor conventional taste, will supply that main deficiency.

'I saw in Retzsch's atelier many things novel, beautiful, and interesting; but will note only a few, which have dwelt upon my memory, as being characteristic of the man as well as the artist.

'There was, on a small panel, the head of an angel smiling. He said he was often pursued by dark fancies, haunted by melancholy forebodings, desponding over himself and his art, "and he resolved to create an angel for himself, which should smile upon him out of heaven." So he painted this most lovely head, in which the radiant spirit of joy seems to beam from every feature at once; and I thought while I looked upon it, that it were enough to exorcise a whole legion of blue devils. It is rarely that we can associate the mirthful with the beautiful and sublime—even I could have deemed it next to impossible; but the effulgent cheerfulness of this divine face corrected that idea, which, after all, is not in bright lovely Nature, but in the shadow which the mighty spirit of Humanity casts from his wings, as he hangs brooding over her between heaven and earth.

'Afterwards he placed upon his easel a wondrous face, which made

me shrink back—not with terror, for it was perfectly beautiful—but with awe, for it was unspeakably fearful: the hair streamed back from the pale brow—the orbs of sight appeared at first two dark, hollow, unfathomable spaces, like those in a skull: but when I drew nearer, and looked attentively, two lovely living eyes looked at me again out of the depth of shadow, as if from the bottom of an abyss. The mouth was divinely sweet, but sad, and the softest repose rested on every feature. This, he told me, was the ANGEL of DEATH: it was the original conception of a head for the large picture now at Vienna, representing the Angel of Death bearing aloft two children into the regions of the blessed: the heavens opening above, and the earth and stars sinking beneath his feet.

'The next thing which struck me was a small picture—two satyrs butting at each other, while a shepherd carries off the nymph for whom they are contending. This was most admirable for its grotesque power and spirit, and, moreover, extremely well coloured. Another in the same style represented a satyr sitting on a wine-skin, out of which he drinks; two arch-looking nymphs are stealing on him from behind, and one of them pierces the wine-skin with her hunting-spear.

'There was a portrait of himself, but I would not laud it—in fact, he has not done himself justice. Only a colossal bust, in the same style, and wrought with the same feeling, as Danneckar's bust of Schiller, could convey to posterity an adequate idea of the head and countenance of Retzsch. I complimented him on the effect which his Hamlet had produced in England; he told me, that it had been his wish to illustrate the Midsummer Night's Dream, or the Tempest, rather than Macbeth: the former he will still undertake, and, in truth, if any one succeeds in embodying a just idea of a Miranda, a Caliban, a Titania, and the poetical burlesque of the Athenian clowns, it will be Retzsch, whose genius embraces at once the grotesque, the comic, the wild, the wonderful, the fanciful, the elegant!

'A few days afterwards we accepted Retzsch's invitation to visit him at his *campagna*—for whether it were farm-house, villa, or vineyard, or all together, I could not well decide. The drive was delicious. The road wound along the banks of the magnificent Elbe, the gently-swelling hills, all laid out in vineyards, rising on our right; and though it was in November, the air was soft as summer. Retzsch, who had perceived our approach from his window, came out to meet us—took me under his arm as if we had been friends of twenty years standing, and leading me into his picturesque *domicile*, introduced me to his wife—as pretty a piece of domestic poetry as one shall see in a summer's day. She was the daughter of a vine-dresser, whom Retzsch fell in love with while she was yet almost a child, and educated for his wife—at least so runs the tale. At the first glance I detected the original of that countenance which, more or less idealized, runs through all his representations of female youth and beauty: here was the model, both in feature and expression; she smiled upon us a most cordial welcome, regaled us with delicious coffee and cakes prepared by herself, then, taking up her knitting, sat down beside us; and while I turned over admiringly the beau-

tiful designs with which her husband had decorated her album, the looks of veneration and love with which she regarded him, and the expression of kindly, delighted sympathy with which she smiled upon me, I shall not easily forget. As for the album itself, queens might have envied her such homage: and what would not a dilettante collector have given for such a possession! . . . . .

'After spending three or four hours delightfully, we drove home in silence by the gleaming, murmuring river, and beneath the light of the silent stars. On a subsequent visit, Retzsch showed me many more of these delicious *phantasie*, or fancies, as he termed them,—or more truly, little pieces of moral and lyrical poetry, thrown into palpable form, speaking in the universal language of the eye to the universal heart of man. I remember, in particular, one of striking and even of appalling interest. The Genius of Humanity and the Spirit of Evil are playing at chess for the souls of men: the Genius of Humanity has lost to his infernal adversary some of his principal pieces,—love, humility, innocence, and lastly, peace of mind;—but he still retains faith, truth, and fortitude; and is sitting in a contemplative attitude, considering his next move; his adversary, who opposes him with pride, avarice, irreligion, luxury, and a host of evil passions, looks at him with a *Mephistophiles* expression, anticipating his devilish triumph. The pawns on the one side are prayers—on the other, doubts. A little behind stands the Angel of conscience as arbitrator. In this most exquisite allegory, so beautifully, so clearly conveyed to the heart, there lurked a deeper moral than in many a sermon.

'There was another beautiful little allegory of Love in the character of a Picklock, opening, or trying to open, a variety of albums, lettered, the "Human Heart, No. 1; Human Heart, No. 2;" while Philosophy lights him with her lanthorn. There were besides many other designs of equal poetry, beauty, and moral interest—I think, a whole portfolio full of them.

'I endeavoured to persuade Retzsch that he could not do better than publish some of these exquisite *Fancies*, and when I left him he entertained the idea of doing so at some future period. To adopt his own language, the Genius of Art could not present to the Genius of Humanity a more delightful and a more profitable gift.'*

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* Since the appearance of Mrs Jameson's 'Sketches,' Retzsch, we believe, *has* sent over to England a series of these Fancies for publication.

ART. X.—*A Bill to remove certain Disabilities which prevent some classes of his Majesty's Subjects from resorting to the Universities of England, and proceeding to Degrees therein.* 21st April, 1834.

THE whole difficulty of the question, in regard to the admission of Dissenters into the English Universities, lies in the present anomalous state—we do not say *constitution*—of these establishments. In them the University so called, *i. e.* the necessary national establishment for General Education, is now illegally suspended, and its function usurped, but not performed, by a number of private institutions which had sprung up in accidental connexion with it, named Colleges.

Now, the claim of the Dissenters to admission into the public university cannot justly be refused; nor, were the university what it ought in law to be, would the slightest difficulty or inconvenience be experienced in rendering that right available. But the university has been allowed to disappear—the colleges to occupy its place; and, while the actual right of the colleges, as private establishments, to close their gates on all but members of their own foundations cannot be denied; independently of this right, the expediency is worse than doubtful, either of forcing a college to receive inmates not bound to accommodate themselves to its religious observances, or of exacting from those entitled to admission, conformity to religious observances, in opposition to their faith. Now, neither in the bill itself, nor in any of the pamphlets and speeches in favour of the Dissenters, or against them, is there any attempt made to grapple with the real difficulties of the question: and the opponents of the measure are left to triumph on untenable ground, in objections which might be retorted with tenfold effect upon themselves.

The sum of all the arguments for exclusion amounts to this: The admission of the Dissenters is *inexpedient*, as inconsistent with the present state of education in the universities, which is assumed to be all that it ought to be; and *unjust*, as tending to deprive those of their influence who are assumed to have most worthily discharged their trust. In reply to this, it is feebly attempted, admitting the assumptions, to evade the right, and to palliate the inconveniences, instead of contending boldly—in the first place, that the actual state of education in these schools is entitled to no respect, as contrary at once to law and reason; and that all inconveniences disappear the moment that the universities are in the state to which law and reason demand that they

be restored; and, in the second, that so far from unjustly degrading upright and able trustees, these trustees have, for their proper interest, violated their public duty; and, for the petty ends of their own private institutions, abolished the great national establishment, of whose progressive improvement they had solemnly vowed to be the faithful guardians.

In attempting any reform of an ancient institution like the English Universities, it should be laid down as a fundamental principle, that the changes introduced be, as far as possible, in conformity with the spirit and even the mechanism of these institutions themselves. The English Universities, as spontaneously developed and as legally established, consist of two elements; and the separate perfection, and mutual cooperation and counterpoise of these elements, determine the perfection of the constituted whole. The one of these, principal and necessary, is the public instruction and examination in the several faculties afforded by the University Proper; the other, subordinate and accidental, is the private superintendence exercised in the Licensed House, which the under-graduate must inhabit; and the private tuition afforded by the licensed tutor, under whose guidance he must place himself. We are no enemies to this constitution. On the contrary, we hold that it affords the condition of an absolutely perfect university. The English universities, however, afford a melancholy illustration of the axiom, *corruptio optimi pessima*. In them the principles of health are converted into the causes of disease.

In two former articles,* we showed (especially in regard to Oxford, but in all essential circumstances our statements apply equally to Cambridge) that in the English universities there is organized, *by Statute*, an extensive system of Public instruction, through a competent body of Professors constantly Lecturing in all the Faculties; but that, *de facto*, this statutory system has now no practical existence. We showed that, besides this original and principal system—through which, in fact, alone other universities accomplish their end—the English universities came subsequently to employ two other subordinate means—means intended more to ensure order than to bestow instruction. In the first place, they required, from a remote period, that every member of the university should belong to some house governed by a graduate, licensed by the academical authorities, and responsible to them for the conduct of the other members of the establishment; and in the second they have, for above two centuries, enjoined that all un-

* Vol. liii., Art. vi.—Vol. liv., Art. ix.

der-graduates, who were then generally four years younger than at present, should be likewise under the special discipline of a *tutor*, whose principal office it was, privately to do what the University could not constitutionally, in its lay faculty of arts, *publicly* attempt, to 'institute his pupil' in the rudiments of religion and 'the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles;' but so little was expected from this subsidiary instructor, that by statute any one is competent to the office who has proceeded to his Bachelors' degree in Arts, (a degree formerly taken by the age at which the University is now entered,) and whose moral and religious character is approved by the head of the house to which he belongs,* or, in the event of a dispute on this point, by the Vice-Chancellor. We also showed how all these parts of the public academical constitution had been illegally annihilated, or perverted by the influence and for the behoof of a private interest in the university. This interest was the collegial. We traced how, through the unconstitutional elevation (by Laud) of the College Heads to a public academical body, intrusted with the exclusive guardianship of the statutes, and the initiative of every legislative measure, the collegial interest had contrived, through 'the broken faith and perjury' of its heads, to effect the following exploits: 1. To obtain the monopoly of board and lodging, by frustrating the former easy establishment of Halls, (authorized, but unincorporated houses:) and by preventing, through every disastrous mean, an influx of students to the university beyond their own limits of accommodation. 2. To usurp the monopoly of the tutorial office for their fellows, although fellowships are in few instances (especially in Oxford) the rewards of merit, but usually the gifts of accident and caprice. 3. To abolish the whole statutory system of public or professorial instruction in all the faculties; and thus to render the wretched scantling of preliminary instruction afforded by the college fellows, the sum of necessary education for all professions which the university was permitted to supply.—We have recapitulated these things, because, in considering the consequences of the proposed measure, it is requisite to bear in mind, not only what is the actual, but what the legal system of these institutions.

With the view of simplifying the question, and removing all unnecessary confusion, we shall make at once certain preliminary admissions.

In the first place, we admit that the colleges are foundations

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* It does not appear from the statutes that the *tutor must be of the same house with the pupil.*

private to their incorporated members; that their admission of *extranei*, or independent members, is wholly optional; and that, as they may exclude all, they consequently may exclude any. The legislature cannot, therefore, without a subversion of their constitution, deprive them of this fundamental right.

In the second place, we admit that, whether the religious observances of the colleges be imposed by their statutes or by the members themselves of the foundation, that it would be an unwarrantable exercise of legislative interference, either on the one hand to compel them to accommodate these observances to the taste of those intruded into their society; or, on the other, to subvert the discipline of the house, by emancipating any part of its inmates from the rules established for the conduct of the whole.

In the third place, we admit, that compelling the college to receive dissenters, it would be wholly impossible to compel, for a continuance at least, the dissenters to the religious observances of the college.

We admit, in the fourth place, that if to the colleges were left the right of optional exclusion, few dissenters in the present state of the universities would either condescend to enter, or be able, if so inclined, to accomplish their desire. On the one side the dissenter would be thus exposed to the humiliation of refusal; constrained, if admitted, to compliance with religious exercises to which he is adverse; and exposed to all the indignities through which a baffled bigotry might delight to avenge itself. On the other hand, the accommodation in the colleges, even at present, is quite inadequate to the demand for admission; the colleges cannot, therefore, hereafter be expected to exclude their brethren of the church to admit their cousins of the meeting-house—supposing even the irritation to have subsided, which the victory of the dissenters would at first, at least, inevitably occasion.

In the fifth place, we admit that *in the actual state* of the English universities they exist only in and through the colleges; that as these colleges are private foundations, the universities, *in their actual state*, are not national establishments; and that as it is unjust to force the dissenters on the colleges, consequently either unjust or idle, *as things at present stand*, to bestow on dissenters the right of entering the universities.

These admissions, though the points mainly contended for by the opponents of the bill, do not, however, determine the question. On the contrary, they only manifest the present preposterous state of the universities, and the utter ignorance that prevails in regard to their natural condition. It is certainly true, that if in Oxford and Cambridge the colleges constitute the university, the dissenters have no claim to admission; because in that case the

university is not a national foundation. But, that the university exists only through the colleges, the former being a great incorporation, of which the latter form the constituent parts, is a proposition so utterly false, and is founded on so radical an ignorance of the history and constitution of the schools in question, that we should have deemed it wholly unworthy of refutation, were it not maintained by so respectable an authority as Bishop Copplestone: and assumed with impunity,—nay, acquiescence,—as a basis for their argument, by Mr Goulburn and Sir Robert Inglis, the representatives of either English University, in the recent debates in the House of Commons upon the question. Mr Goulburn, in his speech against, and Mr Baynes, in his speech in favour of, the bill, asserted that when Edward I. visited Cambridge, Peter-House, being then the only college in existence, constituted the University. '*Peter-House College*' (interrupts the latter) '*was at that time the whole University.*' '*I know it was,*' resumes the learned representative of the University, of whose history he is so well informed. At the date in question, the scholars of the University of Cambridge were certainly above five thousand—the inmates of Peter-House probably under fifty! We had formerly occasion (vol. liii. p. 394, note) to animadvert on this mistake; and shall at present only say, that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were incorporated and privileged before, in either place, *there was a college in existence;* that they flourished as *general studies* long before a single college was established: and that they owe their downfall in these latter ages to the corrupt and unconstitutional subjection of the Academical legislature to the control or influence of the College heads. To say, in fact, that the English Universities are national foundations, is saying far too little. Those at all acquainted with the rise of the more ancient Universities, and in particular of Oxford and Cambridge, know that they were literally *cosmopolite corporations;* and if in their privileges a preference were betrayed at all, it was not generally in favour of the native.

But admitting (what cannot be denied) the natural right of the dissenters to the privileges of the Public University, and on the hypothesis that special grounds cannot be alleged to warrant its suspension: how, it may be asked, can they make their right available?

In the *first* place, howsoever it has been brought about, the result is unfortunately certain, that neither University now affords any public education worthy of the name: if, therefore, the dissenters obtain a right of entrance to the University, without also obtaining a right of admission to the Colleges, they will be foiled of all benefit from the concession.—To this we answer,

that the dissenters and all other citizens are entitled to demand that the Universities be restored to an efficient,—to a legal state; and that the guardianship of the reformed school be confided to worthier trustees than those who have hitherto employed their authority only to frustrate its end. We gladly join issue with the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis on this point.

In the *second* place, it may be said—you admit that dissenters have no title to demand admission to the colleges; the university requires that all students should belong to a privileged house; there are no privileged houses but the colleges and their dependent halls; the only gates to the university are therefore closed—How are they to get in? Various expedients may be proposed. But before attempting an answer, let us take a review of the rise and progress of the system of domestic superintendence in the universities; and we shall avail ourselves of the observations on this subject made by us in a former article.

During the middle ages, the vast concourse of students of every country to the greater universities made it necessary to employ various methods of academical police. In the English Universities, the chancellor and his deputy combined the powers of the rector and the two chancellors in Paris; and the inspection and control, chiefly exercised in the latter, through the distribution of the scholars of the university into nations and tribes, under the government of rector, procurators, and deans, was, in the former, more especially accomplished by collecting the students into certain privileged houses, under the control of a principal, responsible for the conduct of the members. This subordination was not indeed established at once; and the scholars at first lodged, without domestic superintendence, in the houses of the citizens. In the year 1231, we find it only ordained, by royal edict, 'that every clerk or scholar [resident in Oxford or Cam-'bridge] should subject himself to the discipline and tuition of 'some master of the schools;' *i. e.*, we presume, enter himself as the peculiar disciple of one or other of the actual regents in the public schools. And in the same year, the academical *taxators* are instituted, in imitation of the foreign universities, in order to check the exorbitant charge for lodging usually practised on the part of the townsmen. (Wood. Fuller.) By the commencement of the fifteenth century, it appears, however, to have become established law, that all scholars should be members of some college, hall, or entry, under a responsible head. (Wood, a. 1408.) And in the subsequent history of the university, we find more frequent and decisive measures taken in Oxford against the *Chamberdekyns*, or scholars haunting the public lectures, but of no authorized house, than in

Paris were ever employed against the *Martinets.* (Wood, an. 1413, 1422, 1512.) In the foreign universities none but students of the Faculty of Arts were subjected to collegial or bursal superintendence: in the English universities, the graduates and under-graduates of every faculty were equally required to be members of a privileged house.

By this regulation, the students were compelled to collect themselves into houses of community, variously denominated Halls, Hostels, Inns, Entries, Chambers. (*Aulae, Hospitia, Introitus, Camerae.*) These halls were governed by peculiar statutes, established by the University, by whom they were also visited and reformed; and they were administered by a principal, elected by the scholars themselves, but admitted to his office by the chancellor or his deputy, on finding caution for payment of the rent. The halls were in general held only on lease; but by a privilege common to most Universities, houses once occupied by clerks or students could not again be taken from the gown, if the rent were punctually discharged: the rate of which was quinquennially fixed by the academical taxators. The great majority of the scholars who inhabited these halls lived at their own expense; but the benevolent motives which, in other countries, determined the establishment of colleges and private *bursae*, nowhere operated more powerfully than in England. In a few houses, foundations were made for the support of a certain number of indigent scholars, who were incorporated as fellows, (or joint participators in the endowment,) under the government of a head. But with an unenlightened liberality, these benefactions were not, as elsewhere, exclusively limited to *learners*, during their academical studies, and to *instructors:* neither was merit often the condition of their election: while the subjection of the colleges to private statutes, and their emancipation from the control of the academical authorities, gave them interests apart from those of the public; and not only disqualified them from cooperating towards the general ends of the university, but rendered them, instead of powerful aids, the worst impediments to its utility.

The Colleges, into which commoners, or members not on the foundation, were, until a comparatively modern date, rarely admitted, remained also for many centuries few in comparison with the Halls. The latter were counted by hundreds; the former, even at the present day, extend only to nineteen.

In Oxford, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the number of the halls was about three hundred, (Wood, a 1307)—the number of the secular colleges at the highest, only *three.* At the commencement of the fifteenth century, when the colleges had risen to seven, a Fellow of Queen's laments, that the students

had diminished as the foundations had increased. (Ullerston, *Defensorium*, &c. written 1401.) At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the number of halls had fallen to *fifty-five*, (Wood, a. 1503,) while the secular colleges had, before 1516, been multiplied to *twelve*.

From causes, which in our former article we fully stated, the universities during the period of the Reformation were almost literally deserted. The halls, whose existence solely depended on the confluence of students, thus fell; and none, it is probable, would have survived the crisis, had not several chanced to be the property of certain colleges, which had thus an interest in their support.

The circumstances which occasioned the ruin of the halls, and the dissolution of the cloisters and colleges of the monastic orders in Oxford, not only gave to the secular colleges, which all remained, a preponderant weight in the university for the juncture, but allowed them so to extend their circuit and to increase their numbers, that they were subsequently enabled to comprehend within their walls nearly the whole of the academical population; though, previously to the sixteenth century, they appear to have rarely, if ever, admitted independent members at all. As the students fell off, the rents of the halls were taxed at a lower rate; and they became, at last, of so insignificant a value to the landlords, that they were always willing to dispose of this fallen and falling property for a trifling consideration. In Oxford, land and houses became a drug. The old colleges thus extended their limits, by easy purchase, from the impoverished burghers; and the new colleges, of which there were *four*, established within half a century subsequent to the Reformation, and altogether *six* during the sixteenth century, were built on sites either obtained gratuitously or for an insignificant price. After this period only *one* college was founded—in 1610; and three of the eight halls transmuted into colleges, in 1610, 1702, and 1740; but of these one is now extinct.

These circumstances explain in what manner the halls declined; it remains to tell, why, in the most crowded state of the university, not one has been subsequently restored. Before the era of their downfall, the establishment of a hall was easy. It required only that a few scholars should hire a house, find caution for a year's rent, and choose for principal a graduate of respectable character. The chancellor, or his deputy, could not refuse to sanction the establishment. An act of usurpation abolished this facility. The general right of nomination to the principality, and consequently to the institution of halls, was, 'through the 'absolute potency he had, procured by the Earl of Leicester,'

chancellor of the university, about 1570: and it is now, by statute, vested in his successors. In surrendering this privilege to the chancellor, the colleges were not blind to their peculiar interest. From his situation, that magistrate was sure to be guided by their heads: no hall has since arisen to interfere with their monopoly: and the collegial interest, thus left without a counterpoise, and concentrated in a few hands, was soon able to establish an absolute supremacy in the university.

Having thus, in obedience to Bacon's precept, 'reduced things 'to their first institution, and observed how they had degenera-'ted,' we are in a condition 'to take counsel of both times—of 'the ancienter time what is best, and of the later times what is 'fittest: to reform without bravery or scandal of former times, 'but yet to set it down to ourselves as well to create good prece-'dents as to follow them.'

Were the system of public education in the English Universities recalled into being and raised to the perfection which it ought to possess: and were access to its benefits again opened to all—a greatly increased resort to Oxford and Cambridge would be the inevitable result. The colleges and halls hardly suffice at present—how then are the great additional numbers, without detriment, if not with advantage, to the established discipline, to be accommodated? Now, in answering this question we may do so generally,—or in special reference to the Dissenters; but it is evident that an expedient mode is, if possible, to be devised, of solving the problem without taking religious differences into account.

The only plan that has been proposed to obviate the difficulties which the actual though illegal merging of the Public University in the private colleges presents to the admission of dissenters, is to allow them to found a college or colleges for themselves. We strongly deprecate this plan. We do not, of course, question the *right* of the Dissenters, if admitted to the university, of founding colleges, and of imposing what religious conditions they may choose either to a participation in their endowments or to admission within their walls. But we regard the exercise of this right as inexpedient—nay, detrimental in the highest degree. To say nothing of its expense, and supposing always that such a measure might be carried into effect with far better means of furthering the ends of education than the old foundations, through their fellows generally supply; still it would accomplish nothing which may not be effected by much easier methods; and would contribute to entail a continuance of that sectarian bigotry and intolerance which, in this country, at present equally disgraces the established and dissenting divisions of our common faith. The exclusive

spirit of the present colleges would be imitated, justified, exacerbated, and perpetuated; and in the old and new colleges together, the university would become little else than the nurseries and camps and battle fields of a ferocious and contemptible polemic: whereas, left to themselves, and to the influence of a more enlightened spirit, the ancient foundations will be gradually won over by the liberality of the age, and the charities of a common Christianity. We are confident, their disabilities being removed, and the means offered to the dissenters of a university education, without any forced religious compliances, that they would never think of establishing for themselves collegiate foundations of a sectarian character; and we are equally confident, that if this were not attempted by them, and did the accommodation in the authorized houses of the university once exceed in a degree the demand for admission, that the colleges would be equally patent to such dissenters as were not averse from their observances, as to members of the Established Church. And that such means may be easily afforded, without violating the constitutional discipline of the university, is manifest from the history we have previously given of the system of their domestic superintendence.

Without therefore proposing to dispense with domestic superintendence altogether, as was originally the case in Oxford and Cambridge, and as has been always generally practised in other universities; and without supposing the necessity of any expensive foundations, or even of establishments that will not easily support themselves;—we think the difficulty may be overcome, by simply returning to the ancient practice of the universities, in regard to the easy establishment of Halls or Hostels; under any new restrictions, however, that may be found proper to enhance their character and utility. These halls may be established under a double form. Either the hall shall consist only of a single house, in which its head or principal (necessarily a graduate) resides; or of a number of separate houses, each under the care of an inferior officer, bound to report to the principal all violations of rule. The advantage of the latter form would be its more moderate expense. The great benefits which this return to the natural system of the university would afford, in breaking the detestable monopoly of the fellow-tutors,—in presenting to merit a free and honourable field of competition,—in retaining in the universities men of distinguished learning and ability,—in determining an improvement both of the public and private education,—and in raising to a high pitch the standard of academic accomplishment;—these, and other advantages, we may probably take a more fitting opportunity of discussing. In reference to our present question, this restoration of the halls would, we think, obviate

all difficulties in regard to the dissenters, were the routine of morning and evening prayers simply not rendered imperative in the new establishments, of which, indeed, for the sake of religion itself, the old ought to be relieved. But on details we cannot now enter: and hasten to consider the objections by which the measure for the admission of dissenters has been principally opposed.

It is objected, that universities in general, and the English universities in particular, are not more places of literary and scientific instruction than places of religious education; that religion can be only taught on the doctrine of a single sect; that the dominant sect in the state must remain the dominant sect in the university: consequently, universities, and especially the English universities, are not places into which dissenters from the established faith ought either to wish, or should be allowed, to enter.

This objection is of any cogency only from the miserable confusion in which it is involved. We must make two distinctions—distinguish, first, the religious education given in the Public University from the religious education afforded in the private colleges: and, secondly, in the former, the *professional* instructions in religion given to the future divine in the faculty of theology, from the *liberal* instruction in religion which may be given to all in the preliminary or general faculty of arts.

In so far as regards the University Proper, there is no difficulty whatever. We shall suppose this restored to life,—to be as it has been, and ought to be. It will not be contended that, either in the English universities, or in any university whatever, it was ever required or expected, if indeed allowed, that persons admitted for general education in arts, or for professional education in law or medicine, should attend the professional lectures delivered in the theological faculty. The theological faculty will always teach the doctrine of the establishment; but none need attend its instructions beside those destined for the church:—nay, to the ineffable disgrace of the establishment and universities, so far are Oxford and Cambridge from being preeminently religious schools, that the English is the one example in Christendom of a church, whose members are not prepared for their holy calling, by a long academical course of education in the different branches of theology; and the English the only universities in the world in which such a course cannot actually be obtained. The English clergyman is perhaps destitute of academical education altogether; but if he enjoys this advantage 'one fort-'night,' (to use the words of Professor Pusey,) 'comprises the 'beginning and end of all the public instruction which any can-'didate for holy orders is required to attend, previously to enter-

'ing upon his profession.' Yet, though the London University only omits what the Church of England does not think it necessary to require of its ministers—a course of professional education in divinity—and though the London University *actually* teaches what Oxford and Cambridge teach only *in statute*, yet the members of this church and of these universities clamour against the incorporation of the London University, because, forsooth, it does not fulfil the conditions which its name implies!

We may take this opportunity, by way of parenthesis, of saying a few words in exposition of the very general mistake in regard to the name and nature of a University;—a mistake which threatens to become of serious practical importance from the consequences that are now in the course of being deduced from it. *University*, in its academical application, is supposed to mean a *university of sciences or faculties* (*scientiarum, facultatum universitas.*)

Pleased as we are with the candour of Mr Sewell's confessions—'that the University of Oxford is not an enlightened body,' —that 'we (its members) have little liberality in religion,'—and 'study logic in a very humble way;' we should hardly have been moved to an open dissent from his decision, (founded on this interpretation of the word,) that the 'University of London,' as excluding theology from its course of studies, is unentitled to the name it has usurped. But when it has been seriously argued before the Privy Council by Sir Charles Wetherell, on behalf of the English universities, as a ground for denying a charter to this institution, that the simple fact of the Crown incorporating an academy under the name of *university*, necessarily, and in spite of reservations, concedes to that academy the right of granting all possible degrees; nay, when (as we are informed) the case itself has actually occurred,—the Durham University, inadvertently, it seems, incorporated under that title,—being in the course of claiming the exercise of this very privilege as a right, necessarily involved in the public recognition of the name; —in these circumstances, we shall be pardoned a short *excursus*, in order to expose the futility of the basis on which this mighty edifice is erected.

Sir Charles Wetherell, after quoting the argument of Mr Attorney-General Yorke, in the case of Dr Bentley—('The power of 'granting degrees flows from the Crown. If the Crown erects a 'university, the power of conferring degrees is incident to the 'grant. Some old degrees the universities have abrogated, some 'new they have erected,' &c.) *inter alia*, contends—'The second 'point stated in Mr Yorke's argument is equally material to be 'kept in view; namely, that the power of conferring degrees is 'incident to a university, and some particular remarks must be

'borrowed from it. Allusion was made the other day by Dr 'Lushington to a passage stated in the Oxford petition, 'importing that they had been advised that it was matter of 'great doubt whether a proviso in the charter, restricting this 'institution from conferring degrees in divinity, would be binding 'and effectual, and some surprise was expressed at it. That 'advice I gave, and I considered Mr Attorney-General Yorke 'as my coadjutor in giving it, for it is founded upon his opi-'nion. I understand that a charter is now asked for to make a 'university, who are not to grant theological degrees. There is 'something very whimsical in this: for theological learning is, 'beyond all doubt, one of the main purposes and characteristics 'of a university. But, say these gentlemen, (and their friends 'and advocates, at the Common-Council at Guildhall, said the 'same thing,) to be sure it will be too bad to have a university 'pretending to give degrees in theology, for we have neither Θεος 'in the place, nor Λογος. The Deity and Revelation we intend 'not ourselves to recognise—we shall ask only for degrees in 'arts, law, surgery, and medicine. But even the surgical or 'medicinal degree is likely to be amputated; at present, at least, 'they have no means to confer it. In this state of things, (in-'dependently of the general legal argument with which I have 'troubled your Lordships, to show that theology, according to 'the doctrines of the Church of England, must form a part of 'the instruction given in an institution which is to be established 'as a university) this question of law arises—How can this 'anomalous and strange body be constituted in the manner pro-'fessed? It is to be a "University," but degrees in theology 'it is not to give. But Mr Attorney-General Yorke tells us, 'that the power of giving degrees is incidental to the grant. If 'this be law, is not the power of conferring theological degrees 'equally incident to the grant, as other degrees; and if this be 'so, how can you constitute a university without the power of 'giving "all" degrees? The general rule of law undoubtedly 'is, that where a subject-matter is granted which has legal inci-'dents belonging to it, the incidents must follow the subject 'granted; and this is the general rule as to corporations; and it 'has been decided upon that principle, that as a corporation, as 'an incident to its corporate character, has a right to dispose of 'its property, a proviso against alienation is void.'*

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* Substance of the speech of Sir Charles Wetherell before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the subject of incorporating the London University. London: 1834, pp. 79-81.

We entertain great respect for the professional authority of Mr Yorke and Sir Charles Wetherell; and should not certainly have ventured to controvert that authority on any question of *English law*. But this is no such question. Here the cardinal point is the meaning of the word *universitas*, in its proper academical signification. But as the word was originally not of English, but of European consuetude, and as it will not be pretended that it had a different meaning as applied to Oxford and Cambridge, (in which sense, the Crown in this country must be supposed in any new erection to employ the word,) from what it expressed as applied to Paris or Bologna; consequently, the whole question resolves itself into one, to be determined, not by English law, (for there can be neither rule nor precedent in the case,) but by the analogies to be drawn from the history and charters of the ancient European universities. And without research, dipping only into the academical documents nearest at hand, we shall find no difficulty in proving that *University*, in its proper and original meaning, denotes simply the whole members of a body (generally, incorporated body) of persons teaching and learning one or more departments of knowledge; and not an institution privileged to teach a determinate circle of sciences, and to grant certificates of proficiency (degrees) in certain fixed departments of that circle (faculties).

The oldest word for an unexclusive institution of higher education, was *studium*, and *studium generale*—terms employed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and retained in those which followed. The word *Universitas*, in the common language of Rome, is equally applicable to persons and things. In the technical language of the civil law, it was, in like manner, applied to both. In the former signification, (convertible with *collegium*,) it denoted a plurality of persons associated for a continued purpose, and may be inadequately rendered by *society, company, corporation;* in the latter, it denoted a certain totality of individual things, constituted either by their mutual relation to a certain common end, (*universitas facti*,) or by a mere legal fiction, (*universitas juris*). In the language of the middle ages, it was applied either loosely to any understood class of persons;*

* For instance, in 1212, *universitas vestra*, applied by municipality of Oxford to *omnibus Christi fidelibus;* and four years after, by the Papal Legate, to *omnibus Magistris et Scholaribus Oxonii commorantibus*. In 1276, *universitas vestra*, applied, in same deed, by Bishop of Ely, to *universis Christi fidelibus*, and *universitas*, used as convertible with *universitas Regentium et Scholarium studentium Cantabrigiae*.

or strictly (in the acceptation of the Roman law) to a public incorporation, more especially (as equivalent with *communitas*) to the members of a municipality,* or to the members of a *general study*. In this last application it was, however, not uniformly of the same amount; and its meaning was, for a considerable period, determined by the words with which it was connected. Thus, it was used to denote either (and this was its more usual meaning) the whole body of teachers and learners,† or the whole body of learners,‡ or the whole body of teachers and learners, divided either by faculty§ or by country,¶ or by both together.‖ But no one instance can, we are confident, be adduced, in which (we mean until its original and proper signification had been forgotten**) it is employed for a school teaching, or privileged to teach, and grant degrees, in all the faculties. As *communitas*, which originally was employed only with the addition of *incolarum civitatis*, or the like, came latterly, absolutely and by itself, to denote the whole members of a civic incorporation;—so *universitas*,

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* See Du Cange and Carpentier in voce; add Bulaeus, iv., p. 27. Fattorini, ii. p. 57-58. It was frequently applied to the college of canons in a cathedral.

† *Paris.*—Bull. in 1209, *Doctorum et Scholarium Universitas.* Bull, 1218, *Doctorum et discipulorum U.* University itself, 1221, *U. Magistrorum et Scholarium;* Henry III. of England, *U. Scholarium;* a history, 1225. *U. Scholarium.* So *Thoulouse* in 1233; *Montpellier*, 1289; *Lisbon*, 1290; *Bologna*, 1235. *Oxford.*—Matthew Paris, c. 1250, *U. Scholarium*, and *passim;* Royal Charter, 1255, *U. Scholarium;* Royal Letter, 1255, same; Royal letters, 1286, same; Bull, 1300, *U. Magistrorum Doctorum et Scholarium;* University itself, 1312, *U. Magistrorum et Scholarium. Cambridge.*—Royal letter, 1268, *U. Scholarium;* Decree, 1276, *U. Regentium et Scholarium. Universitas Studentium*, occurs in Ross, c. 1486.

‡ In Bologna and Padua, the whole body of students were styled *U. Scholarium.* (though at an ancient date, the term *scholaris* includes both teacher and learner).

§ In Bologna and Padua the students, according to faculty, were divided into the *U. Juristarum*, and *Artistarum.* We have before us the *Statuta Almae Universitatis Juristarum Patavinorum.* 4, 1550.

¶ In Bologna and Padua, the students, according to nations, were divided into U. Ultramontanorum, and U. Cismontanorum.

‖ In *Padua*, we have *U. Juristrarum Ultramontanorum, and U. Juristarum Cismontanorum;* the *U. Artistarum Ultramontanorum*, and *U. Artistarum Cismontanorum.*

** Thus Halle, (founded 1694.) was styled *Studiorum Universitas*, a phrase equally erroneous as that applied to the new university of Frankfort—*publica universitas.*

at first currently employed as a convertible expression for *communitas*, and in its academic application, always joined with *magistrorum et scholarium*, or some such complimentary term, came, during the fourteenth century, to be less frequently employed in the former signification; and in the latter, to be used either simply by itself, or, for a time, frequently in combination with *studium*, or *studium generale*, the other, and more ancient denomination,*—as *universitas studii*, Oxoniensis, Parisiensis, &c.† The oldest universities arose spontaneously during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The mighty crowds drawn from every country of Europe by an Irnerius to Bologna, or by an Abelard or a Lombardus to Paris, received at first local immunities, in order to fix the teachers and students in the towns, which well appreciated the advantages of this great resort; and the papal and royal privileges subsequently conceded, did not create the faculties which they then publicly protected. But by this public protection, the universities became from that moment integral parts of the Church and State; and, consequently could not, of

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* For example—*Paris* Bull, 1358; the University itself, in a letter, 1406. *Vienna*—a Charter, 1366; a Bull, 1384. *Prague*—a Bull, 1347 and 1398. *Oxford*—a Bull, 1300. Louvain—Bull, 1425. Aberdeen—Bull, 1526, universitas studii generalis.

† The term *studium generale*, in like manner, did not mean originally that *all was taught*, but that *what was taught, was taught to all.* Oxford and Cambridge will thus only, by the abolition of the test, be restored to the rank of universities. '*Studia generalia*,' (says a great jurist of the sixteenth century, the dean of the juridical faculties in three universities,)—'*Studia generalia*, hodie, seu publica dicuntur, scholae, in quibus publice ex privilegio pontificis summi vel principis, vel antiqua consuetudine, cujus initii non extat memoria, studium est privilegiatum, et permissa societas et concursus scholasticorum et docentium; continens pro contento. Potest dici *studium generale* et *universitas* ratione eadem, quod studia quæ ibi tractantur *universis proposita sint* et sint publica, et gratis, volentibus discere, proponantur ab institutis preceptoribus, sintque privilegia universis studentibus concessa. *Neque ideo minus studia generalia dicentur aut universitates, quod non omnes scientiae ibi, sed certae tantum tractentur et doceantur. Nam generalitas ad universitatem non pertinet scientiarum sed ad publicam causam docendi:* prout enim placuit iis qui instituerunt et erexerunt et privilegiarunt studia, scientiae et artes ibidem legi publice tantum debent, et *si aliae legantur, non utuntur privilegiis quibus praescriptae docendae, et earum doctores et auditores utuntur et potiuntur. Non enim actus agentium operantur ultra illorum intentionem.* (*L. non omnis numeratio, de reb. credit. P.*) Petri Gregorii Tholosani *De Republica*, Lib. xviii. c. 1, § 87.

their own authority, organize new faculties,* not in existence at the date of their privileges.

The University of Paris, like Oxford and Cambridge, at first existed only in the lay Faculty of Arts. On this faculty, these great universities are founded, as in it alone they once existed; and in the two latter, the higher faculties never, in fact, were separated, as in the continental schools, into independent corporations. In Paris, the faculties of Divinity, Canon Law, and Medicine subsequently arose; but there was no faculty of Civil Law when Paris received its privileges; and it consequently neither could of itself create that faculty, nor, for certain reasons, was it able to obtain papal authorization so to do. But Paris, though thus without a principal faculty, was acknowledged over Europe, not only as a *university*, or general study, but the school above all others entitled to the name. Its title was, '*the first school of the* '*Church*;' and so little did the term *universitas* imply an academical encyclopedia, and a full compliment of faculties, that several of the most venerable Universities possessed, while in the zenith of their European fame, only a single faculty—as Salerno and Montpellier, the single faculty of medicine.

Mr Yorke is mistaken when he says, 'some old degrees the 'Universities (of Oxford and Cambridge) have abrogated, *some* '*new* they have erected.' The former clause of the sentence is true, in so far as these seminaries have allowed some (*e.g.*, the degree in grammar) to fall into desuetude; and the degrees in canon law, at the command of the Crown, were discontinued at the Reformation; but no new degree have they introduced, or attempted so to do. The precedent thus alleged, in illustration of his principle, does not exist.

In like manner, in all the Universities throughout Europe, which were not merely privileged, but created by bull and charter, every liberty conferred was conferred not as an *incident* through implication, but by explicit and articulate concession;

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* To understand the meaning of the word *faculty*, it must be remembered that originally, in all the older universities, a Degree conferred the right, nay, obligation, of teaching in the university; and a faculty was, after universities had become public, the body of teachers or graduates, who not only had the privilege of lecturing on a certain department of knowledge, of examining and admitting candidates for degrees into their body, but also the right of making statutes, choosing officers, employing a seal, and of doing all that pertains to a privileged corporation. In the Italian universities, the faculty was composed of the teachers and students together. There, indeed, the students were all in all.

and this in two ways,—either by a grant of certain enumerated rights, or by bestowing in the slump the known privileges enjoyed by certain other pattern Universities. These modes were frequently conjoined; but we make bold to say, that there is not to be found, throughout Europe, one example of a University erected without the grant of determinate privileges—far less of a University, thus erected, enjoying, through this omission, privileges of any—least of all, of every other. In particular, the right of granting degrees, and that in how many faculties, must (in either way we have mentioned) be expressly conferred. The number of the faculties themselves is extremely indeterminate; and, to many universities and faculties, the right of conferring certain special degrees has been allowed, the possessors of which did not constitute a faculty at all. For example, the degrees in Grammar, Logic, Poetry, Music, &c. It was the common custom to erect a university in only certain faculties, and not unfrequently an additional concession of the others was subsequently made.

Thus, during the thirteenth century, Innocent IV. founded in, and migratory with, the court of Rome, a university of only two faculties,—Theology and the two Laws—but with all the privileges of a *generale studium*. This was amplified during the fourteenth century, with professorships of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; and, finally, Eugenius IV. bestowed on it a compliment of all the faculties. For this case we rely on Tholosanus.

Pope Martin V. erected, in 1425, the great university of Louvaine, as a *studium generale*, or *universitas studii*, in the three faculties, of Arts, the two Laws, (forming one faculty,) and Medicine; nor was it until some years thereafter that Eugenius IV. conceded to it the privilege of a Theological faculty and promotions. This case we take from the *Diplomata* themselves.

Altdorf was, in 1578, erected by the Emperor, in favour of the city of Nuremberg, into an academy of one faculty, that of Arts or Philosophy, with the right to that faculty of conferring its ordinary degrees of Bachelor and Master, but without the general rights and privileges of a University. In 1622, the Faculties of Law and Medicine were conceded, with all privileges; and the faculty of Arts also received the right almost peculiar to the University of Vienna, of creating *poets laureate*.

Altdorf was now a privileged university, (*academia universalis*, *studium universale*,) and her graduates endowed with all the rights enjoyed by those of other universities; Cologne, Vienna, Tübingen, Freiberg, Ingolstadt, and Strasburg, are specially referred to. Her new diploma spoke only of promotions in the Medical and Juridical faculties, but did not prohibit them in

Divinity. The notion, however, that the senate of Nuremberg could, on such a charter, authorize a theological faculty in their University, was found 'wholly groundless; as no state of the 'empire' (we quote the historian of the school) '*was entitled to* '*stretch the imperial privileges beyond the clear letter of the deed* '*of incorporation, and its immediate and necessary consequences.*' Accordingly, it was not until 1697 that the senate succeeded in obtaining from the Emperor a confirmation of the privileges previously conceded, and their extension to a Theological faculty. Without entering on details, we may also add that Bamberg and Grätz had only two faculties, the Philosophical and Theological, until 1739 and 1788, respectively; when the Medical and Juridical were conceded: while Duisburg has never, we believe, possessed more than the two former. A slight research would accumulate many additional examples.

To return from our digression:—The religion taught in its *Professional* Faculty cannot thus interfere with the dissenters; but in the faculty of Arts or Philosophy—in that fundamental faculty in which the individual, as an end unto himself, is liberally educated to the general developement of his various capacities, as *man* and *gentleman*, and not as in the others, viewed as a mean, merely towards an end, ulterior to himself, and trained to certain special dexterities as a *professional* man;—in this fundamental faculty is there no religion taught?—We are far from holding, that if this were possible, it ought not to be accomplished: but we assert, and fear no contradiction, that *it has never yet been attempted by any university.* After all the bigoted or hypocritical railing against the London University, for omitting religion in its course of general education, in point of fact, that school omitted only from necessity, what *all universities* had previously omitted, without so valid an excuse. Let those who stand astounded at this assertion adduce a single instance of a university in which religious information constituted, or constitutes, an essential element of its course of instruction in the faculty of Arts. We are certain such an instance will not be found in England. The slightest acquaintance with the constitution and history of the European universities supplies the reason. At present, we are satisfied with stating the fact. And as the sphere of examination for its degrees was necessarily correlative to the sphere of instruction by a faculty; so in no European faculty of Arts was Theology a subject on which its examinators had a right to question the candidate. The only exception is afforded by the English universities; an exception but of yesterday; after the constitution of the university had been subverted; its public instruction quashed; and the pri-

vate tutor left to supply the place of the professorial body. In consequence of this revolution, some thirty years ago, candidates for the first degree were, in Oxford, subjected to an examination in the rudiments of religion and the contents of the Thirty-nine Articles; and we believe in Cambridge a certain acquaintance is required with Paley's 'Evidences' and Butler's 'Analogy.' Though contrary to all academical precedent, we have certainly no objection to the innovation. And when dissenters are admitted, the only change required will be, not to make the Thirty-nine Articles a necessary subject of examination in Oxford.

In so far, therefore, as the University Proper is concerned, the objection does not apply; if it be relevant at all, it has reference only to the domestic education in the colleges. And in this application we are not disposed to deny it force. Estimated indeed, by any but the lowest standard, the religious instruction afforded in the colleges of either university is scanty and superficial in the extreme; and the men, who, from their acquaintance with the theology of foreign universities, are the best qualified to estimate at its proper value what is accomplished in their own, are precisely those (we refer to Mr Thirlwall and Mr Pusey) who speak of it with the most contempt. But indifferent as it now is, we are confident that a forcible introduction of the dissenters would not only prevent its improvement, but tend to annihilate it altogether.

But again, it is clamoured,—that by the removal of academic tests, the most influential situations in the universities may be filled with men, enemies not only of the established religion, but of religion altogether. Look to the universities of Germany: there we have 'the *practical effects*,' (says the Christian Advocate of Cambridge, who, not merely in honour of his office, must be allowed to lead the battle,*)—'the *practical* effects of the sys-

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* '*The Danger of Abrogating the Religious Tests and Subscrip-*
'*tions which are at present required from persons proceeding to Degrees*
'*in the Universities, considered, in a Letter to His Royal Highness*
'*the Duke of Gloucester, K.G., Chancellor of the University of Cam-*
'*bridge.* By George Pearson, B.D., Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. *Cambridge:* 1834.' The same argument forms the principal staple of the pamphlet entitled, '*The Cambridge Petition*
'*Examined; or reasons against admitting the Dissenters to Gra-*
'*duate in the Universities: With remarks on Clerical subscription,*
'*and the necessity of a Church Establishment. London:* 1834.' This argument was strongly insisted on, among others, by the Earl Caernarvon and Mr Goulburn in their speeches on the question in either House of Parliament.

'tem, where religious tests have been either *virtually* or *actually* 'abolished, or dispensed with altogether.'—'In these learned 'institutions, I am not aware that any religious test is exacted 'before admission to degrees and professorships: and before ad- 'mission to holy orders and degrees in divinity, nothing more is 'required than a subscription to what are called the symbolical 'books of the Lutheran Church, and even to these, with this 'convenient qualification, *as far as they agree with Holy Scrip- 'ture;* "a qualification," as it has been observed, "which ob- 'viously bestows on the ministry the most perfect liberty of 'believing or teaching whatever their own fancy may suggest." 'And the consequences of this latitude have been most fatal in 'their influence on the German universities and the Lutheran 'church. Opinions have not only been maintained by the most 'eminent persons in these learned bodies, but have been *openly* '*propounded even from the Professorial chairs*, which are entirely 'at variance with our belief of the inspiration of the Holy Scrip- 'tures.'—Does Mr Pearson, or his informant, Mr Rose, imagine that subscription to the symbolical books (never, by the by, generally received even in *Lutheran* Germany) was proposed 'with 'this convenient qualification' of a *quatenus*, &c.? This is merely the sense in which acquiescence to their doctrine is understood by the person subscribing:—a sense which it is contended by the most pious and orthodox divines, must by its very nature be involved in every *Protestant* obligation to religious conformity. We need only mention two,—Spener the Pietist, and Reinhard, the most powerful champion of Supernaturalism. Melancthon, himself the author of the two principal symbolical books, maintains that 'articles of faith should be frequently 'changed, in conformity to times and circumstances.' The German doctrine of Protestant subscription is not less applicable to the Thirty-nine Articles than to the symbolical books; and what is universal in the one country, may soon become no less prevalent in the other. This of itself is a powerful argument for the abolition of so frail a barrier,—were that barrier in itself expedient. Nay, in point of fact, this theory of subscription is the one virtually maintained by the most distinguished divines of the English church and universities. *Instar omnium*—Bishop Marsh, Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and whom no one assuredly will suspect of hostility to the Church of England and her Articles, thus expounds the obligation of those who have not only subscribed these articles, but devoted themselves to minister at the altar: 'As *our* Liturgy and Ar- 'ticles are avowedly *founded* on the Bible, it is the special duty 'of those, who are set apart for the ministry, to *compare* them

'with the Bible, and see that their pretensions are *well* founded. 'But then our *interpretation* of the Bible must be conducted '*independently* of that, of which the truth is to be *ascertained* by 'it. Our interpretation of the Bible, therefore, must not be 'determined by *religious system:* and we must follow the exam- 'ple of our reformers, who supplied the place of Tradition by '*Reason* and *Learning*.' The italics are not ours.

But to return to Mr Pearson: 'For instance,' says he, 'Rosenmuller in the first edition of his "Commentary on the 'Old Testament," the most valuable in existence, perhaps, con- 'sidered as a critical and philological commentary on the Hebrew 'text, speaks of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, as Fa- 'bles; [fable is a most unfair or a most ignorant conversion of '*Mythus*;] he describes the history of Jonah to be a mere repe- 'tition of the Mythus of Hercules, swallowed by a sea-serpent: 'and he says that it was not written by Jonah, but by some one 'contemporary with Jeremiah; and he considers the prophecy of 'Isaiah as made up by one writer out of the minor works of seve- 'ral others. Gesenius, the Professor of Theology at Halle, 'maintains after Paulus, Professor at Wurtzburgh, that the Pen- 'tateuch was composed *after the time of Solomon*, out of different 'fragments which were collected together. [Not Paulus, but Vater and De Wette, were the first and contemporaneous pro- mulgators of the theory in regard to the compilation of the Pentateuch subsequently to the kings of Israel; and Eichhorn, after Astruc, was the first to maintain (what even Catholic divines, e. g. Jahn, admit that he has made out) the fragmentary compo- sition of Genesis, &c.] 'Bauer, in his introduction to the Old 'Testament, has a chapter on what he calls the *Mythi* or *fables* '[fables again] of the Old Testament.' [Bauer has not only a *Chapter*, but a famous *Book* in two volumes, now more than thirty years old, entitled, '*Hebrew Mythology of the Old and* '*New Testaments*,' &c.] 'Bretschneider rejects the Gospel of 'St John, as the work of a Gentile Christian of the second 'century;' [Bretschneider did not reject, but only proposed for discussion, *Probabilia* against it; and he has since candidly admitted his tentative to have been satisfactorily refuted.] 'Eichhorn pronounces the Revelations to be a drama represent- 'ing the fall of Judaism and Paganism, while Semler con- 'demned it entirely as the work of a fanatic.'

Our present argument does not require us to enter on the merits or demerits of the German Theology; on his knowledge of which we certainly cannot compliment the Christian Advocate of Cambridge. But we have no objection whatever that he should make his bugbear look as black and grisly as he can; we

shall even hold it to be a veritable Goblin. Still, admitting his premises, we shall show that there is no consequence in his conclusion.

In the first place, Mr Pearson assumes the whole matter in dispute, and that not only without, but against experience. Admitting all that he asserts in regard to the character of German theology, yet to render this admission available to him, he was bound to show that this character was the natural, at least ordinary, consequence of the removal of ordinary tests; by proving, —first, that there was no other cause in the circumstances of Germany which might account for the phenomenon; and secondly, that the same phenomenon had occurred in all other countries where the same academic liberty had been permitted. He attempts to prove neither, but assumes both. Yet in regard to the first, it could easily be established, by demonstrating the real causes of the theological revolution in Protestant Germany, that the relaxation of academic tests had no influence whatever in its production. And in regard to the second, it is sufficient to say, that no universities, except the English, have ever denied their education and degrees to the members of every sect; and that in many, even Catholic universities, professorships in all the faculties, except the theological, have been open to the partisans of different faiths; and this too for centuries before such liberality was even dreamt of in the universities of the empire. But has the alleged consequence ensued? That, no one can maintain; indeed the exclusive reference to the German universities, is of itself an implicit admission, that the experience of the other European universities, equally emancipated from religious restrictions, is in contradiction to the line of argument attempted. We may mention, that so little has Holland, a country at once intelligent and orthodox, been convinced of the evil consequence of academic freedom, that it has recently dispensed with the signature of the Confession of Dordrecht, to which all public teachers were hitherto obliged; and Leyden now actually boasts of Catholic Professors as ornaments of her Protestant School.

In the second place, all the examples of dangerous doctrine which Mr Pearson alleges are from the works of members of the theological faculty in the German universities; but admission into that faculty was never proposed, or dreamt of, in the English universities, without the former test. The instances have, therefore, no relevancy. In point of fact, those who know any thing of the progress of philosophy and theology in Germany, know this—that the rationalism of the theologians has been not a little checked and scandalized by the supernaturalism of the philo-

sophers. Were we logicians like the Advocate, we might, from this curious phenomenon, contend that religious tests are the very means of frustrating their proposed end; the German theologians being alone compelled to subscribe to the confessions of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches.

But, in the third place, to bear upon the question, it is, and must be, presumed, that the alleged licentious speculation is the effect of the removal of all imposed fetters on the exercise of religious enquiry. That this is the natural result of a vigorous and unimpeded Protestantism, Mr Pearson does not admit. 'Such 'opinions as these are not the natural produce of the German 'universities—the cradle of the Reformation—spots consecrated 'by the recollections of men, "whose praise is in all the churches," 'and whose names live in the pages of history amongst the greatest 'benefactors of mankind! But in *these very* places have we seen 'opinions advanced, which are opposed to the fundamental doc-'trines of the revealed will of God!' And, in a subsequent page, he actually makes it a weighty matter of reproach against the London University, that Professor Mühlenfels, in an 'Intro-'duction to a Course of German *Literature*,' should 'speak of '(Luther) the *champion of our faith*,' merely as '*an historical and* '*literary personage*.'

We are afraid, however, that the Christian Advocate is hardly better versed in the works of the 'champion of our faith,' than in those whom he boldly represents as its formidable antagonists. We can easily show, even to Mr Pearson's own contentment, that there is hardly an obnoxious doctrine to be found among the modern Lutherans, which has not its warrant and example in the writings of Luther himself; and admitting this, even the Advocate, we think, would deem it idle to explain, by so far-fetched and inadequate an hypothesis as the want of academic tests, what is nothing more than the natural exercise of that license, vindicated, not surely to himself exclusively, by the 'great champion of *our* '(we trust not) faith.' 'Idemne licuit,' says Tertullian, 'Valen-'tinianis quod Valentino; idemne Marcionitis quod Marcioni—de 'arbitrio suo fidem innovare?' The following hasty anthology of some of Luther's opinions, and, in his own words, literally translated, will probably make it doubtful whether the heresies of his followers are to be traced no higher than to the relaxation (not a century old) of religious tests.

Speculative Theology.—'God pleaseth you when he crowns the 'unworthy; he ought not to displease you when he damns the in-'nocent. All things take place by the eternal and invariable will 'of God, who blasts and shatters in pieces the freedom of the will. 'God creates in us the evil, in like manner as the good. The high

'perfection of faith, is to believe that God is just, notwithstanding that, by his will, he renders us necessarily damnable, and 'seemeth to find pleasure in the torments of the miserable.'

Practical Theology.—'We [Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Melander, Corvinus, Adam, Lenings, Winteferte] cannot advise 'that the license of marrying more wives than one be publicly 'introduced, and, as it were, ratified by law. If any thing were 'allowed to get into print on this head, your Highness [Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, champion of the Reformation, who,—having lost, as he pleads, conceit of his wife, being touched with scruples of conscience at his adultery, which, however, he admits '*he does* '*not wish to abstain from,*' and 'knowing' (as he tells themselves) 'of Luther and Melancthon having exhorted the King of England 'not to divorce his first queen, but to marry a second over and 'above,'—had applied to the leading doctors of the Reformation for license to have a second wife]—your Highness easily comprehends that it would be understood and received as a precept, 'whence much scandal and many difficulties would arise.—Your 'Highness should be pleased to consider the excessive scandal: that 'the enemies of the Gospel would exclaim that we are like the 'Anabaptists who have adopted the practice of polygamy, and that 'the Evangelicals, as the Turks, allow themselves the license of 'a plurality of wives. – – – – But in certain cases there is room 'for dispensation. If any one (for example) detained captive in a 'foreign country, should there take to himself a second wife for the 'good of his body and health, &c. – – – in these cases, we do not 'know by what reason a man could be condemned who marries an 'additional wife with the advice of his pastor, not with the purpose of introducing a new law, but of satisfying his own necessity. – – – In fine, if your Highness be fully and finally resolved to marry yet another wife, we judge that this ought to be 'done secretly, as has been said above, in speaking of the dispensation, so that it be known only to your highness, to the lady, 'and to a few faithful persons obliged to silence, under the seal 'of confession: hence no attacks or scandal of any moment 'would ensue. For there is nothing unusual in princes keeping 'concubines: and although the lower orders may not perceive the 'excuses of the thing, the more intelligent know how to make 'allowance.'*

* The nuptials were performed in presence of these witnesses, Melancthon, Bucer, (himself accused of polygamy, like his friend Cranmer,) Melander, &c., and *privately:* in order, as the marriage-contract bears, 'to 'avoid scandal, seeing that, in modern times, it has been unusual to have

Biblical Criticism.—'The books of the *Kings* are more worthy 'of credit than the books of the *Chronicles*. – – *Job* spake not, 'therefore, as it stands written in his book, but hath had such 'cogitations. It is a sheer *argumentum fabulæ*. It is probable that 'Solomon made and wrote this book.—This book (*Ecclesiastes*) 'ought to have been more full; there is too much of broken matter 'in it; it has neither boots nor spurs, but rides only in socks, as I 'myself when in the cloister. Solomon hath not therefore written 'this book, which hath been made in the days of the Maccabees 'by Sirach. It is like a Talmud compiled from many books, per-'haps in Egypt, at the desire of King Ptolemy Eurgetes. So also 'have the *Proverbs of Solomon* been collected by others.—The 'book of *Esther*, I toss into the Elbe.—I am so an enemy to the 'book of Esther that I would it did not exist; for it Judaises too 'much, and hath in it a great deal of heathenish naughtiness. '*Isaiah* hath borrowed his art and knowledge from the Psalter. '—The history of *Jonah* is so monstrous, that it is absolutely 'incredible.—That the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is not by Saint 'Paul; nor by any apostle at all, is shown by chap. ii. 3. It is 'by an excellently learned man, a disciple of the apostles. It 'should be no stumbling-block if there be found in it a mixture 'of wood, straw, hay. The *Epistle of James*, I account the wri-'ting of no apostle. It is an epistle of straw.—The *Epistle of* '*Jude* is a copy of St Peter's, and allegeth stories which have no

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'two wives at once, although *in this case it be Christian and lawful.*' The Landgrave marvellously contrived to live in harmony with both his wives, and had a large family by each. The date of the transaction is 1539. The relative documents were published in 1679, by the Elector Palatine Charles Lewis, and are said to have converted, among others, a descendent of Philip, Prince Ernest of Hesse, to the Catholic Church.—A corresponding opinion of Dr Henke, late Primarius Professor of Theology in Helmstadt, would have figured, had he known it, with admirable effect, in Mr Pearson's Catalogue of modern Teutonic heresies. 'Mo-'nogamy' (says this celebrated divine) 'and the prohibition of extra-matri-'monial connexions, are to be viewed as remnants of monachism and an 'unenquiring faith.' However detestable this doctrine, the bold avowal of the rationalist is honourable, when contrasted with the skulking compromise of all professed principle, by men calling themselves *The Evangelicals*. Renouncing the Pope, they arrogate the power of the Keys to an extent never pretended to by any successor of St Peter; and proclaiming themselves to the world as the apostles of a purified faith, they can secretly, trembling only at discovery, authorize, in name of the Gospel, a dispensation of the moral law. Compared with Luther or Cranmer, how respectable is the character of Knox!

'place in scripture.—In the *Revelation of John* much is wanting 'to let me deem it apostolical. I can discover no trace that it is 'established by the Spirit.'—Παυρα μεν, αλλα μαλα λιγεως.

As to this last, how could Mr Pearson make any opinion touching the Apocalypse matter of crimination against Semler and Eichhorn? Is the Christian Advocate unaware, that the most learned and intelligent of Protestant divines have almost all doubted or denied the canonicity of the Revelations? The following rise the first to our recollection. Erasmus, who may, in part, be claimed by the Reformation, doubted its authenticity. Calvin and Beza denounced the book as unintelligible; and prohibited the pastors of Geneva from all attempt at interpretation; for which they were applauded by Joseph Scaliger, and Isaac Casaubon. Joseph Scaliger, who also rejected the Epistle of St James, did not believe the Apocalypse to be the writing of St John, and allowed only two chapters to be comprehensible; while Dr South scrupled not to pronounce it a book, (we quote from memory,) that either found a man mad or left him so.

But in the fourth place, if there were any connexion between the antecedent of this argument and its consequent, we ought unquestionably to find in this country that the religious tests in question do effectually accomplish their intention; that the dangerous neology so deprecated in the German divines, should with us be found, if found at all, exclusively among those who had not formally surrendered their Protestant privilege of free and unprejudiced enquiry. But not only is this not the case, the very contrary is notoriously true; the attempt at fettering opinion, rousing apparently in the captive a perilous spirit of revolt. In fact, the nearest approximation to the learned freedom of the German divines, and the most enthusiastic encomiasts of their writings, have been found among the English clergy, and the teachers and dignitaries of the English Universities. Were we, in fact, required to look around in this country for the centre, in which a spirit of theological enquiry, analogous to that of the Protestant Universities of the empire, has been most conspicuously manifested, we should find it assuredly not in any independent seminary, not in any dissenting academy, but in the venerable school itself, of which the Christian Advocate is an ornament—fenced, as he pretends it to be, against the entrance of heresy and schism. Mainly to the latitudinary divines of Cambridge, do the Germans trace the determination which, in its result, occasioned, among themselves, the memorable revolution in theological opinion. Conyers Middleton, D.D., Professor and Public Librarian of Cambridge, was, a century ago, the express abstract of a German ultra-rationalist of the present day. Tests were unavailing against the open

Arianism of Clarke, and the unobtrusive Socinianism of Sir Isaac Newton. Professor Porson ejected, after Newton, the text of the three Heavenly witnesses, as an human interpolation; and his decision has been all but universally admitted, at least in Cambridge. Was this attempt to purge the Scripture of a spurious verse, a commendable act of Protestant criticism? Still more commendable must be every honest attempt to purge it of a spurious chapter or book; and the German critics must thus be honourably absolved. Was it, on the contrary, a culpable act of sceptical curiosity? Then are academic tests of no security against the inroads of a restless exegesis. On either alternative, the Advocate's argument is null.

Again, the German Divines are denounced by him for maintaining 'that the Pentateuch was composed out of different frag-'ments which were collected together.' He cannot surely be unaware that the Bishop of Peterborough, present Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, maintains, 'that the three 'first Gospels are composed of fragments which were collected 'together.' In both cases the difficulty of reconciling such an hypothesis with an orthodox theory of inspiration is identical; but how different in religious importance are the two series of books! The dilemma is manifest; and on either horn the Advocate is equally impaled.

It is known to all who know any thing of modern divinity, that the theological writings of Eichhorn, especially his Introductions, concentrate in the highest degree all that is peculiar and most obnoxious in the German school of biblical criticism—of which, in fact, he was, while living, the genuine representative, and distinguished leader. Now, Lloyd, late Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, circulated proposals for translating the boldest of Eichhorn's Introductions—that to the Old Testament; and Dr Marsh, in his Lectures on Divinity, addressed to the rising clergy of the University, once and again recommends, in the strongest terms, the same work to their study; nor, throughout his whole course, does he think it necessary to utter a single word of warning against the irreligious tendency of this, or, as far as we remember, of any other production of the German divines. And, be it remembered, the Bishop's knowledge of German theology was of a very different character from that of those who have been recently so busy in giving us the measure of their knowledge, and understanding, in this important and difficult subject. Indeed, with the exception of Mr Thirlwall's excellent Introduction to his translation of Schleiermacher on St Luke, (he might have chosen, we think, a fitter work,) and some parts of Mr Pusey's book, the public had, in every point of view, far better

be without all that has recently appeared in this country, in regard to the result of Protestantism in Germany. But in reference to our argument;—if men in the situations, and with the authority of Lloyd and Marsh, endeavoured thus to promote the study of Eichhorn and his school among the academic youth; either the opinions of the German divines are not such as the Advocate and others have found it convenient to represent them; or (*quod absit!*) these opinions are already throned in the high places of the English Universities and Church, in spite of the very oaths and subscriptions which it is argued are necessary in order to exclude them.

Art. XI.—*Corrected Report of the Speech of the Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords, on July* 21, 1834, *on moving the second reading of the Bill to amend the Poor Laws.* 8vo. London: 1834.

We shall not easily be suspected of indifference to the great cause of Reform, and to the absolute necessity which lies upon the Government, which now happily administers the affairs of the Empire, to give the people the full benefit of the reform in their representation. Relying upon this assurance, and aware that many things may safely be spoken by reformers, which, in the mouths of others, might be deemed suspicious, we think it our bounden duty to point the attention of our readers towards a very great mistake, into which some of our own sect have of late appeared to fall. This is the more necessary, because the enemies of liberal principles are making great way by means of it, in undermining the influence of free and sound opinions. The truth is exactly this. How much soever our tenets may be favoured by the great body of the community, and however low in their eyes may now be the claims urged by the Tories to public confidence, yet all who know the nature of men, or have marked the vicissitudes of public opinion, are well aware, that no cause can ever stand the shock which it receives from the errors of its friends; and, above all, from practical blunders committed in its name, and leading to mischievous consequences. In any country, this would be dangerous; in England and Scotland, it is fatal. All men are prone to judge by the event: our countrymen never will decide against it. All men look to the lessons of experience as important; our countrymen, when once they have had this instruction on any sub-

ject, never will listen to the lessons of any other; insomuch, that if an Angel were to come from Heaven, with all the eloquence of his seraphic tongue, and all the authority of his supernatural mission, he would try in vain to persuade us against the results of recent and personal experience. Hence, we are seriously alarmed, lest the reformers, falling into errors, exposed by trial, should bring contempt upon their cause; and give to the Conservative party (as the Tories are now fain to call themselves) their only conceivable chance of again misgoverning us.

Suppose for example, the impatience of the reformers were to hurry the Government into some rash measures of domestic policy, all grounded upon liberal views, all well intended for the people—but ill considered, worse digested, and brought forward in a haste altogether unseemly, and fraught with risks of miscarriage—when the bad working of the plan should be found remediless, and serious practical inconveniences should be sustained by the community—this consequence would inevitably ensue: First of all, those who urged the Government on would be heard of no more—they are bodies of men without any defined or individual responsibility. Nay, they who had before been the most loud, would now be the most quiet. No one would avow his share in forcing on the crisis; each would shift the load on his neighbour; and it is odds but the very men who had been the loudest to demand the supposed boon, would be the first to complain of its having been granted. Above all, the Newspapers would be carefully forgetful of their share in the original outcry; and would be copious in declaiming against the rashness and blundering of the ministers who had caused so much mischief. In short, no one would be found to father the abortive or destructive measure; and the Government which had irresolutely framed it, because they were hustled into such a course by popular clamour, against their better judgment, would be held responsible for adopting a plan which had failed—most justly—not because it had failed, but because they ought to have acted on their own deliberate opinion, and not on the excitements of others.

But then the whole blame of this catastrophe would erelong be thrown in part upon another quarter. The community is never long in the dark as to the relative shares which different bodies have in any given event. The ministers would be blamed and derided, and trampled upon by all parties—by their friends, in order to exculpate themselves; by their enemies, in order to gratify their spleen. But this would by no manner of means prevent the adversaries of liberal opinions from breaking forth into abuse of those opinions, and ascribing the failure to

the cause itself, and to the reformers as a body. 'See the fruits 'of reform,' would be the general cry. 'Look what mischievous 'guides are reformers.' Whosoever thinks that such a topic would not thin the ranks of the people's best friends, and crowd those of their worst enemies, knows but little of the nature of men, and, above all, of the men by whom this island of Great Britain is peopled.

To illustrate the effect of events on public opinion, we will resort to one very great and most popular subject—Negro Slavery. Upon none other has there ever existed in any country so universal a concurrence of opinion—none other has ever excited so great warmth of feeling. With all the maxims that sound policy could prescribe, and all the feeling that strong natural sympathy could excite, there was, moreover, mixed up the most powerful religious impressions; insomuch that the faith of the people, in their system of worship itself, was hardly deemed more sacred than their belief in the necessity of emancipation. Hence, it came to pass, that an almost universal assent was accorded to the great measure carried into execution by the Liberal Ministry in 1833, for accomplishing this object; and all the country would then have pressed forward anxiously to avow themselves, or rather to arrogate for themselves the glory of being its authors. Suppose news were to arrive—not that it had worked ill—not that any of its provisions had been found ill devised—not that any thing had been omitted—but simply, that a rebellion had taken place, and much property been destroyed, and much blood unavoidably spilt, on the first of August, and the three following days, we think it needs no gift of prophecy to foretell how very few would proclaim themselves the advisers or approvers of the Emancipation Bill. How many would discover that it was too suddenly effected! How many more would wish that they never had heard of the subject! And how very, very scanty would be the number of abolitionists at the next anti-slavery meeting! But suppose the measure entirely to fail, who can doubt that the tide of public opinion would, after a pause of consternation and of hesitation, set in strongly, for a time at least, against the anti-slavery question? And yet this is a cause free from all party excitement, and on which religious sentiments are combined with the strongest and most rooted opinions of a secular kind. It is a case, too, in which we are supposing that no one can find any defects of detail to charge on the measure. Lastly, it is an instance in which no one man can accuse another of precipitancy or haste,—inasmuch as twenty or thirty years had elapsed in elaborate discussions and fruitless controversy; and all men

admitted that the very uttermost latitude had been given in point of delay—that the longest time had been consumed in deliberation, and that the only question was between doing the work now, and never doing it at all. How prodigiously different would the case be with any other question which had been brought forward, and had failed? Suppose a question on which men had been far less unanimous—which had only occupied their attention for a short period of time—which excited very calm feelings only, and connected itself doubtfully, or not at all, with any very clearly established principles of policy—which bore no kind of relation to religion or religious feelings: suppose a measure of this kind to have been adopted, and to fail, by producing manifest mischief, instead of any considerable good, can any one doubt that they who most pressed it on the attention of the Government would be the first to complain of the way in which it had been framed and executed—that all would join in running down its authors—and that the principles on which it had been founded would be decried loudly, and become for a long while extremely unpopular?

We may here take an instance from the Reform Bill, which all men now praise, because it has, generally speaking, been found to work admirably well. Suppose the qualification had been, as it was originally framed, L.20 householders—when it was found that almost all the towns in England were reduced to the condition of close burghs, what would have been said of Reformers, and what would have become of Reform? But it may be said, and truly said, that so absurd a bill would have well deserved contempt, and that its authors would have justly encountered odium. Yet this might have been their lot, had their deliberations been exposed to interruption from popular impatience, and in their lot would Reform itself have suffered a severe blow. However, this error was one of sinning against the reform principle; and therefore it will be said that the case does not apply to the policy of those who are impatient of Reform. Then we may easily suppose cases of fatal errors committed by following out that principle too far, or not pursuing it in the right direction. Thus, when the great measure of Scotch Burgh Reform was presented to the House of Lords, there were some sixteen or eighteen burghs in the bill, which, had no alteration been made in its provisions, would have led to this glaring absurdity—that the act required a greater number of magistrates to be chosen than the number of electors in the places severally; and thus, the burghs were necessarily placed in a state of self-election, and also in the predicament of being incomplete in their number of magistrates. Such a state of things would have done

incalculable mischief to the cause of Burgh Reform, and have given a great, though an unfair triumph to its irreconcilable adversaries.

The same remark may be applied to Law Reform, and indeed to every other branch of amending legislation; nor, if we advert more particularly to the judicial branches of it, have we any other reason for selecting them, than that they excite a peculiarly strong and general interest in the community, from their immediate bearing upon the most important interests of all. Notwithstanding this prevailing popularity, we will venture to affirm, that one or two practical blunders—one or two important oversights, which, being discovered after the prorogation of Parliament, should throw any material department of business into confusion—would infallibly damp the ardour of all law reformers, give a general tone throughout the country hostile to such improvements. and retard for half a century the progress of this most necessary branch of reforming polity.

Suppose, for example, that the Lord Chancellor, instead of submitting his plans touching Bankruptcy to committee after committee of lawyers privately, and then again having them well sifted in both Houses of Parliament during two sessions, had struck out a plausible-looking scheme at a heat, and applied the force of the Government to hurry it through Parliament—the odds are, that some great oversight would have been committed, which, in a week after the act came into operation, would have flung the whole trading part of the community into confusion. Instead of the admirable working of the new system, which has made converts to Law Reform of all those in the city of London who used to dread it, the whole of 'Change, and Cheapside, and Lombard Street, would have rung with execration of visionary and theoretical improvements, and no minister would for years have ventured to propound any alteration in our mercantile code. The success of the plan has given popularity in the City to all such wise and well-considered schemes of improvement: no one ever has complained of any part of the system, except the number of the judges being unnecessarily large—a point foretold by the Lord Chancellor himself, but on which he yielded to the strong remonstrances of practitioners*—and the Government have since carried into effect an important measure, the establishment of a great central Criminal Court for the metropolis, with a jurisdiction extending over near two millions of people, and

* In consequence of this, the vacant office of judge in the Court of Review (L.2000 a-year) is not filled up.

have brought forward a bill for wholly altering the law of Debtor and Creditor, and abolishing imprisonment for debt. Who can doubt that this last measure, which will probably become the law of the land next Session, and place England above all countries in the world for the wisdom and humanity of her laws, would have been postponed for an indefinite period of time, had there been any manifest errors committed in the kindred measure of the new Bankruptcy Court Bill?

We are not left, however, to imagine instances and put cases of precipitate legislation. A bill was sent up from the Commons to the House of Lords last Session, containing several most important improvements in the law relating to Justices of Peace; that is, to about four-fifths of the criminal jurisdiction in England. But it contained a clause which gave to any one justice the power of mitigating any penalty, or reducing any punishment for a misdemeanour, cognizable by the Bench at Sessions. Had this passed into a law, the consequence would have been, that, on the first of October, the whole country would have found itself placed under a system of judicial anarchy unexampled in the history of mankind, and amounting, indeed, to a universal abrogation of criminal law; for any one magistrate in each county would have had the power of annulling any sentence that had been passed by the concurrent voice of all his brethren on the Bench; and thus each Justice would have had a *liberum veto* on all the processes of the Sessions, besides having a power to repeal, in each instance, all the penal enactments in our whole criminal and revenue codes. The Lords did most important service to the community, in throwing out a provision which had appeared to have crept in through carelessness; but, to the astonishment of all men, the Commons persisted in inserting the clause, for no conceivable reason except that the Lords had thrown it out: and the latter body accordingly rejected the whole bill, there being no alternative left by the Commons refusing to adopt the amendment, which struck out the absurd and irrational provision. We may venture to assert, that, had the bill passed into a law with this clause, the cause of law reform would not have survived long the first of October; and we believe that the character of the Reformed House of Commons, and thus of Reform itself, would have suffered irreparable injury in the estimation of the community at large.

Another example of the same kind is afforded by the bill for preventing bribery at elections, which came from the Commons to the Lords in a state very little fit for being passed into a law. Its provisions went to enable both Houses, by an address, passed, of course, on a single vote in each, to disfranchise any city or

borough in the three kingdoms. There were other most objectionable provisions, and which would have wholly obstructed the safe working of the machinery created by the bill: but the main part of it,—that in which the measure really consisted,—was, from inadvertence, so framed as to be objectionable beyond almost any scheme of Law Reform ever produced before the world. No private right, of the most trifling value, can be affected by the Legislature, excepting in the usual course,—by a bill which passes through all its numerous stages in each House of Parliament, for the express purpose of allowing repeated opportunities to discuss its whole merits and details; and of preventing, as far as possible, the chance of error and oversight:—of enabling each House to correct, in one stage, the mistakes into which it may have fallen in another: and of guarding both Houses against the frauds that might be practised successfully on them, had measures only to pass through the ordeal of a single debate. What is true of every private bill, is also true of every local act, affecting any community or other portion of the public. No street, no alley can be paved or lighted, no road can be turned or carried through any man's field, no twopenny-turnpike can be erected on any branch of any communication by land or by water, without a bill,—which must be moved for, examined by a committee above stairs, read a first, second, and third time, committed, reported, passed,—being seven stages, at the least, in which the principle of the measure comes in question, independent of the safety of the details—and in both Houses. Yet with what security against haste, and with what exclusion of oversights, and with what protection against jobs and tricks, did the Bribery Bill surround by far the most important of all the rights of the people—the elective franchise of every city, borough, and town in the three kingdoms? With absolutely none, except one single vote in each House! It seems beyond the powers of belief, yet so it was. Liverpool, or Birmingham, or Manchester might have ceased to send members to Parliament by a single vote—the result of misrepresentation or canvass—of popular excitement or Government influence—when not a single alteration can be made upon any one thing belonging to either these great communities,—not even upon any right enjoyed by any hamlet of six houses,—without, at the least, fourteen votes in the two Houses, with all the delay occasioned by the rule preventing above one stage on any bill being gone through in one day. Every one must perceive, that if such a bill had passed, the right of being represented in Parliament, to any community that now enjoys it, would have become of all possessions the most precarious. A popular tumult, purposely got up—a little bribery,

expressly intended for the disfranchisement of any great town, might have worked that end with equal certainty and despatch. Suppose a Tory Government had succeeded to our present liberal rulers, and had contrived to obtain a majority in the Lower House—can any one doubt that the Reform Bill would in a few weeks have been repealed? The Anti-Reform Minister had only to have twenty or thirty cases of bribery proved, and as many more alleged and talked about without proof; and one single vote of the Commons, in which the Lords would too gladly have joined, would have deprived Manchester or Birmingham of all it gained by the act of 1832.

Nor, in passing a vote upon so small a number of facts proved, would the Tory Parliament, which we are supposing to exist, have had much difficulty in finding a precedent among the proceedings of the same body which passed the Bribery Bill. For, even with all the safeguards of the seven stages, the Warwick Election led to a Bill which, upon examination, was found to rest on hardly any cases at all of bribery legally proved. The counsel for the Bill in the Lords contended that they had shown nineteen voters to have been bribed; and their measure was to have punished above twelve hundred, against whom no evidence at all had been even offered. Surely we may feel very certain that the Anti-reformers would have made haste to deal out the same justice to Birmingham which the Reformers had meted to Warwick. To say that the securities of the forms required to pass bills are useless, and ought to be dispensed with, merely because they have not always been found effectual, and because they signally failed in stopping an unjust and ill-concerted measure, is wretched quibbling and carping. If, even with such guards, the vigilance of the Commons may be surprised;—if even all those checks are sometimes found insufficient to prevent manifest error—surely the just inference is, that at the least we must preserve them, and dare not think of parting with one of them. Temperance will not always save a man from inflammatory fever; and Howard fell a sacrifice to that malady, though he lived upon bread and water. But who is, therefore, insensate enough to recommend habitual indulgence as a preservative of health?

When the Lords took this important Bill into consideration, they referred its provisions to a select Committee, who laboriously and most successfully applied themselves to its improvement. They removed all the objectionable parts, and especially that which we have discussed; and they devised a species of trial and a new kind of tribunal admirably adapted to decide efficaciously and summarily, yet with entire deliberation and absolute independence of all disturbing influence from any quarter, upon any

alleged case of general corruption. They embodied this measure in the form of amendments to the Bribery Bill; and the Lords having agreed unanimously to the plan thus digested, it was returned to the Commons. Lord John Russell, and the other authors and friends of the measure sent up from the Commons, heartily approved of the amendments, and strongly recommended the House to adopt them. But it was most correctly suggested, that under the name of amendments, the Lords had, in reality, made a new bill altogether; and, therefore, upon the very principle of the main objection urged by the Lords to the former plan, this new measure ought not to be adopted by a single vote of the Lower House—for this would be excluding that repeated discussion of its principles, and full sifting of its details, which the various stages secure to any bill, and which ought, above all, to be applied by the Commons in the case of a bill affecting so greatly the elective franchise, and the constitution of the Lower House. Upon this ground, the reasonableness of which, the Lords who had devised and carried the amendments were the first to admit, the amendments were rejected by the Commons; but with an express statement, that the rejection was owing to the reason which has just been stated, and not to any doubt entertained touching the excellence of the plan proposed by the House of Lords.

We have dwelt upon this instance of the evils of precipitate legislation, the rather, because it plainly, if allowed to have effect, would have astounded the country, upon its tendency becoming known, more than almost any thing else that can be supposed. Men would have found that the Reform Bill had become little better than a name, and that the great towns—nay, the whole constituency of the country—henceforth only held their franchise at the good-will and pleasure of the minister of the day. Every burgh, from the greatest to the least considerable, might be, one after another, disfranchised by a single vote of a complaisant House of Commons, without any one of the guards provided by the Parliamentary constitution of the country, for the protection of men's rights, and preventing power from perpetrating injustice. What would have been the feelings of universal indignation, disgust, and even despair, in the community, on discovering that such a law had unguardedly received the sanction of the Reformed Parliament! Surely such an example is admirably calculated to make unthinking men pause in their career of impatience, and listen to those who would remind them of the irreparable mischiefs which heedless legislation may work, above all other causes, to the cause of Reform.

In treating of the Bribery Bill, we have been led to mention

that for altering the constituency of Warwick. But, in truth, this measure of itself affords another example of the evils of unreflecting legislation. Partly because the Commons do not examine upon oath, and partly because the multifarious business which the Lower House has to transact, precludes the possibility of all matters being thoroughly investigated there; that bill was sent up to the Lords upon an extremely scanty case —even had all its allegations been fully proved. But there, the case altogether broke down. It was dealt with judicially —the Lord Chancellor sitting as he does in causes, and as he would sit at *Nisi Prius*. The greatest care was taken to strain the rules of evidence to the uttermost, in order to admit all the evidence that could be tendered; and none was rejected, which was not plainly, and beyond the possibility of dispute, inadmissible. Every indulgence, too, in respect of time, was given to the promoters of the bill; and when nothing like a case had, after all their efforts, been made, some witnesses being alleged to have absconded, the further proceedings were suspended, *sine die*, until they should return although every one perceived that this favour shown towards the bill—that is, towards the accusing party—was a severe hardship upon the defending parties, who had rather the better right to indulgence, according to all the ordinary rules of justice. The whole ended in the most complete failure; the Counsel for the bill admitting explicitly, in answer to a question from the House, that if all his witnesses were believed, he had only proved forty-two cases of bribery, and of these only nineteen affecting voters—and there being above twelve hundred voters wholly untouched by the evidence—nay, respecting whom not an attempt at proof had been made. To say that such a bill was unanimously thrown out by the Lords, is only saying that they had the common faculties of men, and were influenced by the most ordinary sense of justice. But Lord Radnor, who had taken the most regular part in favour of the measure, was the only Peer who spoke, except the Lord Chancellor, who summed up the evidence; and Lord Radnor distinctly stated, that he agreed in every word the Lord Chancellor had said, and that nobody could think of carrying such a bill in such a case. That the loss of it was inevitable, therefore, no one doubts; but suppose the Lords had passed it as carelessly as the Commons, what would have been the consequence? As soon as people came to examine the case, and to reflect upon it, the truth would have risen up before their face, that an act of the most flagrant injustice had been perpetrated, from utter want of reflection, and

under the influence of a popular outcry. That this would have shaken the people's confidence in their representatives—nay, that the Reformed Parliament, and Reform itself, would have sustained an irreparable loss of character in the eyes of rational men, who, sooner or later, regulate public opinion, cannot at all be questioned. That the public, at the time and for the moment, were favourable to the bill, may be very true—nay, that they were disappointed at the result,—under the influence of a portion of the London Newspaper press, which misrepresented the evidence, and by suppressing various things which passed in the Lords, conveyed a most untrue notion of what took place there,—is very possible. But he knows mighty little of man, and has had a most limited experience of the ebbs and flows of the tide of public favour, who fancies that when reflection brought the real state of the case home to the minds of the people, their temporary misconception of its merits would have prevented them from feeling indignant at what had been done. On the contrary, their own share in the error would have exasperated them the more; and made them visit with the more unrelenting severity upon the heads of their misleaders, the errors that had been committed, and the injustice that had been done. The worst evil, however, of the proceeding would have been the bad precedent created; of which evil-disposed persons would assuredly have been ready to take advantage, the first moment that the enemies of reform returned to power.

These instances, which we have given of crude and hasty legislation, all ended well, in consequence of the House of Lords having an opportunity to correct the errors committed by the Commons. But in a very few cases the error was persisted in; and the Lords, on account of the nature of the measure on which the mistake had been made, were obliged to submit rather than lose the bill. Thus, in the great measure for amending the Poor Laws, a clause was introduced, professing to have for its object the securing to all sectaries in work-houses free communication with their religious instructors. This clause was, however, framed with such marvellous inattention to, and ignorance of the subject, as to defeat entirely its own purpose, and to exclude all dissenting teachers whatever, Catholic and Protestant, and only to admit a very limited number of the established clergy. The motive for inserting the clause at all was a ridiculous distrust of the Central Board, to whom such extensive powers were confided; and it turns out, that the only chance which sectaries will have of not being persecuted by the clause framed to protect them, is to be found in the possibility of the Central Board giving a very

strained construction to the clause.* The Poor Law Bill has been passed with this piece of absurdity thrown into it; and it may safely be pronounced to be the only part of the measure which cannot bear the light.

In the remarks which we have made upon these proceedings in the Houses of Parliament, we desire to be understood as speaking with the most perfect respect, and indeed the most affectionate veneration of the present House of Commons. There is no panegyric that has been pronounced upon that illustrious body in which we do not entirely and cheerfully agree. But while men are 'lower than the angels,' it will inevitably happen, that a very numerous assembly of persons representing others, and representing large bodies of constituents, will be more liable to commit errors of oversight and impatience, than a much smaller assembly of men, who, being accountable to no one, and only controlled by public opinion, are better fitted to discharge the functions of a deliberative and correcting tribunal. This is the especial office of the Upper House; and for this its place is assigned it in our mixed constitution. The vast mass of business crowding upon the attention of the Lower House, is of itself a reason why revision elsewhere is necessary to prevent fatal errors, and to protect the character of the whole legislature. But independent of this circumstance, the two others to which we have alluded are sufficient to explain the errors of the one body, and show the uses of the other;—we mean the circumstances of one body being much more numerous than the other; and being a representation of bodies of constituents, still less adapted to perform deliberative functions. It would, therefore, be a most false and illogical conclusion from our statements to infer any thing prejudicial to the character and merits of the reformed House of Commons; or any thing so favourable to the Lords' as to warrant any unlimited confidence in that almost irresponsible body. Their being irresponsible, except to public opinion, may have its advantages in giving them deliberative faculties; but many a vice in their habits arises from the same source—

'Agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.'

Hence there is every ground for the people standing by their

* A respectable Catholic, of apparently very moderate understanding, has, in the newspapers, claimed the merit of devising this clause; and, with an absurdity wholly unmatched, he complains of the Lord Chancellor for having discovered its dangerous tendency towards the sectaries. He says no friend of that body should have hit upon this blot, or tried to protect them!

faithful representatives, and closely watching the Lords;—every ground for giving to the former their undiminished confidence, as the best means of overcoming the inherent prejudices of the latter. Of the advice and assistance of the Upper House it is well to avail ourselves; but of their disposition, far too often to mar rather than mend the works of good legislation, no one who reads the signs of the times aright can harbour much doubt.

And, in truth, from this very consideration it is, of the habits and dispositions of the Lords, that we derive one of our most cogent arguments in favour of deliberate and well-considered measures of improvement being alone brought forward, and alone pressed by the country. The Lords may prevent the passing of crude and ill-digested laws; they may counteract, and they have once and again counteracted, the evil tendency of precipitate schemes of legislation. But is it safe for the people to leave in their hands the only guards against such mischiefs? Assuredly not; and for two manifest reasons: *First*, You never can be quite sure that the Lords may not suffer the faulty measure to pass, for the express purpose of bringing reformers into disrepute, and disgusting the people with legislative improvement, against which it is in vain to deny that a majority of their body have a deeply rooted prejudice. *Secondly*, Even were there no such risk, the consequences would be most mischievous to the influence of both Houses, of leaving the Lords always to remedy the errors of the Commons. One House would lose its importance and weight in the public eye, and the other would gain all that was thus lost. Already we may easily perceive how great is the exultation of the Upper House each time that a serious mistake is committed by the Lower. The inevitable tendency of the greater multiplicity of business to produce oversights is entirely overlooked; and so is the effect of a larger assembly, and of popular influence over a representative body; and all the errors into which the people's House is betrayed, are greedily ascribed to the extension of the franchise, and the reforming spirit of the age. Some mistakes and inadvertences are quite unavoidable in the proceedings of a body constituted and acting like the Lower House. This we have admitted and explained; but every one must perceive how important it is for the number of these errors to be reduced as low as possible, and their magnitude to be as much as possible diminished. For unavoidable slips, the constitution has provided a remedy in the structure of the Upper House, and its mode of proceeding; nor will the performance of its proper duties in this respect give it any weight dangerous to the interests of the community. But all beyond this is full of peril—all errors which might plainly have been avoided by due

care; all oversights which can clearly be traced to impatience and mere love of change for change's sake—lessen most dangerously the power of the Commons, and give a very mischievous, because an undue preponderance to the House of Lords.

It will immediately be perceived, that these remarks have been suggested by the history of the last two Sessions of the Reformed Parliament; and by the outcry that has been raised against this body for having done too little towards reforming the abuses which had crept into our institutions. It is because we were addressing ourselves to those who held such language, that we have taken only one view of the evils of hasty and ill-considered legislation, and have said nothing of its first and most obvious mischief—namely, its tendency to inflict bad laws upon the state. This is so obvious an evil, and of such a magnitude, as to require little illustration. For surely nothing but the most consummate folly could ever think of holding it right to undertake the most difficult and the most momentous of all human actions, giving new laws to a community—nay, still more, the yet harder task of altering old ones long established, and which had struck their roots into the whole frame of its polity, and even become incorporated with the habits and the feelings of the people—without, at the least, as much care and forethought as men are wont to bestow upon the transaction of their ordinary business, and the formation of their least important schemes in private life. But the line of argument which we have here adopted was directed *ad homines*—to impatient reformers, to those who cried out for more schemes of improvement,—in order to show them the extreme hazard of the courses into which they would impell the Government and the Legislature; and, above all, the danger arising from these courses to their own favourite object—reformation of existing abuses. We think a calm and serious consideration of the foregoing reflections, dictated by the most sincere attachment to the cause of real reform, and offered in the spirit of all kindliness, and of entire respect, will have the effect of convincing them, that no greater danger lies in the way of reform than the impatience and precipitancy of which we have been discoursing. This, too, we know, that many men of the strongest opinions in favour of improvement—those who, under the old system, deemed hardly any pace swift enough at which reformation could advance—men who were then called radicals, and innovators, and Benthamites, and what not,—have, since the passing of the Reform Bill, adopted precisely the views which have guided us in the course of these observations; and they have, we will add, made this change in their sentiments with the most per-

fect consistency, and according to principles the most logically correct.

Let us now for a moment advert to the grounds of the charge brought against the Parliament and the Ministry for doing too little. We may at once dismiss the attack upon the session 1833. Surely none but the most thoughtless or the most prejudiced of mortals can seriously maintain that it was not enough in one session to open the East Indian trade, and reconstruct the fabric of an empire extending over twenty millions of people—to emancipate the West Indian slaves—to reform the courts of law and equity in the most essential parts—to mitigate the criminal code in the points most the subject of controversy—to abolish all, or nearly all, the remaining sinecures—to purify of its most glaring abuses the Irish hierarchy—and to give an entirely new constitution to the whole municipal bodies of Scotland. It may further be observed, that so much having been done in one session, made it not only difficult, but absolutely impossible, to effect as much the next; for the work was already done; and, besides, men of prudent minds, after making a very great and varied experiment in legislation, will naturally pause for a season, in order to see how the new order of things works. But there were other reasons for some delay. Can any one maintain that there would have existed the least ground of complaint, had the session of 1834 seen the English reformed municipal corporations placed upon a footing like that on which the Scotch burghs were put in 1833? Assuredly not; and yet what prevented this most desirable consummation? Merely the absolute necessity of previous enquiry and deliberation before a measure was framed for altering the constitution of nearly four hundred ancient municipalities,—of the most various construction,—endued with the most important privileges,—and holding an immense amount of property by various tenures and on various rights. The commissioners were not urged by the Government to do their work badly, in order to finish it prematurely; and it was the part of wise and of honest men to postpone the proposition of their plan of reform until they could clearly see what direction the evils complained of had taken in each instance; and what remedy was the most appropriate and the most safe for the varied forms of the disorder.

But another great measure had been prepared, and would undoubtedly before this time have been adopted, had not an accident intervened. We allude to the new law of Debtor and Creditor, including the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the giving full recourse to creditors against all the property of their debtors. That a measure of this difficult and complicated

kind could only be conducted through the House of Commons by the Attorney-General,—the only law officer of the Crown who was conversant with proceedings in courts of common law,—must at once be obvious to every reader. Within a fortnight after the beginning of the Session, he was thrown out of Parliament, and only regained a seat (to the lasting honour of our Scottish metropolis, and the signal discomfiture of the Tory party) towards the close of the Session. This alone caused the postponement of the great measure of Law Reform, of which we are speaking; and, we may add, this alone postponed the Local Courts' Bill, which, after its fate in the Lords the year before, was most judiciously announced in the Commons by Lord Althorpe early in the Session of 1834. For the accident which, throwing the Attorney-General out of Parliament, obstructed the progress of Law Reform for a whole year, surely, neither the Government nor the Parliament can be held answerable. Are the Reformers themselves so entirely free from blame in this respect? Did they very vigorously support the Attorney-General at Dudley? Were the Dissenters all at their post there—the Dissenters, so anxious to abolish imprisonment for debt, and to mitigate our criminal code? Were those conductors of the press, who make their chief stand upon these very grounds, in no way accessary to his failure? At any rate, were they not, with a marvellous inconsistency, found at one and the same moment exulting in his defeat, and crying out for the bills he had brought in, and declaring against the Government and the House of Commons for delaying measures which he alone could carry through? *

But if such be the reasons why more was not done in the last Session, is it therefore true that nothing was done, as the objectors represent? We will venture to assert that the little which is said to have been done, would have immortalized the memory, not only of any session of the unreformed Parliament, but of any whole Parliament. In the first place, an Act was passed entirely reforming the most important and most abused department of the state—the Exchequer—the ancient stronghold of venerable absur-

* We may mention, that the *Morning Herald*, the paper chiefly and very laudably and usefully devoted to these questions, never failing to rejoice in any defeat of the Law Reforming Ministry, complained of the Attorney-General for not passing his bills, alleging, that before he lost his seat, he had been quite long enough in Parliament to carry them. In other words, he was required to alter the whole law of debtor and creditor in the first business week of the Session!

dity and antiquated abuse. Many sinecures were abolished; many working places consolidated; a large saving of expense effected; and the transaction of business simplified. This reform obtained, as it most justly deserved, the unqualified praise of the rigid economists, and especially of Mr Hume. It was the result of ample investigation; and justice demands that we give to Sir James Graham, then in the Cabinet, the chief share of the praise belonging to this important reform. The Lord Chancellor's Bill for establishing a Grand Central Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, was also passed into a law, and is now about to be carried into execution. This important measure erects a court of criminal justice in London, composed of all the judges, and having jurisdiction over nearly two millions of people, including those of the whole metropolis. It puts an end to the jurisdiction of magistrates at sessions within that space, and in as far as regards all offences of any importance, and points of any difficulty. It not only establishes a most valuable tribunal, sitting once a-month, for the most important portion of the kingdom, but it begins a plan of improvement which, it is devoutly to be hoped, may be extended over the whole country; and which the passing of a Local Courts Bill will render of easy extension. But the great measure of the Session was the Poor Law Bill; and surely if any plan of legislation ever demanded the deepest regard from all rational men, this is that plan. Had neither Ministry nor Parliament ever made any other attempt to improve the condition of their fellow-creatures—this would have earned for the present Ministry and the present Parliament a claim to the everlasting gratitude of the country. We are not, of course, now about to enter into its merits. The whole subject has long been before the public; and among reflecting men, who have made themselves masters of it both in principle and detail, there is but one opinion upon its nature and tendency; but we may remark, that even the most decided adversaries of the Government have done them ample justice upon this matter. The Duke of Wellington, with a manly candour which did him infinite honour,—and acting upon the dictate of that excellent understanding, which, on great questions of public interest, always is his guide, when the urgent necessity of providing against imminent dangers to the state, overpowering all other considerations, quells within him the spirit of a partisan,—declared that the subject which had baffled all the efforts of all former ministries, had been boldly encountered, and successfully handled, for the first time, by the present Government. In truth, there never yet was a question upon which any Ministers had a more difficult duty to perform. The popular opinion was likely to be against them; all the topics most captivating to the public

mind,—humanity ill considered, liberty ill understood, charity perversely contemplated, the supposed rights of the poor, the dislike of harsh, and apparently unfeeling discipline, the aversion to change in long established usages—all conspired to alienate the community from the provisions of this great measure, every one of which, without any exception, outwardly wore a forbidding aspect. The natural misconceptions to which it gave rise,—the natural leaning of ignorance against it,—were powerfully seconded by the almost united efforts of the London press to excite the people, and raise an uncompromising opposition to it. There is not upon record any instance of a measure which the public Press has made more indefatigable efforts to blacken, from its first proposal, down to the day when the bill received the Royal assent. Nor must we omit to mention the powerful ally which the newspapers had on this memorable occasion, in the direct personal interests of most of the parish vestries in and near the metropolis; and whose influence, and patronage, and jobs, the bill at one blow destroyed. Against all this host of interest, and ignorance, and prejudice, and false feeling, and loud clamour, the Government manfully persevered to do its duty, and the bill was carried triumphantly through all its stages, by a Parliament superior to all meaner considerations, and determined to save the community, whose affairs were intrusted to its care. Never was there a more signal victory gained by reason over clamour, and by the deliberative wisdom of a great senate, over the puny efforts of factious men addressing the passions of the multitude. If any man before questioned the capacity of the Reformed Parliament to administer the nation's affairs—if any man doubted the power of that great body to withstand popular clamour—if any man suspected that it was dangerous to give the body of the people a more direct share in the choice of those who were to rule the affairs of the State—the history of this bill at once and for ever dispelled all such doubts, and demonstrated, that the country might always safely confide in representatives thus chosen and thus endowed.

It is a remarkable fact, that after the united and daily efforts of the newspapers, arrogating to themselves the right to speak in the name of the public,—efforts made with unscrupulous zeal and bitterness, with no inconsiderable talent, and with a presumption exceeding all bounds,—only nineteen members of a popular House of Commons could be found to vote against the bill, in a division of between four and five hundred! The violence of those papers,—their arrogance, their unseemly dictation, accompanied by the notorious character of some of them for being devoid of all principle, and only bent upon pandering to the

feelings and appetites of the community, which they affected to lead,—no doubt contributed largely to their signal failure upon the present occasion. For it is unquestionable, that the indignation and disgust felt towards them by the House of Commons materially diminished the minority against the bill; many members who felt disposed to vote against the new measure, being determined at any rate not to give any countenance to those journalists. Their efforts may thus have reduced a minority of fifty, or thereabouts, to one of nineteen: and this is proved to have been the extent of the power possessed by these important personages, who had for years been puffing themselves as ruling the destinies of the nation! We believe, that every true friend to the country and its good Government, and, above all, every wellwisher to the Reformed Parliament, will deem the victory gained over these men almost as important as the passing of the bill itself.

Is it therefore true—is it any thing like the truth, to say, that nothing was done during the last Session?—and can any man of rational views and sober mind complain if other Sessions should pass, and no more be effected than some vast practical improvement in the administration of justice, and some great and beneficial change in our internal policy, affecting the happiness of the whole body of the people? The benefits of deliberately preparing the measures brought forward, and submitting them to a calm and full discussion—the incalculable risks of a rash and precipitate course of legislation, are so self-evident, that they have never been stated, especially of late, without producing the conviction desired, and obtaining an explicit admission of the propositions founded on such considerations. But it has been remarked, that such concessions, being, as it were, extorted by the force of truth operating on those who were unable to answer the argument, were always accompanied with some statement, which either had no meaning at all, or operated as a retraction of the admission made—evincing the correctness of the old distich touching those who are 'convinced against their will.'

Of this an instance was afforded at the great National Festival lately holden in this city in honour of Earl Grey, and the principles of liberal and reforming policy. They who were supposed to be hasty, impatient, and unreflecting in their views of improvement, allowed the truth of all that was said by the Earl and the Lord Chancellor in favour of a cautious and statesman-like, but firm and unflinching, course of reforming legislation; but they added, 'there must be no *compromise* with the enemy'—no abandonment of principles—no *clipping of measures;*' and these phrases were more especially used by Lord Durham—

though he only amplified what had been said by others; and, therefore, in what we now say on the subject, we do not refer particularly to that steady and useful friend of reform, and of civil and religious liberty. But let us very respectfully ask, whether these phrases are any thing more than words and sounds —whether they have any definite or sensible meaning—above all, whether they are even *intelligible*, when coming from those who, in the same breath, are joining to deprecate hasty and crude projects of amendment? On this question we need not indulge in any remarks; but let us ask, how Lord Durham, of all men, can object to what he calls '*compromise* and *clipping*;' he having, in 1817, brought forward a large plan of parliamentary reform, the result of much deliberation, held by him necessary to save the State, and so carefully prepared and elaborated, that he announced, from love of justice, the share which an early friend had taken in composing it with him, in order that no man might lose his portion of the praise due to so great a design—and afterwards, without ever having made another motion upon the question, or said another word regarding reform in either House of Parliament, acceded to Lord John Russell's plan, of a perfectly different nature, a plan not going a tenth part so far, but one more practicable, and in which others, in and out of the Government, could be brought to concur, as assuredly as they never would have done in that of the year 1817? Who blames Lord Durham—who even of the select few who voted and would have voted* with him in 1817, complains of him as compromising with the enemy, abandoning his principles, or clipping his measure? He acted like a wise and an honest man—one who really cared for his opinions, and was anxious to promote the success of the cause he espoused—and who, prizing this far above any paltry considerations of personal vanity, only desired to see as much, and as beneficial, reform carried as he could. Again, neither Lord Durham nor any of his colleagues ought to have attended the dinner in question—and, above all, that dinner ought never to have been given in honour of Earl Grey, if 'compromise' and 'clipping' be a political sin beyond forgiveness—for was there ever a measure more 'clipped' than the Reform Act? and when did 'compromise' ever do more to change, and changing to pass a Bill? First, there was the twenty-pound qualification, which the scheme, as reported by Lord John Russell and the rest of the Sub-Committee, contain-

* By an accident, Lord Durham and other friends were shut out of the Division, and all of us recollect the base and false imputations founded on this occurrence.

ed, and which would have destroyed a hundred rotten burghs, and created about twice the number? This was changed by the Cabinet to ten pounds, and Lord Durham made no objection:—a change, however, which he may (though most incorrectly) represent as no compromise, because it was an extension, and not a clipping of the plan. But what becomes of all the changes, in the precisely opposite direction, which the measure afterwards underwent, both before it was brought in the second time, and after it came into the House of Commons? Why, if compromise be an abandonment of principle, wholly unjustifiable, did Lord Durham accept the Bill, 'shorn of its fair proportions' by Lord Chandos's amendment, assuredly made to give great landlords a preponderance in the counties? This was of all things the most pernicious, and it sinned against every principle on which the Bill was founded. Yet Lord Durham and the impatient Reformers gladly accepted the measure, thus miserably injured, rather than have no Bill at all. But a vote of the House of Commons, they will say, carried this alteration. What compulsion of the kind made the Cabinet, of which Lord Grey was the head, and Lord Durham an active member, retain the right of voting in freemen—the worst of all the franchises, and the one which engenders and perpetuates corruption of every sort? This change was made in the Bill during the recess, after it was first thrown out—it was made during the period given for reflection and deliberation—it was made expressly to conciliate the adversaries of the Bill. We venture, then, with all respect for Lord Durham, to suggest, that it was as plain an act of 'clipping'—as distinct a 'compromise'—as any man can figure to himself; and that it was a clipping and a compromise made with the design of gaining over enemies; and that advantage was taken of delay—of opportunity to deliberate—precisely in the way against which Lord Durham now so vehemently protests. Then why did his Lordship submit to this? Why did he prefer the Bill thus 'clipped' to no reform at all? Because he was a man of sense, a practical statesman, a sincere reformer. But then, has he any right to deny the same titles to others who recommend, it may be, a like course? Observe, no one, on the occasion alluded to, had said a word about compromising to gain over enemies; all that was urged was the wisdom of deliberate and cautious proceedings. But Lord Durham, in his vehement love of whole and entire measures, and his impatience of 'every month that passes' without something being done, chose to read a lecture against 'clipping,' and, above all, against making use of the time taken for digesting any measure, in order to make it acceptable to such a number of persons as may suffice to carry it through Parliament;

and this he did without reflecting that he used the time given in 1831 for deliberation, to change the measure in one of its most essential parts, with the hope (a vain one it proved) of conciliating the enemies of the Reform! Nay, he urged this topic, and fulminated his anathemas against all compromise,—that is, if he meant any thing at all, against taking as much reform as you can get, though you may not get all you wish and all you have a right to,—at a festival given expressly in honour of the Reform Bill, and its chief author, Lord Grey; this bill, having been the result of a compromise, and being notoriously framed, as introduced in 1831, upon the very principle so loudly decried by his lordship, of taking what you can get, when you may not have just what you like. We might urge the same argument from other changes in the Bill—all in the like direction—that is, contrary to its fundamental principles, and operating unfavourably to popular rights—as, for example, the restriction of votes in burghs to those whose rates are paid up, and the requiring in counties a small fee to be paid on registration—both of which alterations were manifestly of a most mischievous tendency to the franchise, and both submitted to for the purpose of reconciling adversaries. Why did Lord Durham, and other sincere reformers, accept a measure so 'clipped'—nay, so miserably mangled and cut to pieces? Why, but that they had the sense to look at the prodigious good they gained by it, and not like silly, wayward, spoilt, children, to reject it because they had been crossed in some particulars. But yet the very same men have the assurance, and, at a dinner given in honour of those who so mangled the Reform Bill, and so suffered it to be mangled, and given in their honour, expressly because they agreed to it, and gladly accepted it as mangled—the assurance to profess that, whatever others may do, *they*, *they* forsooth, are far too uncompromising gentlefolks ever to suffer any 'clipping' whatever; or to abate one single jot of their claims for the purpose of obtaining their object, or to accept one halfpenny in the pound less than the full amount of all their demands! They look down from this elevation of pure, rigorous, unbending principle, on which they are pleased to plant themselves, with an amazing self-complacency, upon the rational, practical, and consistent men, who have disdained to commit no such vagaries; thanking God that they are not as others are—clippers—compromisers—men of expediency!

Having been drawn into a consideration of some proceedings at the Edinburgh Festival, we are naturally led to say one word upon the marvellous display presented by that great celebration of the universal esteem in which the principles of reforming and liberal policy, and the conduct of the present ministry,

were held by the people of Scotland. The whole progress of the Lord Chancellor and of Lord Grey through various parts of the country, indeed in every direction, bore ample testimony to the same fact—the Tories, of a truth, have ceased to reign! They can no longer deny that the public voice is with their liberal adversaries, and that it must be a strong arm, indeed the sword, which could govern Scotland under a Tory ministry. A great people will not be ruled by principles and by a party which it abhors. When we speak of Tories,—we use the name for shortness, and to express the ultra principles of that party, which acknowledges the Cumberlands, and Kenyons, and Rodens, for its heads. We are far, indeed, from holding that the liberal Tories and their views, are in the same disrepute among us. On the contrary, though the season may not yet have come, and though it has been put off by the bad policy of some impatient spirits, whom the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel cannot control, we do not think it out of the question that there may arrive the day when, if a strong government be required to save us from anarchy on the one hand, or Orange domination on the other, some favour may be shown to the better parts of the present opposition, from whom great practical good has in former times flowed to the policy of the state. But assuredly, now is not the season when even such a mixed government would be endured. It is manifest that the country is not Tory, nor any shade of Tory. Lord Mansfield, in an unlucky hour, pronounced his opinion, gathered probably from the select circles formed of the chaplain and the agent, in which so many peers live, and move, and have their being, that the present government was not popular, though he was far from pretending that the opposition was more so. The events of the vacation have probably convinced his lordship that it was rash to form, and still more precipitate to announce, such an opinion; for, even after the untoward events of the Session,—the removal of some important members of the Cabinet, the postponement, through accidents which we have explained, of some important measures, and the clamour raised against the Poor Law Bill,—experience has demonstrated that the government possesses the confidence of the country in an eminent degree. Herein all Tories, and many impartial men are prone to deceive themselves. No ministry ever can continue, year after year, to excite those vehement and even turbulent sensations of affection which greet a favourite minister upon his accession to power, or during the first months and earliest measures of his reign. No ministry can by possibility be greeted at every period of its existence by those tumults of applause which are reserved for moments of crisis, or periods of change. On the contrary, all governments

must needs disappoint the over sanguine expectations of friends, and even play, to a certain extent, the game of their adversaries, by taking, from time to time, unpopular courses. Witness the Irish Coercion Bill, and one or two other measures forced upon the liberal cabinet,—most abhorrent to their principles, most alien to their wishes, and only adopted under the pressure of an instant and over-ruling necessity. From hence, and from the inevitable tendency of all popular excitement to subside, unless kept alive by a succession of changes, the inference has been hastily and most thoughtlessly drawn, that the present liberal ministry have no longer the confidence of the people. The way to try this would be to attempt removing them, and putting their adversaries in their room. When the removal of Mr Stanley and others gave some alarm of this kind, the calm of the country was profound; the coldness, we might add, was at its height: for measures expected had been put off, and proceedings little liked had been taken through necessity, and there was nothing immediately to excite any interest in the ministry's behalf; yet all men remember the universal explosion of delight which Lord Althorp's declaration that the government should be unchanged, produced; and the unprecedented uproar of assent which broke forth on his pronouncing the word "confidence," from the centre of the Treasury Bench. Who doubts that the announcement that Lord Grey's retirement was not to break up the government, which was hailed with equal rapture within the walls of Parliament, was as entirely acceptable to the whole country? We have never heard of any dissentients among those professing liberal opinions; unless it be from one or two newspapers, whose unintelligible hatred of liberal government, and strange desire to see the Tories in office, was signally frustrated by the formation of the present cabinet under Lord Melbourne. Those few, but noisy personages, have amused themselves and their readers during the 'dead season of the year,' with furious attacks and mournful prophecies; and their wishes and predictions upon the fate of the government are receiving about as much acceptance with the people, and are likely to be about as well fulfilled by the event, as their hostility and their forebodings were upon the Poor Law Bill.

It is only fair towards the Radical party to say, that with but a few inconsiderable exceptions, they have been exempt from the blame attaching to the unprincipled portion of the liberal press. They have rejected all the advances of the common enemy, and have held their own course regarding the government, but joining with their countrymen in feeling strong disgust at the conduct to which we have now, and in our last Number, adverted. The Tory press, however, is not free from great blame. Can the

spirit of factious spite go farther than the High Church and Ultra-Tory organs have so shamefully done (with one or two most honourable exceptions) in joining the Radicals, to run down the minister for yielding to a sense of justice, and conscientiously refusing to countenance measures founded on no evidence, and attacking the private rights of individuals? Will it, can it be believed, that the members of the government who threw out the Warwick Bill, have been attacked for so doing, not only by the Radicals (in whom such a course was natural and consistent, though extremely ignorant and unreflecting) but by the High Tories, to destroy whom the bill was framed? Assuredly the objects of such an attack must be persons against whom it is singularly difficult to find matter of complaint, when their adversaries are reduced to such shifts. The result of all this, as far as regards the Newspaper press, has certainly been materially to lower its influence; and to verify, but in an unexpected degree, the predictions of those who foretold that the Reform in our Representation would lessen the power of that most important, but much abused instrument of public instruction. This was the inevitable tendency of the Reform; but the misconduct of the press since it passed, has prodigiously accelerated the downfall of its power, and brought about the event prophesied far more speedily and more completely than was necessary or could have been foreseen.

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ART. I.—*Life and Poems of the Rev. George Crabbe.* 8 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

THE critics of human life and genius were cautioned of old to reserve their judgment till death had closed the account, and set upon it its final seal. In the case of Crabbe, the several conditions implied in the caution may be considered at present to be complied with. We are already standing at some little distance from his grave; and—while our materials for judging of the man and the poet are now (and only now) complete—impressions of an occasional or temporary nature (supposing that they may have once existed), must by this time have passed away.

The life of Crabbe was divided into two strongly contrasted periods; the events and complexion of which are soon described. The first twenty-eight years were years of distress and difficulty. There succeeded fifty of competence, honour, and repose. He was born at Aldborough in 1754, of humble parents—how humble may be seen in the frontispiece vignette of his father's cottage. The hazardous experiment of a more liberal education than his family had the means of completing, much less of following up by an adequate introduction into a profession, had nearly proved his ruin. The injudicious choice of his profession—that of a surgeon—left him scarce a chance; since a taste for botany could not supply every other deficiency and disadvantage. These disadvantages were so great, that neither of his early passions, love and poetry, can be made responsible for his failure. He began, however, betimes, his sacrifices to both. At the age of eighteen, the young apprentice fell in love with a Miss Elmy, a village beauty, and something better. This accident, so decisive on his future life, arose out of the frolic of a comrade, who wanted com-

pany in a love matter of his own. About the same time, his poetical reputation was established in his little circle as the successful candidate in the 'Lady's Magazine.' When he set up for himself, Aldborough was an unpromising spot to fix upon for the field of his professional operations. Divers poor relations, glad enough to quarter themselves on the cordials of cousin George's medicine chest, and a few old women who saw in his botanical rambles a collector of simples, which he ought to administer for nothing, were all the standing patients his native town afforded him. The short time that two militia regiments were stationed there, formed the brilliant season of his practice. But he probably got more from them in manners, and (strange to say) in Latin, than in fees. Colonel, afterwards Field-Marshal, Conway, gave him some Latin works on botany: and, if the hours which he now spent on 'Hudson's Flora Anglica' enabled him to 'enjoy Ho-'race, and to pass with credit through certain examinations of an 'after period,' it is most likely the first and last service of the kind that the 'Flora Anglica' has performed. The poetical revenge, which he afterwards lost no opportunity of taking on the art and its practitioners, was partly the satirical recollection of his own incompetent career. Two or three years of disappointment and destitution in the mortifying presence of his family and acquaintance was as much as he could endure. Long afterwards, one happy morning, he described to his children the gloom of the day, and the desolation of the scene, when, while gazing on the Marsh Hill above Aldborough, he suddenly, at the close of the year 1779, 'determined to go to London and venture all.' It was a desperate resolution. His father, too poor, and perhaps too angry, to help him, remonstrated in vain; and his only means of carrying his project into execution was, writing for a small sum (five pounds) to Mr Dudley North, who happened to be politically connected with the place. 'After settling his affairs at 'Aldborough, and embarking himself and his whole worldly sub-'stance on board a sloop at Slaughden, to seek his fortune in the 'Great City, he found himself master of a box of clothes, a small 'case of surgical instruments, and three pounds in money. Du-'ring the voyage he lived with the sailors of the vessel, and partook 'of their fare.' Thus the starved apothecary of a little venal borough found himself on a sudden a mendicant author in the streets of London. Miss Elmy had a friend there, the wife of a linen-draper. These were at first his only acquaintance; and their Sunday dinner, a leg of mutton baked in the pan, was his luxury of the week. From them he heard, for the first time, the name of Chatterton, whose tragic story was at that moment recent enough to be an event and moral for every class. The tale came

to him too late to change his course; but the dread of it must have doubly darkened the melancholy of his position. Unknown and inexperienced, it is not so wonderful that the young adventurer had fifteen months of want and bitterness to struggle with, as that he should have manfully and honourably survived them. Miss Elmy had staid behind in Suffolk waiting the experiment. At this period, nothing but his love, and a deep sense of religion, which his mother, his mistress, and a recent illness, had all worked together to impress upon his heart, could have kept him right. He had come up to town with the best verses he could write. But, unfortunately, his poetical talents, if left to themselves, were not yet sufficiently developed and matured to attract the notice of the public. His writings rejected by the booksellers, his petitions unanswered by the great, his wardrobe sold, his watch pawned, he had obtained from his landlord, with much entreaty, and as the greatest favour, a week's forbearance, when he must pay his debt or prepare for prison. In his despair, he providentially applied to Burke. That extraordinary man, compassionating his distress, and discovering his genius, made the case his own. He not only wiped away 'the proud big tear of song-' extorted bread,' and rescued him from the pale procession in which Budgell and Savage, Otway and Chatterton had perished, but kept fast hold of his hand until he had secured his fortune. He received him into his house; revised his poems; introduced him to his friends; assisted him into orders; recommended him as chaplain to the late Duke of Rutland; and procured for him the countenance and protection of Thurlow, then Lord Chancellor, by whom his personal application had been previously slighted. Burke found the leisure, the thought, and the heart for this, at a moment when the fever of politics was most upon him; and when the stormy hopes and fears of the fiercest Parliamentary opposition England had ever witnessed, were at their height. The Duke of Rutland, within two years of Crabbe's appointment, went to Ireland as Lord-lieutenant. The chaplain remained behind, married the lady of his early love, and settled on a curacy in the neighbourhood. The duke died suddenly, before he had done any thing for him. But the duchess soon afterwards prevailed on Thurlow to change the two small livings he had already given him in Dorsetshire, for the living of Muston, adjoining Belvoir. Our literary adventurer was now in smooth water: certain of competence, if not opulence, for the remainder of his days. These days were somewhat monotonous, perhaps: any thing, however, but few and evil. The illness of his wife—fits of protracted melancholy—appear to have been the only calamities which befell him at all out of the common course of things for forty years.

Nothing else occurred during this long period to disturb his domestic peace or literary leisure. He appears never to have really liked Muston: and after residing there some time, he adjourned into Suffolk. To the charm of being his native county, it added the more substantial merit of being the locality of a fair estate which had descended to his wife. Time passed on, and he had been twelve years absent, when the bishop forced him back into residence. At the death of his wife in 1813, he found himself less at home at Muston than ever—'a hermit without a hermit's 'resignation;' and gladly availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by the present Duke of Rutland, of leaving it for Trowbridge. It was there that he resided afterwards till his death. His health and personal appearance improved at every stage from youth to manhood, from manhood to old age; and certainly the principal blessings which should accompany old age gathered round him, and attended him to its close.

On looking back at the life of Crabbe, and comparing its beginning with its end, the contrast, one should think, might have furnished him with a more agreeable change of fortune than any which he has presented in his 'Farewell and Return.' His expatriated brother, settled at Honduras, is said to have doubted the clerical version of him which was carried there by an Aldborough sailor: 'This cannot be *our* George; he was a doctor.' He thought himself that his sons never could credit that his golden couplets had brought him in L.3000, unless they saw the money. The mind is, however, after all, its own place; and notwithstanding his own experience, he could close his retrospect of the 'Happy Day' with no brighter moral than the disheartening apostrophe—

> 'Well, thou hast tried it—thou hast closely seen
> What greatness has without it, and within;
> Where now the joyful expectation?—fled!
> The strong anticipating spirit?—dead!'

Crabbe doubtless had bitter moments. Perhaps nothing in after life can make up for a year worn down in starving attendance upon the booksellers, or for the same duration of dependent tribulation as chaplain to a duke. Dark must have been his scowl on the stagnant waters of Marsh Hill, while he 'waited the *fa-* '*vouring* hour and fled!' Wretched his meditations the night he passed walking up and down Westminster Bridge, uncertain what answer might await him from Burke's footman on the morrow! The revolting circumstances of his servitude at Belvoir, according to his son, were 'productive in his mind of some of the 'acutest sensations of wounded pride that have ever been traced

'by any pen.' Among other indignities, the guests forced down the chaplain's throat bumpers of salt and water, on his refusal to pledge their Tory toasts. But, after all, and whatever might be the price exacted for his future, the future was such that the fairy, who should have promised it, would once scarcely have been believed. For it was half a century of health and independence, tranquillity and fame. It is not quite clear that his mind improved under these trials in all respects quite as much as his condition. It became, indeed, more correct and equal. There is nothing recorded of the latter part of his life as wrong as his juvenile misbehaviour towards his father, who, if a savage with others, was always 'substantially kind to him;' nor as improper as the spleen with which he mounted the pulpit steps, upon his first return as a clergyman to Aldborough, ready almost to shake the dust off his feet on a hostile congregation. But more than one occasion afterwards occurs, on which it is necessary for his admirers to remember, that the follies of the wise, and the caprices of the virtuous, have a rightful claim on our tenderness and indulgence. It would be unfair to take the two journals which he kept during his two most important residences in London, as faithful representations of what was deepest or uppermost in his heart at the respective periods. Still it is not the less true, that the journals of 1780 and of 1817 are not made to be read together. Unluckily we so read them, and the impression is yet with us. The trifling diary of the veteran bard—the lion of the season—relieved by the solemn ejaculation that he must fly from London dinners, which are comically called 'this infatuating 'scene,' looks poorly enough by the side of the tender yet stout-hearted memoranda of his youth; when, undaunted by misfortunes, he threw himself for support, among all his troubles, on his manly spirit, and on the trust of virtuous affection and religious faith. We love his youth for its cheerful jesting with privations—'it is the vilest thing in the world to have but one coat'—still more for its affectionate sigh, 'Oh, Sally, how I want you!' A life, so heroically begun, ought never to have dropped into the semblance of so commonplace a character, that his son can gravely report it among the excellencies of his old age, that on his return to his parsonage at Trowbridge, 'after one of these 'intoxicating visits to the metropolis, no one could trace the 'slightest difference in his manners or habits.'

Unluckily another infatuation there awaited him—a succession of it does not exactly appear how many tender passions. His son feels 'satisfied that no one will be seriously shocked with 'such an evidence of the freshness of his feelings.' *Shocked* is not the word. A weakness of this kind is not shocking, but

ridiculous. One can only rejoice that the satirist, who had been singing some twenty years before—'Till old refrain not, or if 'old refrain'—and who had ruled that, in the marriage of disproportioned years, a union of young men and old women turns out better than that of young women with old men—should have had the luck to fall in with young ladies of greater discretion than himself. The editor seems to be of opinion, that the frolicsome humour of this latter spring was something very like a providential interference in behalf of a descriptive poet. For it must be in this light that he has viewed it, when he says, he cannot but consider it as a very interesting trait in the history of his father's mind, that few men have, even in early life, tasted either of the happiness or the pain which attend the most exquisite of passions, to the degree that his father experienced them at so late a stage. Filial piety certainly cannot well go further.

Crabbe's father had a smattering of many tastes and trades. Half a fisherman, he would say, 'That boy must be a fool. 'John, and Bob, and Will, are of some use about a boat; but 'what will that *thing* ever be good for?' Probably, therefore, the manual awkwardness so often incident to genius, saved the *thing* from being made a sailor. In that case, our poet might have perished with John, in an insurrection on board his slave-ship; or have led, with Will, the life of a prisoner and an outcast, in Mexico and Honduras. Crabbe's father was also warehouse-keeper and salt-collector of the port of Aldborough. Had it not been for the fretful impatience with which the young man wore the warehouse dress, and went through the piling up cheese and butter, and the other drudgeries of the quay of Slaughden, the assiduous clerk might have crept up by degrees into some one of the lower offices of the revenue. But the father had been also parish-clerk and schoolmaster. Fortunately for pauper poetry, he was thus enabled to perceive, that if George was to earn his bread, it must be by his wits. The admirers of Crabbe have another matter to be thankful for; that is, that a profession was chosen for him, in which, all things considered, it was impossible he should succeed. Otherwise, the best that could have befallen him would have been, that his fortunes might have improved with those of his birthplace, and that instead of 'riding from cottage to cot-'tage with a declining practice,' he might have lived and died the chief medical practitioner of a genteel watering-place on the Suffolk coast. The author of the 'Borough' ran many risks. Even his intellectual destiny was far from being determined from his cradle. He did not fail because he was a poet; but he became a poet because he failed. A father who read Milton to his family, must have understood something about poetry:

and his father, thought much more highly of his promise of mathematical than poetical ability. This early characteristic lasted through life. It is observed in the present work, that 'his powerful intellect did not seem to require the ideas of 'sense to move it to enjoyment; but he could at all times find 'luxury in the most dry and forbidding calculations.' He often said of himself, that necessity alone had made him an author. If by author he meant poet, we think he was right; for as late as his removal to London, his poetical talent was coarse and unequal in its ore, and more pains and discipline were wanting, to smelt and refine it into strength and beauty, than would have been ever given by a successful surgeon. From the time that his early poems had made his fortune, he relapsed into a silence, in which he persevered for upwards of twenty years; and only broke it, when the Press offered him its aid towards providing for the education of his children. Few instinctive poets have been masters of so much patience and philosophy—have waited so meekly on the judgment of friendly critics —or appear to have been so long in learning for themselves the real secret and character of their powers.

Crabbe's predilections, as well as powers, were of a solid, rather than a showy kind. Looking at both his faculties and his qualities, it is equally difficult to guess, whether habit was with him a second nature, or nature only a first habit. The inventory given us by his son is very unlike the mechanism and imagery with which a poet's understanding is ordinarily fitted up. 'His insensibility to the beauty of order was a defect in 'his own mind; arising from what I must call his want of 'taste.'—'This view of his mind is confirmed by his remarkable 'indifference to almost all the proper objects of taste. He had no 'real love for painting, or music, or architecture, or for what a 'painter's eye considers as the beauties of landscape. But he had 'a passion for science—the science of the human mind, first; then, 'that of nature in general; and, lastly, that of abstract quanti-'ties.' Entomology and botany had greater charms for him than scenery. According to his own account, he would have been the first discoverer of more than one addition to the British Flora, but that he burned a work which he was writing on botany, (and writing of course in English,) because a fellow of a college had the absurdity to remonstrate against degrading a modern science by writing upon it in a modern language! The sea was his favourite element. Early habit had given him a passion for it. At one time, when he had been longer absent from it, in Leicestershire, than usual, an irresistible longing came over him, and he set off on horseback sixty miles to the coast of Lincolnshire, just

to look at it, bathe in the waves that washed the beach of Aldborough, and return. Not that he cared for Aldborough, old or young; he had suffered too much there; nor that he had any general sensibility to grandeur on earth or sea. For he turned from the view on Salisbury Crags to examine the stratification of the rocks. And, on a friend at Trowbridge congratulating him upon the pleasant seclusion of his house and garden, he replied, that he preferred to the finest natural scene, walking in the streets, and observing the faces of the passers-by. He was all his life an indefatigable composer. This, however, apparently was more for the sake of occupation, than from the uncontrollable restlessness of genius. If night, autumn, and snow-storms excited him more than usual, a snuff-box and a glass of negus were the common and sufficient helpmates of his literary toil. He would set himself so many lines a-day, and regularly work out the clock-work number. Mr Bonnycastle was accustomed to encourage his own children by the example of the undivided energy with which, when Crabbe first came up to London, he concentrated his attention on the single object then before him. The disturbing forces of his absorbing art appear, however, to have always left him master of his placid self. From the description given by his son, the pursuits of natural history and of poetry went on with him very comfortably together. 'While searching 'for and examining plants or insects, he was moulding verses into 'measure and smoothness.' 'His note-book was at this time ever 'with him in his walks, and he would every now and then lay down 'his hammer to insert a new or amended couplet.' He could never have arrived at the talent of doing two things at once (poetry being one of them,) if he had poured forth a stream of ready and fluent thought, instead of working in his points and illustrations as they occurred to him, like bits of mosaic. It was hardly necessary to step aside from the streets of London into the solitude of Somerset House to versify; for he rhymed his forty lines in church during an oratorio, with the same facility as in his room at Hampstead. We are no longer astonished at the immense variety of observations which he had accumulated. He was always watching for materials. He asks Mary Leadbeater to send him the peculiarities of her village. His notion of the great folks he saw at Wimbledon is, that they are 'a good pic-'ture, if he dare draw it accurately.' He is equally amused, whether he meets Beau Brummell at Belvoir, or Colonel Berkeley and Lord Petersham at the table of Mr Horace Twiss. There does not seem to have been a better dreamer since the days of Will Honeycombe. He told Lady Scott, that he should have lost many a good hit, if he had not set down at once things that

occurred to him in his dreams. His 'World of Dreams,' for example, seems to be an instance of 'the singular combinations' which, he says, were once whispered to him by some of Baxter's mortifying spirits; when, on returning home from 'high and 'apparently happy company,' he was thrown back again in his sleep on all the real and possible alliances which happened, or might have happened, to him in the worst of times. Fortunately, for his own credit, and the ease of his executors, Crabbe had the courage to burn as well as write. No less than three novels, besides poetry at discretion, swelled these successive funeral piles. Yet the manuscripts of unpublished works in poetry and theology which he left still subsisting at his death, amount to twenty-one volumes.

Burke observed, on introducing him to his friends, that Crabbe had the mind and feelings of a gentleman, and that he appeared to know something of every thing. The disposition of a gentleman is, in great part, the gift of nature, and is quite distinct from those conventional manners which, as the editor suggests, he possibly might not acquire till after he had undergone the discipline of Belvoir. His exterior became in time highly clerical and venerable. No wonder that the children at Trowbridge said, on his death, 'Poor Mr Crabbe will go up in pulpit no more with 'his white head.' His '*apparent* simplicity of look and man-'ners,' which is mentioned as being still very striking when he was sitting between 'two such thorough men of the world' as Sir Walter Scott and Henry Mackenzie, was undoubtedly a very different thing from that original simplicity which old Thurlow had honoured with the exclamation, 'By G—d, he was as like 'Parson Adams as twelve to a dozen.' Some traces of it, however, lingered to the last. Witness the *naïveté* with which he called the lady of the house into consultation, whether out of compliment to Joanna Baillie, he ought not to stuff a black cock, which she had sent them to *eat*—and his stuffing it accordingly. In receiving Burke's testimony on the extent of Crabbe's information, we must allow a good deal from consideration of the interest which he felt for his *protegé*, 'with a sour 'name and sweet countenance.' Crabbe's literary attainments must necessarily have been of a rough and desultory kind. They were such, however, as always stood him in good part, except during his courtship at Parham. The coarse yeoman uncle of his mistress took a pleasure in swearing down 'his d——d learning;' since it was not of a sort likely to stock a farm. But long before, in the circle of his childhood, it had already obtained for him benefit of clergy. 'You must not meddle with *him*,' (said another boy,) 'let *him* alone, for he ha' got l'arning.' During

his first apprenticeship, (when he slept with the ploughboy,) his success in construing the Latin of a travelling conjurer, had almost raised him to the honour of a rival. How little that Latin was, may be supposed from the nature of Burke's observation (no very severe critic in Latinity) on preparing him for orders: 'Without a little Latin, we should have made nothing of you.' A fondness for Horace and for Latin poetry did not carry him very far. For, it is admitted, that if he had been so foolish as to accept the proffered tutorship of Lord Bute's sons, it would have been necessary for him 'to read a-head' of his pupils. His self-taught acquisition of French and Italian, and his studies in natural history, belong to a higher range. But the reading, which was constantly going on, was mostly reading for amusement. Nineteen-twentieths of their principal supply of modern literature are said to have been novels. Mr Lockhart, in relating Crabbe's visit to Edinburgh, conceives that he had read very little about Scotland before that excursion: that he confounded the Inchcolm of the Firth of Forth with the Icolmkill of the Hebrides: and that, if he had ever before heard of the name of Allan Ramsay, he was at all events unacquainted with his works. On the reappearance of the long secluded poet in the literary circles of London, his son informs us, that it was evident to the few who recollected him there before, that his 'social feelings had been quickened, and all his mental powers 'expanded and strengthened.' What then must have been the point of comparison, to which they thus referred? Nothing certainly out of the common; since, even on this last occasion, his 'infatuating' reception in the mixed society of London, was plainly much more of a compliment paid to the reputation which he brought there, than an immediate impression produced by his social feelings or his mental powers. Contact, even friction, brought out no sparks. Burke was not a man to be easily forgotten; and Mr Moore, in consequence of a suggestion from Sir James Mackintosh, endeavoured to refresh his reminiscences of Burke. It was all in vain. He could recall nothing more than 'a few 'vague generalities.' This singular oblivion is inadequately referred to the engrossing influence which the opening sense of poetry is at that moment supposed to have been exercising over Crabbe. His memory was not more at his command in other cases. Nor was it a relaxed memory only which disappointed strangers. He seemed in other respects equally unable or unwilling to come out and take his part, mind to mind, in the wrestling or the pastime of society. Mr Moore surmises, that 'the 'courteous policy' which, during his dependent intercourse on the Duke of Rutland, kept down his chaplaincy-talk 'to the

'level of those he lived with,' had grown into a habit, much to his prejudice in his future commerce with the world. These partial suppositions with regard to the influence exerted by the Muses and the Duke, are hardly sufficient to account for the general fact, which Mr Moore subjoins as characteristic of his friend; and they are not wanted, if the general fact be true. The fact is this: The range of subjects in which Crabbe took any interest, was at all times of his life very limited; and he was altogether too indifferent to the common topics of learning or politics to be an efficient member of society. It is a remarkable instance of the inferiority of his conversation to his writings, that not a single thought or expression ever dropped from him which has been thought worth mentioning; either by his editors, or by any of the distinguished persons whom they have summoned on this occasion to bring in their respective contributions. But all agree in certifying to the good sense, the good feeling, and the gentle courtesy, both of his conversation and his manners. Fashion itself will put up (for a time at least, and in the case of a successful author) with personal advantages even less than these.

The 'courteous policy' which Mr Moore has attributed to the chaplain, appears to have lasted throughout his whole relation with the house of Rutland. Aware that the species of gratitude, which consists in a lively sense of future favours, is one of the most likely methods of obtaining them, Crabbe was resolved to shame his supposed patrons into a confirmation of benefits which he kept constantly parading. This, at least, is the only way we can understand his prefaces: in which, he declares, that there is no lack of excellent patrons in the world, and that, for his own part, he was perfectly satisfied with his. Supposing that these declarations are purely ironical, his laudatory trowel has laid on too much heavy panegyric for the vulgar to see the irony below. But can they be sincere? He had stood himself for months and years on the brink of a precipice, from which at last he was rescued only by a miracle. He has repeatedly described the misery of dependent genius, in words scarcely less impressive than his own example;

> 'The poet found he was the *Salter's* son,
> Who gave *my Lord* for his compassion fame.'

On Scott's speaking of the necessity of a profession to a man of letters, how fervently did he reply, 'Woe to the lad of genius without it!' We have often heard, and disbelieved, that patronage could create genius. The converse was a discovery reserved for our un-Mæcenas'd age, and reserved, above all people in the world, for Crabbe. He comfortably assures us, that patrons of

literary merit have never refused their help when it has been reasonably expected or modestly required; and that there is no instance, probably, in these times, and in this country, of a deserving scholar languishing in obscurity or distress. What becomes, if this be true, of the truth of his own descriptions, all taken from the life? We need only mention the 'learned curate.' What of his wise advice in the case of Robert Bloomfield? 'He had better have rested 'as a shoemaker, or even a farmer's boy; for he would have been 'a farmer perhaps in time, and now he is an unfortunate poet.' What of a catastrophe so recent as the fate of Macdiarmid? In 1780, while, for months together, he never tasted meat, but at the dinner, which he begged on Sundays, he told a different story. As long as he himself was one of the hapless children of the drooping Muses, he recognised the existence of

> 'A numerous band, denied the boon to die,
> Half starved, half fed by fits of charity.'

When his finances kept varying between 'ten shillings—a rare case, and most bountiful provision of fortune'—and fourpence-halfpenny; such things were to be heard of as merit and scholarship in unpatronised distress.

> '"Gain by the Muse!" Alas! preposterous hope!
> Who ever gain'd by poetry—but Pope?
> And what art thou? No St John takes thy part;
> No potent Dean commends thy head or heart!
> What gain'st thou but the praises of the poor?
> They bribe no milkman to thy lofty door,
> They wipe no scrawl from thy increasing score.
> What did the Muse, or Fame for Dryden, say?
> What for poor Butler? what for honest Gay?
> For Thomson, what? or what to Savage give?
> Or how did Johnson—how did Otway live?
> Like thee! dependent on to-morrow's good,
> Their thin revenue never understood.'——
> 'No, if for food thy unambitious pray'r,
> With supple acts to supple minds repair;
> Learn of the base, in soft grimace to deal,'
> And deck thee with the livery genteel;
> Or trim the wherry, or the flail invite,
> Draw teeth, or any viler thing but write.'
> 'Oft have I read, and, reading, mourn'd the fate
> Of garret-bard, and his unpitied mate;
> Of children stinted in their daily meal!—
> The joke of wealthier wits, who could not feel.'

It required some hardness, as well as boldness in the ex-apothecary, who had been so lately looking to the newspapers for

bread, and the secret of whose incipient powers it wanted the eye of a Burke to discover, to be mixing up within five short years, in a passage like the following, as much of ridicule as of warning :—

> 'Last in these ranks, and least, their art's disgrace,
> Neglected stand the Muses' meanest race ;
> Scribblers who court contempt, whose verse the eye
> Disdainful views, and glances swiftly by :
> This Poet's Corner is the place they choose,
> A fatal nursery for an infant Muse ;
> Unlike that Corner where true Poets lie,
> *These* cannot live, and *they* shall never die ;
> Hapless the lad whose mind such dreams invade,
> And win to verse the talents due to trade.
> Curb then, O youth ! these raptures as they rise,
> Keep down the evil spirit, and be wise ;
> Follow your calling, think the Muses foes,
> Nor lean upon the pestle and compose.'

In the next place, who is it that is fairly entitled to the credit of the patronage of Crabbe? His first and greatest patron—the only one worthy of the name—was Burke. Next, but far behind, comes Thurlow. When Crabbe was looking out for a protector, he had in vain endeavoured to attract the notice of the surly and ambitious lawyer. Their correspondence had closed by his lordship regretting that his avocations did not leave him leisure to read verses ; and by the poet's spirited retort, that in former times the encouragement of literature was considered as a duty appertaining to the illustrious station which he held. Under these circumstances, the frankness with which Thurlow, on discovering his error, instantly admitted and redeemed it, was infinitely to his honour. 'The first poem you sent me, sir, I 'ought to have noticed—and I heartily forgive the second,' were with him not empty words. He confirmed them by a munificent donation of L.100, and by the promise of preferment—a promise which, though chancellor, he faithfully performed. The last, and, in our opinion, the least of Crabbe's three patrons, was the Duke of Rutland. It is not until the reader is reminded that a father and two sons were in the church, and that the Duke of Rutland is the great ecclesiastical patron of the Vale of Belvoir, that the obstinacy on the part of the poet to consider the family of Manners as the patrons of the family of Crabbe, and the tendency of his flood of dedicatory gratitude to overflow in that direction, can be comprehended. Crabbe served somewhere about two years as Belvoir chaplain. Dropping the poet for the present, let us see how the chaplain was rewarded. Thurlow,

in 1781, on making him the propitiatory present above mentioned, assured him that he would take care to serve him more substantially as soon as he was in orders. At this time there was no notion of Crabbe's ever becoming in any way connected with the Duke of Rutland. Two small livings in Dorsetshire were given him in 1783, in discharge of this promise. In 1787, when the recommendation of Burke was no longer a recommendation with Thurlow, the exchange of these livings for that of Muston was obtained from the chancellor, with some difficulty, by the duchess. Muston was worth about four hundred pounds a-year, and was better by seventy or eighty pounds a-year than the livings which he gave up. The difference between the two, or some eighty pounds a-year, is the sum total of his obligations to the Belvoir interest up to 1814. Crabbe was by this time sixty years of age, and had realised a reputation with which it was an honour to be nominally allied. Independently of any outstanding claims as chaplain, he had besides by this time paid down in verse and prose an ample equivalent for whatever remuneration a Duke of Rutland could bestow. In this year, he received the living of Trowbridge. His income was now called L.800 a-year; but it is not said whether the calculation includes his private means. These scanty and slow attentions were considered, not as rewards, but neglects, by the friends of Crabbe. In 1795, when they were dining at Mr Dudley North's, (the early friend whom his removal into Suffolk made long his neighbour,) Mr Fox playfully pushed the poet—who was at that time only known as the author of the 'Village'—first out of the diningroom; saying, in allusion to his station at Belvoir, 'If he had his deserts, he would have walked before 'us all.' While his friends were dissatisfied, was he satisfied himself? On this subject, it seems, he had an esoteric doctrine. Uninitiated readers of the dedications of 1810 and 1812 will be in no slight degree surprised at the view which, among friends, he was at that very moment taking of his position. It is contained in the only interesting *male* correspondence in the volume—a letter to Sir Walter Scott; and is a plaintive expostulation from 'one of the old race,' hanging on to the skirts of the original connexion, in wearisome and anxious expectation. In accounting for the manifold annoyances of the chaplain, it drops out, that 'his adherence, however mild, to the Whig tenets of Burke's 'party, may not have much gratified the circles of Belvoir.' In after years, 'The Parish Register' had been submitted to Fox, while minister, for his opinion and revisal, and the corrections of the statesman were adopted by the poet. Upon the death of Fox, the poem was dedicated to Lord Holland. The compliment was nothing more than what the circumstances required as a natural

and suitable acknowledgment. Crabbe might well be shy of political discussion, if the exercise of even this degree of freedom was such a renewal of the offence as penitential flattery only could redeem.

It would be no great discredit to the popular principles entertained by Crabbe, during youth and manhood, if in his case also, old age and advanced station produced their customary effect. His own account of the conduct, which a sensible person would pursue, might probably explain to his own satisfaction whatever further changes were visible in himself. 'Every state is at times 'on the inclination to change: either the monarchical or the po-'pular interest will predominate; and in the former case, I con-'ceive, the well-meaning Tory will incline to Whiggism,—in the 'latter, the honest Whig will take the part of declining monarchy.' A man's politics are pretty well settled, if at all, at five-and-thirty. Can there be a greater proof of the strength and independence of his general opinions, than that, at the risk of alienating Burke, his more than father, he hailed the French Revolution at its commencement, and openly deprecated the war? These sentiments, and his avowed sympathy with the principles most in honour among the political guests of Mr Dudley North, were enough, and more than enough, to acquire for him, between the years 1790 and 1800, the name of Jacobin, in other counties besides Leicestershire and Suffolk. Professional dependence on the Duke of Rutland was more likely afterwards to produce discretion than conversion. At the same time, a clergyman of some standing, he only showed his wisdom in turning aside from politics, when brought forward, as in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, merely to raise up party spirit or spoil conversation. A person who could place the political characters of the two brothers, in the 'Tales of the Hall,' in philosophical contrast to each other, or who at a contested election would merge a difference of opinion in considerations of private regard, may easily be thought excessively neutral by two such decided politicians as Mr Moore and Mr Croker. But it by no means follows that he was proportionally lukewarm about the root of the matter—the great principles of civil and religious freedom. To our no small surprise, Mr Croker has thought fit to say,—'He was, as a consci-'entious clergyman might be expected to be, a Church-and-King 'man.' This depends upon what is meant by 'Church and King.' If we are to understand by them a Church Establishment and a limited Monarchy, the assertion undoubtedly is nothing more than the truth; but if we are to understand the words, as most readers will presume that Mr Croker understands them, in their Sacheverell sense, the accurate commentator on Boswell has been

strangely mystified by his own zeal or by Crabbe's courtesy. The welcomer of the French Revolution was to the last a Reformer of Lord Grey's school. Writing on Reform, in October, 1831, he says,—'I believe there is a fund of good sense as well as moral 'feeling in the people of this country; and if Ministers proceed 'steadily, give up some points, and *be firm in essentials*, there 'will be a union of sentiment on this great subject of Reform by-'and-by; at least, *the good and well-meaning* will drop their 'minor differences, and be united.' To 'Church and King' politics of this complexion we have no manner of objection. Let us know only what we mean. The incumbent of Trowbridge was equally tolerant towards ecclesiastical seceders. With him attendance at the meeting-house was not the inexpiable sin of schism. 'Not long before his death, he met a poor old woman in the 'street, whom he had for some time missed at church and asked 'her if she had been ill. "Lord bless you, sir, no," was the 'answer; "but it is of no use going to *your* church, for I can't 'hear, you *do* speak so low."—"Well, well, my good old friend," 'said he, slipping half-a-crown into her hand, "you do quite 'right in going where you can hear."' He bore his rectorial supremacy so meekly, that, at his funeral, all the dissenting ministers in the place assembled of their own accord, and followed him to the grave. We are aware that there has been a good deal of confusion and re-christening of late in the Tory vocabulary. We shall be glad to know whether these are the opinions which represent a 'Church and King' man of the present times. In that case, the publication of a dictionary, by authority, with the latest transitions and variations, will be sadly wanted for the country clergy.

As a clergyman, Crabbe was careless—too careless apparently about points of form; but he was scrupulously faithful in the greater duties of his office; and uniformly supported, in observance and in doctrine, the cause of reasonable religion. His mother had been a Christian, as Christianity was commonly understood before *the revivals* of the middle of the last century. All the religious feelings of his childhood were entwined with grateful and tender recollections of a dear and injured parent. On the breaking out of his youthful love, 'the gospel light 'which beamed from Sarah's eyes,' took up and deepened the impression. Thus, in early life, religion was blended with the few cheerful rays that visited his dark existence. So transmitted, it became as much the charm as the safety of his manhood. This did not prevent follies of one kind or another. But at the age of twenty-three, he was recalled to serious reflection by an alarming illness. On recovering from it, he strengthened his

former resolutions, by recording a solemn vow against all deliberate evil. At this time there was no probability of his ever being in orders. It appears, however, by his note-books, that he was already composing sermons in imitation of Tillotson. 'The Poet's Journal,'—that beautiful narrative in which he wrote to his mistress during his London sufferings, as confidentially as he would have talked to her had she been present,—answers for the purity and piety of his heart during the perilous season which succeeded. It authorizes the tone of conscious virtue and religious trust which he breathed into his letter to Burke, and into his other prayers for help at that awful period. A friend informs us, that his 'confidence in the promises of the Gospel,' at the close of fifty years, has made the spot where he expressed it holy ground. The confidence of his old age may have been different in its language; but it would be very difficult to establish that it rested on firmer grounds.

It was not from any want of zeal that he neglected the clerical proprieties of 'hood and band;' or showed, what his son calls 'admirable indifference to the remarks of the congregation,' when, 'as it grew dark, he would walk into a pew near a window, and finish his sermon, or stop abruptly, "upon my word, 'I cannot see: I must give you the rest when we meet again."' These little singularities ceased, however, to be trifles, if they lessened his influence with his congregation. In this case, indifference on the part of so shrewd a judge of human nature, is not so admirable as it is surprising. The fact of his non-residence upon his Dorsetshire livings does not appear to have given him any uneasiness; but when he left Muston, he went away contrary to his own conviction at the time; and the Huntingtonian confusion in which he found his parish on his return, was the punishment, if not the consequence, of his absence. The wrongheadedness of fanaticism was proof both against the remonstrances of his sermons and the ridicule of his rhymes. His long absence had been turned to good account by a diligent and successful labour in another's vineyard. And, to this extent, he had had a professional justification for lingering in Suffolk, with a people among whom he acquired the popular reputation of a Gospel preacher on his own terms. He could not recover his ground at Muston. The alienation on the part of many of his parishioners became ultimately so complete, that, on his leaving it for Trowbridge, they rang the bells for his successor before he had quitted the parsonage. Contradictory misapprehensions awaited him in his new abode; and it was the affair of years before these prejudices were overcome. Overcome, however, at last, they were, by calm and manly piety, extensive charities, tolerance towards

others, and by a greater degree of discretion than he had always shown at Muston. It is not to be wondered at if he was somewhat slow in submitting his own good sense to the scruples entertained by the weaker brethren of the place; under whose petty legislation, abstinence from a play, a concert, or a ball, had been raised into 'settled laws of clerical decorum.' The unaccountableness of mankind threw still greater difficulties in his way. Even at the close of his ministry, we are told that 'he did not enjoy the happi-'ness which many pastors express in being able to benefit their 'flocks; never was satisfied that he used the best means; and 'complained that men, more imbued with a sense of the terrors of 'the Lord, and less with his mercies, succeeded better.' It is easy to see what this complaint alludes to. The class, which from the first had been scandalized with 'the moral teacher,' was afterwards not much more edified with the Christian preacher;—that is, with the Christianity which he preached. Yet his 'Letter on 'Sects' had led to a correspondence with the editor of 'the Chris-'tian Observer,' as far back as 1810; and such explanations were given at the time, as ended in the satisfaction of both parties. We are now informed that, before he died, Crabbe approximated closer still to his excellent correspondent. The forthcoming selection from his sermons is to show that he became, in the last ten years of his life, more and more conscious of the necessity of dwelling upon the doctrines of Christianity. Nor is this all. In the opinion of his biographer, these sermons connect him substantially with the Evangelical party in the Church of England. Now, in religion, as in other things, it does not follow that the last opinions are the best; least of all, the opinions of old age. Possibly after threescore years and ten, his theology improved as little as his poetry. It is to be hoped, however, that good and sensible men of all religious parties, if they could but understand each other, would substantially agree on the few points of real importance. But words are invented and pressed forward for the purpose of keeping men asunder; and while some particular truths are perhaps all alike literally true, practical differences of great moment are involved in the proportion which may happen to be observed in the prominence of their respective promulgation. It is agreed on all hands, that Crabbe, during his lifetime, was never classed with the Evangelical party by others or by himself. It will be rather late to bring him out as such after his death. Certain advantages and disadvantages belong to opposite views of religion and of religious life. There have been in all times the severe and the gentle, the doctrinal and the moral, schools—the school of speculative creeds, and that of devout feeling. The form which this old and interminable question assumes under

the two divisions of the Protestant Church of England is, in its influence upon the heart and the conduct, only a new *phase* of the old dilemma. Crabbe's writings are filled with proofs that the alternative of the two systems was constantly present to his mind; and the reader must be dull or desperate indeed who can doubt what was the result of his experimental observation upon their effects. It is his reiterated moral, that the puritan hypothesis may put forth the most blossom, but that a more reasonable Christianity is the most certain in its fruits. His posthumous tales contain their full proportion of those warnings against religious extravagance, which the great observer of our times has left behind him for our instruction.

The poetical temperament is ordinarily distinguished by a high susceptibility of feeling. As late as his removal into Suffolk, an aunt of his wife's used to boast that 'she could screw Crabbe up 'and down like a fiddle.' But the strings had been so early wrenched and shattered, that the art was by this time in few hands. Crabbe learned in his youth the ordinary lessons of old age, and from a severer task-master. In doing so, all of him which was turned towards the world, became necessarily hardened and put upon its guard. Most of the troubles for which we are ordinarily wanting a little sympathy from each other, must seem trifling enough to a man who has never been sure of a meal for fifteen months together. The object on which his eye was fixed during that period, demanded decision, self-will, concentration of purpose. It was no time for cultivating the softer graces of the mind. They vanished, as it were, from the presence of armed men; and in their stead grew up those powers of self-command and habits of self-dependence, which, standing always on the defensive with human life, constitute the character that is respected rather than the character that is loved. His understanding, it is said, was interested in few subjects; his affections apparently in still fewer. His business with man seemed to be more to observe than to love him; so that even his benevolence, like his other virtues, looked like the deliberate wisdom of Christian philosophy, rather than any instinct of passion or movement of the heart. Up to a certain point, the poor, and his family, were exceptions. With the first hundred pounds which he got from Thurlow, he ran off to look for and to relieve unfortunate men of letters, with whom he had become acquainted, while he was yet one of them himself: And never afterwards does he appear to have forgot, that both by origin, misfortunes, and profession, he belonged every way to the poor. Charity was the resource by which he appeased his sense of duty and of humanity. Beyond that, he quietly retreated within himself for occupation;

and found at home all the objects and all the exercise which were necessary for the temperate exigencies of his heart. Insensible to the wants out of which friendships between men arise, he was unknown as a neighbour, and thought little of in his village. It is possible, that the objection that he made to the principal male characters of Scott—that they were deficient in gentleness and urbanity,—may be connected with a more favourable representation of this peculiarity. This is the sensitive and timid cause which he himself assigns for 'not much associating with 'the male part of society.' He found himself (he says) 'not 'hardy, nor grave, nor knowing enough of their concerns:' and he therefore sought for his friendships among women and children, whose minds 'assimilated better to his own.' We think he need not have been afraid. His severe experience and decisive character would have made him a match for most men. It is not however his preference for the company of women and children with which we quarrel. It is the exclusiveness of his preference. Every body likes, as well as Crabbe and Cowper, to turn from the turnpike and walk on turf. Considering, however, that so much of the work of life is to be done upon the turnpike, the propensity is one which most persons feel can only occasionally be indulged in. Now, women and children would, with his own consent, have had the monopoly of our poet. He seems to have been incapable of writing to a man, except clumsily and coldly, and as a matter of business; while his letters to Mary Leadbeater, and to his grandaughter, are as pleasant letters as any Quaker lady, or little grandchild, can desire.

The reserve concerning himself, which Crabbe maintained in his own family towards his grown-up children, is inconceivable. He never mentioned to them the extent of his early distress, or the existence of that striking manuscript, 'The Poet's Journal.' He avoided equally all detail connected with his more splendid misery while at Belvoir. Nor did he keep them in the dark only concerning his sorrows. It was the same with his gayer scenes. They had no exact notion till after his death of the flattering welcome with which the author of the 'Borough' and the 'Tales' had been received in London. An incidental paragraph in a letter of 1831, (almost a parenthesis,) was the first intimation to his family that he had had another volume of poems long ready for the press. They profited as little by his acquaintance with men of genius. He had 'neither the turn, nor much of the talent, for the reten-'tion of conversations; and even what he did remember, he was 'not always disposed to communicate.' He gave them no opportunity, it seems, of getting at truth at home, when it was to be got at by discussion: for they were not allowed the privilege

of examining any of his opinions. Full of amenity towards the impetuous Foscolo, he was positive only with his boys. 'Argument he sustained with great impatience: he neither kept close 'to his point, nor preserved his temper. This dislike of controversial discourse arose, in part, probably from a consciousness 'that he had not cultivated the faculty of close logical reasoning; 'but partly, also, from an opinion, or rather feeling, that he had 'against all pretence of colloquial equality.' When he ventured on an assertion, they were expected to defer to him as he had deferred before to Burke and Johnson. This is not a very genial picture of the warmth and freedom of domestic life. It would have been as wise a partnership of pleasures to have taken his sons into council with his heart and understanding, as to go in a tandem with them to Newmarket when they were at Cambridge. In 1815, both his sons left him, to travel about for two years. They corresponded during the interval; but none of the letters are published. It is plain that, to avail themselves of opportunities of meeting was no part of the correspondence: since the father and the son found themselves together by accident in Mr Hatchard's shop, neither of them knowing that the other was in London. 'Look round,' said the bookseller, pointing to his inner room; 'and there stood my father, reading intently, as his manner was, with his knees somewhat bent, insensible to all around 'him. How homelike was the sight of that venerable white 'head among a world of strangers!'

Every one is aware that the absent have always a poor chance in competition with the present. What distinguishes the case of Crabbe is, that with him they had none at all. It is not that he was positively ungrateful or indifferent. The tears, we hear, stood in his eyes, in 1822, when he spoke of Burke's kindness to him in his distress. In a late autobiographical sketch, he says, it was always his pride to call him 'father, guide, and friend.' The editor *believes* that Burke was offered the refusal of the earlier dedications; and a fourth son, Edmund Burke Crabbe, was certainly christened after him. This is very well, as far as it goes. But, meanwhile, the public heard little of Burke in comparison of the Duke of Rutland. A passage, in 1807, in the dedication to Lord Holland, is the first public evidence made of either the fact or feeling. Such as it was, it by no means prepared us for the case of overwhelming obligation, which has since come out; and there are no signs that any continued, much less any familiar, intercourse was kept up between them. It is difficult to imagine a relation commenced under more sacred auspices; and it is impossible to conceive how so complete a suspension of all public expression of his feelings can have been permitted to occur. If Burke was his ear-

liest and greatest benefactor, Bonnycastle was his earliest and greatest friend. The little club of mathematicians, which met on an evening near the Exchange, gave Crabbe, in the person of Bonnycastle, (who, together with Thurlow, was also, by a singular coincidence, one of Cowper's critics,) his first opportunity of an equal friendship. The two friends of both succeeded in the world. It is another instance of the coolness, not to say coldness, of his disposition, that he could let drop the friendship of such a crisis. Eight-and-twenty years elapsed without a word from either. Crabbe at length reopened a communication by the present of his poems. We hardly know why. Another five years quietly passed over before they met; and when they met at last, it was Bonnycastle's doing. Truly is it said, that the friendships of antiquity are at an end. We forgive the mathematician. But surely better things might have been expected of the poet.

Crabbe, so fortunate in his love, was unfortunate in his marriage. The health of his wife declined soon after the four happy years of his curacy at Stathern—years which even he himself considered happy. The remainder of her married life was almost a continued illness of the most distressing nature. It was impossible to be a more indulgent and attentive husband; her sister said, only too indulgent. On the back of one of her early letters, there is written by himself: 'Nothing can be more sincere than 'this, nothing more reasonable and affectionate; and yet happi-'ness was denied.' There are consolations, however, to even such a calamity as this—and of these he was in possession. The following lines were found on a paper enclosing her wedding ring. If the pains of virtue and affection cannot be made pleasures, it is something that they are infinitely less painful than they appear. In their case, contrary to the common course, every body sees the calamity; nobody, or next to nobody, the relief.

> 'The ring so worn, as you behold,
> So thin, so pale, is yet of gold:
> The passion such it was to prove;
> Worn with life's cares, love yet was love.'

With these feelings, it is not singular that he told Mr Campbell, three years after her death, that since her loss he had scarcely known positive happiness. But what is singular, and, indeed, inexplicable, is, that a year or more before he made this declaration to his brother poet, the tender passion had revived in him with the ardour of five-and-twenty; and with such a marvellous rapidity of transfer as to embrace successively, we do not venture to say how many of the young ladies within his reach.

We wish that we had room to show the amiable old poet as a grandpapa; writing his playful nonsense to little Caroline; repeating, 'O man of the sea, come listen to me,' to the admiring circle; dancing with them 'to all kinds of tunes, and to all kinds 'of steps,' upon his birth-day; or in tears, as he generally was, on wishing them good-by. He seems to have found practically (what so few people think of) the full use of children, in softening the heart, and holding society together. It would be great injustice both to the father and the son—especially when we have placed them in their maturer years in some sort of taciturn estrangement from each other—were we not to step back a little, and leave them together, as they are represented, in the most delightful passage in the book. Happy the father who could awake such lasting recollections in a son! still happier the son who so could feel and so describe them!

'Always visibly happy in the happiness of others, especially of children, our father entered into all our pleasures, and soothed and cheered us in all our little griefs with such overflowing tenderness, that it was no wonder we almost worshipped him. My first recollection of him is of his carrying me up to his private room to prayers, in the summer evenings, about sunset, and rewarding my silence and attention with a view of the flower-garden through his prism. Then I recall the delight it was to me to be permitted to sleep with him during a confinement of my mother's,—how I longed for the morning, because then he would be sure to tell me some fairy tale, of his own invention, all sparkling with gold and diamonds, magic fountains, and enchanted princesses. In the eye of memory I can still see him as he was at that period of his life,—his fatherly countenance, unmixed with any of the less loveable expressions that, in too many faces, obscure that character—but preeminently *fatherly;* conveying the ideas of kindness, intellect, and purity; his manner grave, manly, and cheerful, in unison with his high and open forehead; his very attitudes, whether as he sat absorbed in the arrangement of his minerals, shells and insects—or as he laboured in his garden until his naturally pale complexion acquired a tinge of fresh healthy red; or as coming lightly towards us with some unexpected present, his smile of indescribable benevolence spoke exultation in the foretaste of our raptures. But I think, even earlier than these are my first recollections of my mother. I think the very earliest is of her as combing my hair one evening, by the light of the fire, which hardly broke the long shadows of the room, and singing the plaintive air of 'Kitty Fell,' till, though I could not have been more than three years old, the melody found its way into my heart, and the tears dropped down so profusely that I was glad the darkness concealed them.'

We must now make a few remarks on the other parts of this publication, and on some of the topics which it presents for discussion.

This is not merely the first complete and uniform edition of Crabbe's poems. It is one which can scarcely be improved upon; except by attending in the next to the understanding as carefully as to the eye. Type and decorations are beautiful in vain, if the book is required to be afterwards disfigured by marginal corrections of the text. In proportion, too, as the text itself is interesting, a reader is provoked, as often as he is interrupted, by unnecessary and unmeaning notes. From the want of judgment displayed by the editor in this part of his office, we have been loath to draw too large an inference to the discredit of his general qualifications to be the biographer of his father. But where he had little or nothing to communicate, he had far better have plainly told us so, than load his pages with the semblance of parallel passages from Southey down to D'Israeli, and with extracts from contemporary reviews. A son was not wanted for this purpose. The common hangers-on of literature would thankfully have contributed any amount of this species of annotation at so much a-yard.

The special criticisms are not much more judicious. It was scarcely worth while to dig out a foolish and obsolete objection against the 'Library' in the 'Monthly Review' of 1781, for the purpose of replying to it by an answer incorrect both in fact and in reasoning. It was there objected that the author had not entered into the merits of any particular writers. It is answered, that Crabbe had not yet seen any considerable collection, except in the shops of booksellers. In point of fact, he was then living with Burke. Therefore, libraries enough must have been accessible to him at the date of its publication. Let us suppose, however, that the poem was, as is probable, suggested long before by the visit recorded in 'Silford Hall,' and, that at the time, he had never seen a library. What then? The character of a particular author wants no more than a knowledge of the author in question. The pocket edition of 'Tibullus,' with which he slept out all night on a Hampstead haycock, was authority enough for a character of Tibullus. Nor could the whole Bodleian have given him a better idea of Dryden, than the book-stall volumes he was tempted to purchase with a three-and-sixpence, which he ought in prudence to have reserved for the dinners of the week. The editor seems as much at a loss in a picture-gallery as in a library. The housekeeper of Silford Hall, who shows Peter Perkin the pictures, comes to one of Sir Joshua Reynolds' children—

> "'Tis by Sir Joshua. Did you ever see
> A babe so charming?'—'No, indeed,' said he;
> 'I wonder how he could that look invent,
> That seems so sly, and yet so innocent.'"

We are told, in a note, that this picture is the celebrated infant Hercules which was painted by Sir Joshua for the Empress Catherine, and that whilst it was in progress the youthful poet often passed his mornings with the artist. After the warning insufficiency displayed in the preceding volumes, the last volume at least ought to have been better watched. The public probably know that Reynolds painted other children; that the characteristic look 'at once so sly, and yet so innocent,' cannot be predicated of the infant Hercules; and, lastly, that the infant Hercules is not in England but at Petersburgh—where, by the by, they may be sorry to hear, that it has suffered so much from time or from neglect, that it is almost placed out of sight, and is very little valued. This was the picture of which Reynolds observed, that four others were under it—some worse, some better. Are our present artists at all more certain of their genius or their rules?

Communications by a member of the family, to be worth printing at all, must be very different from the above. What we want, in the first instance, from such a quarter, is, the *cipher* to all the personal allusions which the poet may have scattered over his works. These explanations, however, can be wanted only once. Once printed in the life, there was no necessity, but that of bookmaking, to print them over again in the succeeding volumes. The next object of interest, is the history of such events and characters, as have been the raw materials out of which the imaginative artist manufactured the visions of his fairy loom. John Jasper, the parish-clerk of Glenham, and the original of Isaac Ashford, is entitled to his immortality. But in most cases, there is more the appearance than the substance of information. What can be the good of appending formal notes for the express purpose of acquainting the reader with nothing more than this—that the portraits of Phœbe Dawson, Andrew Cocket, and the Widow Goe, were all taken from the life? The news is useless to a reader, who recollects that the poet told Mary Leadbeater this was equally true of all his stories; while persons, who see only the note and not the letter, may be misled by it into the belief, that the tales, which are not authenticated by a similar notice, are the pure coinage of his brain. 'Yes,' he writes, 'I will tell you readily about my creatures, whom I endeavoured 'to paint as nearly as I could and dared; for, in some cases, I 'dared not. This you will readily admit; besides, charity bade 'me be cautious. Thus far you are correct; there is not one of 'whom I had not in my mind the original; but I was obliged, 'in some cases, to take them from their real situations, in one or 'two instances to change even the sex, and, in many, the circum-

'stances. The nearest to real life was the proud, ostentatious 'man in the "Borough," who disguises an ordinary mind by doing 'great things: but the others approach to reality at greater or 'less distances. Indeed, I do not know that I could paint merely 'from my own fancy; and there is no cause why we should. Is 'there not diversity sufficient in society? and who can go, even 'but a little, into the assemblies of our fellow-wanderers from the 'way of perfect rectitude, and not find characters so varied and 'so pointed, that he need not call upon his imagination.'

On some occasions, the editor brings forward his intelligence in rather too obscure and tantalizing a form to gratify any very vigorous curiosity. '*It is understood*,' he says, 'that the story of '"Resentment" relates to the poet's mother-in-law.' *There is reason to believe*, 'that that of "The Brothers" was composed during 'a transitory coldness' with a sister. By the way, if this be so, it intimates an extraordinary talent for the vindictive exaggeration of an injury. '*It was never doubted*,' by Mr Crabbe's family, that Eusebius, an hospital director, was designed for a portraiture of Burke. This is very darkly expressed, in case the family have Mr Crabbe's authority for the fact. If they have not, the fact is one which we doubt exceedingly. Crabbe has observed, in an original note of his own,—'The characters of the hospital direc-'tors were written many years since, and so far as I was capable 'of judging, are drawn with fidelity.' There is nothing about Eusebius at all characteristic of Burke: of whom Crabbe's solitary memento is, that he was in some degree reminded of him in society by Lord Brougham. The editor's delusion in this imaginary parallel is, however, creditable to his feelings. He may not be altogether competent, in ability, to the task which circumstances have imposed upon him, but he is evidently thoroughly amiable and sincere. We do not wonder at his ransacking his father's poems for something which could be construed into a memorial of Burke. The principal blame for the obscurity of these references must rest with Crabbe. His incommunicableness with his children accounts for the paucity of those familiar anecdotes, both in the life and in the notes, which the public naturally expect to find in the biography of a son. At the same time, hesitation and ambiguity are indulged in cases where the distant reserve of filial observance cannot be offered as the excuse. For instance, we are told that, 'in the description 'of "schools" in the "Borough," Mr Crabbe condescended 'to borrow, *though probably*, with some alterations and improve-'ments, the ideas and the language of his second son: whose '"school eclogues," written in boyhood, much struck and grati-'fied his father. Mr John Crabbe has written many imitations

'of his father's poetry, some of which, it is hoped, may yet be 'published.' We are all for leaving imitations to the parrots. An echo is a curiosity—but, if there is no voice of its own within, it is nothing more. In this place, *probably* cannot be the proper word. Crabbe either adopted his son's school eclogues without alteration or improvement, or he did not. It is a very simple question for one brother to put to another. If Mr John Crabbe should have forgotten a fact in his own life of this importance to his vanity, he is not likely to have been of much assistance towards compiling their father's memoirs.

Next to the life, the substantial novelty of the present edition is the posthumous poems. They will, of course, be more or less attractive, according as the poetry of Crabbe is more or less popular in itself; and according to the relative degree of merit subsisting between the new productions and the old. In our opinion, there can be no manner of doubt (nor have we heard a doubt any where expressed) but that the new poems are decidedly inferior. The other question—the nature and degree of Crabbe's popularity as a poet—is a simple question of fact. It is one, at the same time, on which a great body of conflicting evidence is much in the way of all who like only positive opinions. Thus much, however, is plain. In case it should turn out that Crabbe is not the favourite poet of his age, this certainly will not have happened from any want of a clear stage and some favour. His different works have been brought forward on each occasion, under the avowed patronage of almost all who, whether as poets or critics, were most likely and best entitled to lead the judgment of their times. Upwards of half a century has passed, since Burke (1781), after having aided its youthful author by the benefit of his judgment, and cheered him on with his exhilarating predictions, himself took the 'Library' to Dodsley; in order that by his reading, comments, and praises, he might induce the bookseller to venture on the publication. Fifty years ago, Johnson also had stamped his fiat on the 'Village.' 'It is original, 'vigorous, and elegant. I do not doubt of Mr Crabbe's success.' This poem is reported to have found more ready favour with the Doctor, because 'its sentiments on the false notions of rustic 'happiness and virtue,' were quite congenial to his own. The very same sentiments, however, which called forth the approbation of Johnson, met with a very different reception from Scott of Amwell. 'The author,' says Scott, 'takes the dark side of the 'question; he paints all with a sombre pencil; too justly per-'haps, but, to me at least, unpleasingly. We know there is no 'unmixed happiness in any state of life; but one does not wish 'to be perpetually told so' Have the public left it still an un-

determined problem, which of the principles will conquer, when they come in poetical competition, the love of truth, or that of pleasure? 'The Newspaper' came out next. All who put their trust in newspapers will do well to read it. Dedicated to Thurlow, it appeared under an authority as formidable in criticism as in law. Walter Scott and Wordsworth have since both borne their testimony to the youthful impression which particular passages in the Village made for life upon their minds. Nevertheless, the protection, approval, and sympathy of such master minds have certainly failed to keep these early publications in the same degree of favour with the public as their most recent predecessors—the 'Traveller, or 'Deserted Village,' of Goldsmith. Indeed, Crabbe alludes to them in one of his later prefaces, as being things 'not 'dead indeed, nor entirely forgotten, but now slumbering with 'other poems of decent reputation in their day.' A long retirement ensued. It was patiently and vigorously employed in the enlargement of his stock of observation, and in the manly trial and cultivation of his powers. The pains of this arduous preparation were amply justified (in 1807) by the 'Parish Register.' This was the poem in which Crabbe appeared for the first time as the creator of that remarkable style of composition which the 'Bo-'rough' and 'The Tales' afterwards only faithfully repeated, and succeeded in making more and more individually his own. The selection of the subjects, and the manner in which they are treated, are both equally characteristic. The first specimen of this style of composition has now therefore been before the world nearly thirty years—a period quite sufficient for the most torpid or most capricious public to have made up their mind concerning its merit.

If Crabbe had by some accident, on his poetical reappearance, failed altogether in attracting the notice of his contemporaries, it would be another matter. But no such thing; his reception was unusally cordial in all quarters. The supposed beauties in his new writings were warmly applauded; their supposed defects lightly touched upon. Within two days of the publication of the review of the 'Parish Register' in this Journal, every copy of it is said to have been sold. Can there be any reason for suspecting that English society does not contain within itself at present every gradation of natural or artificial character, in masses large enough fairly to represent the different classes of mind and feeling, on which poetry in general—and more especially this description of poetry—is capable of acting? We see no grounds whatever for such a notion. The important question therefore is, whether we can ascertain the effect hitherto produced by Crabbe upon these respective classes, or on the world at large? The brothers of the tuneful tribe cannot be charged with any jealousy

towards a rival, in the certificate which they have recorded. Poets of every school have led the way in panegyric, proclaiming their admiration in the strongest terms. If there is any difference among the several elements in this chorus of applause, it is, that the voices of the susceptible and the romantic minstrels are heard above the rest. Scott and Byron, Wordsworth and Wilson, Moore, Campbell, and Rogers, may be taken as sponsors for the poetical profession. Scott respected these poems as something higher than works of art. He rejoiced to see them the favourites of his children; and in his last illness, the only books he asked for were his Bible and Crabbe. Mere literary merit is not so precious in the sight of men of business and the world, as to have of itself conferred upon these writings the enviable honour of cheering Romilly in his intervals of labour, and relieving the pains of Fox's deathbed. It was in this sense also, that the quiet company of Quakers at Ballitore, believers 'in dear Cow-'per, our other moral poet,' sent in their adhesion: 'We are 'mostly,' says Mary Leadbeater, 'a colony of Quakers. Some 'profess not to relish poetry, yet thou hast contrived to charm 'us all, and sorry shall we be if thy next visit be to take leave.' On turning to the critics and lookers-on, what is their report on the general power and popularity of Crabbe? Wilson is of opinion that his poetry has taken the deepest hold upon all ruminating hearts. Wordsworth, who has been long looking in his own behalf to future generations, undertakes for that appellate jurisdiction. Mr Croker takes the present opportunity of reiterating with increased confidence his belief that no poet of our time will stand higher with posterity. This would seem to be a safe prophecy, if there be any truth in Mr Croker's judgment; since he does not scruple to affirm that Crabbe has exhibited the short and simple annals of the poor with such a deep knowledge of human nature, with such general ease and simplicity, and with such accurate force of expression, whether gay or pathetical, as no poet except Shakspeare has excelled. Should it be suggested that the ruminators may be a small body, and that posterity may be long in coming, Sir Walter Scott's evidence comes to the point at once, and is both comprehensive and direct. He tells Crabbe, in 1813, that the 'Tales' were universally admired; and that the few judges whose opinion he had been accustomed to look up to, were unanimous. He had in an earlier letter answered for the unlearned—'The clearness and accuracy of your painting, 'whether natural or moral, renders, I have often remarked, your 'works generally delightful to those whose youth might render 'them insensible to the other beauties with which they abound. 'They are a sort of pictures—surely the most valuable, were it

'but for that reason—which strike the uninitiated as much as 'they do the connoisseur, though the last alone can render rea- 'son for his admiration. Indeed, our old friend Horace knew 'what he was saying when he chose to address his ode, "Vir- 'ginibus puerisque;" and so did Pope, when he told somebody 'he had the mob on the side of his version of Homer, and did 'not mind the high-flying critics at Button's.'

The above return comprehends almost every possible class of readers. There can be no question of the truth with which the different parties have given utterance to their personal feelings. But they appear as witnesses to have exceedingly misconceived the extent to which their feelings were shared, by the great body of the public who take an interest in poetry. The two gentlemen who negotiated with Mr Murray on the part of Crabbe, both (we are told) what is called 'exquisite judges of literary 'merit,' have been found at issue with the purchasers of poetry; and the discovery of the real 'state of public taste at that 'moment,' has unfortunately been made at Mr Murray's expense. A wide discrepance of taste and evidence, on a question of this kind, is a fact no less curious in itself than desirable to have explained. We believe Mr Moore to be correct in his view of the public taste. Our only doubt is, on the propriety of his limiting the reproach of a want of taste in this respect to the public of any particular moment. If the copyright, which was bought for £3000, was bought at two-thirds above its market value, there have been few purchasers, only because as yet there have been but few readers. Why have there been few readers? and what are the signs that the number is increasing? In these matters, we feel a reasonable jealousy of appeals to posterity from the present age; and are desirous first of knowing what is the principle upon which a literary reaction, on the part of a penitent or enlightened future, is expected to proceed. Mr Elliott says that Crabbe is thought unnatural in America. According to his hypothesis, the Americans are not sufficiently acquainted with the miseries of English society to duly appreciate the fidelity of the descriptions. As to that, let him look at the great towns and the banks of the Mississippi, and let him ask Mr Owen, Dr Tucker- man, or any of the Howards of the United States. But the battle for subsistence is not man's worst or only trial; and a small part of the drop of vitriol which Crabbe delights to let fall into his Castalian fountain, arises from want of bread. A difference in the physical or political condition of their respective populations, cannot account for a different estimate of Crabbe's poetry in the two countries. But, in fact, we doubt exceedingly whether the supposed difference of estimate exists. On the contrary, Mr

Croker concurs with Mr Moore in the opinion, that his works have not obtained at home so extensive, or at least so brilliant a reputation as those of some of his contemporaries. For this Mr Croker proceeds to assign certain reasons; and in the precise degree that they may chance to be the true ones, the less probability is there that posterity will reverse the present verdict. It was anticipated, on a former occasion, in this Journal, that the growth of the middle classes would increase the proportion of Crabbe's admirers. For, in those classes, it was supposed, that his warmest admirers would be found, in consequence of the associations which naturally existed between his subjects and themselves. But if it be true that his poetry has never acquired the degree of popularity to which it was otherwise entitled, because he has 'taken a view of life too minute, too humiliating, too 'painful, and too just,' what is the final result for which we ought in reality to be prepared? These are the words of Mr Croker. The objection, thus re-stated, is identically the same which was anticipated long ago by Scott of Amwell. In direct contradiction to the supposition of Mr Elliott, that where Crabbe has not succeeded, it is from an incapacity on the part of the reader to appreciate his truth—the present objection assumes that his comparative failure even at home has arisen from his being too painful and too true. When Mr Croker expects that he will nevertheless stand higher with posterity, the grounds of that expectation ought to have been explained. Future antiquarians may put an additional value on him for their own purposes. The objection appears otherwise as permanent as human nature. Representations of pain, both physical and moral, require to be ennobled before they can become the materials of enjoyment. Even then they are a source of pleasure sufficiently mysterious. Pictures of martyrdom and mortifications do not bear a price in proportion to their merit as pictures. The crowd in a gallery look another way. Children, it is true, may be pleased in Crabbe with the perfect imitation of all that they understand. Quakers may be captivated by the downright plainness and perspicuity of the moral. Artists and connoisseurs may go further. They will admire in these poems the clear and microscopic observation of ordinary existence, delineated, as it is, with the marvellous exactness of Miss Austin's novels, and carried into a variety of regions where she durst never venture. There are certain minds also of such a powerful texture, as to relish the realities of life in their most pungent forms;—whom the cellar and the garret, the dissecting-room and the guillotine, feed with the excitement that they love. For them, the nearer a hard and course reality is approached by a vivid fiction, so much the better. Crabbe may

command these several classes: and with them of course the happy few who love the Muses under every form. Yet, nevertheless, it may be true, that Crabbe shall not have communicated to the greater portion of the readers of poetry, that specific gratification which they expect to find there, and without which no author can be universally and permanently read.

Mr Gifford was originally one of Crabbe's severest judges; observing that he sinned on principle, 'removing the checks of fancy and 'taste from poetry.' The poet replied, that he had no theory of poetical composition; that he professed to paint *man as he is;* that, whatever effect poetry could produce might be produced, as he conceived, by the poetry which transcribed real events and characters, as well as where invention stood aloof, at the distance of two or three removes from fact; that any difference in the happiness of their effects between these two methods, would depend upon the manner in which the poem itself was conducted; and that nothing could be more ridiculous than a definition of poetry, which would end by excluding Pope. To all this, thus generalized, we quite agree. But when it is added, that the magic of this species of literature consists in its transporting us from the objects which surround us—it is evident that this is only part of the case, the negative part; no more than what it possesses in common with the sciences, and with every thing strong enough to lay hold of the attention. The positive part remains to be disposed of. This introduces the important consideration—what are the other objects which, when you remove the present from out of our immediate sight, you proceed to substitute in their room? A person will gain but little, if the new objects to which the poet carries him are quite as painful as the cares which he has left at home, and from which he was seeking to escape. A mistake on this point is something more than a difference in the manner of conducting the poem. Crabbe lays it down, that all that is necessary in these substituted objects is, that they be capable of being contemplated '*with some degree* 'of interest and satisfaction.' Whatever 'pleasant effect' is produced upon a reader by transporting him out of himself, may be obtained (he says) 'by a fair representation of existing charac-'ter, nay, by a faithful delineation of the painful realities, the 'everyday concerns, and vexations of actual existence, provided 'they be not the very concerns and distresses of the reader.' This sounds to us, notwithstanding his disclaimer, something very like a theory. It introduces us to subjects and to a spirit so new in poetry, that, independent of all the quaint and vigorous peculiarities of his style, its author necessarily became the most original writer of his age. Other writers had taken far

darker views of human nature and human life, and had at the same time kept comparatively clear of the objections taken against Crabbe; for nobody can complain that he is not indulgent to all our weaknesses; jocular in and out of season; or that he does not love the jingle of a conceit, as well as any rhyming predecessor, who 'for a tricksy word defied the matter.' He has none of the gloom of Young, the pensiveness of Goldsmith, the Calvinism of Cowper, or the misanthropy of Byron. The difference is, that, by adopting a higher tone, they became, whenever they succeeded, touching or sublime; whereas his principle of versifying for the most part the concerns and vexations of his neighbour's house, made it a thousand to one but that so much of what was homely and disagreeable got into his descriptions, as seriously to damage their popular effect. The experiment, how far poetry may be made to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, was never so extensively made before. His readers at once admit that he has spoken the truth, and nothing but the truth. Relying on observation, and not on inspiration, he was so far faithful to nature, as to step neither beyond it nor above it. But the *whole* truth is what, in comparison, he very seldom tries to speak. He seldom speaks the higher truths belonging to the more aspiring part of our nature. And this he acknowledges, when he admits that, being 'to satire 'prone,' he chiefly confined himself to those cases which were most capable of being satirically exposed:

> 'My muse which calmly looks around, nor more,
> Muse of the mad, the foolish, and the poor.'

His imagination and his feelings stood him in marvellous little stead. As an Englishman, living in perilous times, he tried heroic subjects. In compliment to his profession, (for, in one of his prefaces, he volunteers a superfluous and scarcely sincere apology,) he tried religious ones. Out of obedience to his critics, he tried plots of greater variety and connexion. All equally in vain. Considering the efforts he made to extend his sphere of power, he is a most eminent instance either of the strength of first associations, or of a singular correspondence between native capacity and early opportunities. It is impossible to say which. He lived to know the mountains and the world; but he preferred his Fen-Flora and village life; and to the last, Suffolk scenery and Aldborough manners maintained almost exclusive possession of the genius of Crabbe.

If the posthumous poems of Crabbe were as good as what were published in his lifetime, they could have merely sustained his popularity at the point which it had attained. But they are

not as good. The new poems consist of three classes, of unequal interest and merit. The first are sundry juvenile attempts, saved either by accident or design from the conflagrations of condemned manuscripts, which the editor has recorded. The insignificance of these early prolusions excuses the neglect with which they were originally received, whether by the public generally, or by the individuals to whom they were privately addressed. Yet some good lines occur; valuable, as omens of his future power, or interesting, from their connexion with the difficulties with which he was then contending. They show us the point from which he started, as well as the sentiments and the struggles of his lonely and yet unaided youth. The satire on 'Ineeriety' was published at Ipswich at the age of twenty, while he was yet an apprentice in the neighbourhood. It was probably offered up by way of poetical security to his mistress, that his tavern convivialities, the fame of which, it appears, still survives at the inn at Aldborough, should not endanger their domestic peace. Little could he forsee the interest which he would one day have in discrediting two of its caricatures. The pains and penalties under which he writhed at the ducal table, must have appeared to him at times to be a judgment for his sketches of the rosy vicar, and 'the easy chaplain of an Atheist lord.'

It is agreeable to perceive, by 'The wish,' (1779,) that his boyhood was scarcely clear of the Delias of a magazine, before he had laid, as it were, on the altar of his heart the virtuous ambition which he lived so completely to fulfil. Inheriting from nature the morality of Gower, together with the descriptive accuracy of Chaucer, he had no dreams of fancy to abandon, when 'he stooped to truth, and moralized his song.'

> 'Be it my boast to please and to improve,
> To warm the soul to virtue and to love;
> To paint the passions, and to teach mankind
> Our greatest pleasures are the most refined;
> The cheerful tale with fancy to rehearse,
> And gild the moral with the charm of verse.'

The second class in the posthumous poems consists of a collection of occasional verses from all quarters. The poet seems (looking at their quality) to have paid in the greater part of these contributions, much in the same humour that a conscript joins his regiment. We cannot suppose that he ever dreamed of their publication. Among the minor poems not before published, those every way the least worthy of his talents are his compliments to fine ladies. Crabbe never spoke a truer word than when he said, that the language of panygeric did not sit well on him. The Duchess of Rutland and Lady Jersey do

not owe him much for commonplace adulation below the average of Album poetry. Among his spontaneous productions, 'The 'World of Dreams' recalls 'Sir Eustace Grey' by a higher affinity than that of its measure. But none of these smaller pieces are more striking than two little amatory elegiacs, evidently written under one of those mortifications to which the sexagenarian admirer of beauty is exposed. Personal excitement restored to the old man on these occasions the lyrical spirit which descended on him so sparingly, yet so powerfully, in his better days.

1.

'Unhappy is the wretch who feels
The trembling lover's ardent flame,
And yet the treacherous hope conceals
By using Friendship's colder name.

'He must the lover's pangs endure,
And still the outward sign repress;
Nor may expect the smiles that cure
The wounded heart's conceal'd distress.

'When her soft looks on others bend,
By him discern'd, to him denied,
He must be then the silent friend,
And all his jealous torments hide.

'When she shall one blest youth select,
His bleeding heart must still approve;
Must every angry thought correct,
And strive to like, where she can love.

'Heaven from my heart such pangs remove,
And let these feverish sufferings cease—
These pains without the hope of love,
These cares of friendship, not its peace.'

2.

'And wilt thou never smile again,
Thy cruel purpose never shaken?
Hast thou no feeling for my pain,
Refused, disdained, despised, forsaken?

'Thy uncle, crafty, careful, cold,
His wealth upon my mind imprinted;
His fields described, and praised his fold,
And jested, boasted, promised, hinted.

'Thy aunt—I scorned the omen—spoke
Of lovers by thy scorn rejected;
But I the warning never took,
When chosen, cheer'd, received, respected.

'Thy brother, too—but all was plann'd
To murder peace—all freely granted;
And then I lived in fairy land,
Transported, blest, enrapt, enchanted.

'Oh what a dream of happy love!
From which the wise in time awaken;
While I must all its anguish prove,
Deceived, despised, abused, forsaken!'

The last and most important addition to his poetry—the posthumous tales—is comprised in the last volume. These, reckoning in a stray one, called 'Flirtation,' and which, though clever, is coarse enough for poetical justice to have given its heroine a harder name, are twenty-three in number. Crabbe had prepared them, put them by, and bequeathed them for publication. On this point, therefore, the editors had little discretion left. They are fully aware that their father greatly erred in supposing that they are much like his former tales in execution. The execution is almost every thing in a Flemish picture; and the difference between the two cases in the present instance, is the difference between the finish of Teniers and of Ostade. Something must be allowed for declining years—something for the confidence of success, and for his indifference to the sentence of reviewers, when he should be himself quietly at rest in the chancel of Trowbridge Church. The presence, however, of some of his literary advisers is what he has wanted most. The Aldborough gossip, that Burke and Johnson had so cobbled the early manuscripts that their author did not know them again, is an amusing example of the spiteful exaggeration that follows poets, as well as prophets, in their own country. Crabbe, however, who professed to recognise the ascendency of his friends, was, in truth, wonderfully docile for an author; and we may be certain, that neither his earlier nor his later domestic critics would have permitted these stories to have gone to sleep in their recess, on the faith of their having received the author's last corrections. Crabbe suggests, that the new series will be found sufficiently different from the former ones in events and characters, to have the attraction of novelty. In this also, we think, he is mistaken. He saw himself a successive gradation in his other writings,

beyond what his readers have been generally aware of. One uniform tone of narrative and reflection contributed to conceal from the public the fact, that the characters in the 'Parish Re-'gister' belonged to the lower orders; those in the 'Borough' (which is, in truth, Aldborough, only Aldborough magnified) to the middle ranks of society; and those in the 'Tales of the Hall' to a still superior class of cultivated minds and habits. A passage or two in the latter 'London Journal' had led us to anticipate the introduction of a new caste of *dramatis personæ* on his scene. But they are all from the same familiar chronicle as before. The same spirit also has presided over their fate. Of the stories contained in the new series, seventeen form the history of a town, as set forth in the 'Farewell and Return.' The plot is simple enough. A young man takes leave of his native place, and comes back to look up his old acquaintance, after an absence of twenty years. The interest of each story turns upon the sudden juxtaposition of the two periods. It is the contrast between the rising and setting sun. 'Now look upon this pic-'ture, and on that!' Alas for human life, if Crabbe is to tell its fortune! He can afford but two pleasant changes out of all the alternations which he has prepared for 'the Return.' A wretched, or (what is worse for the purposes of poetry) an uncomfortable catastrophe hangs over the rest. Crabbe claims for himself that he paints '*man as he is.*' In this case, he surely has not been lucky in the scene of his observations. The fair proportion of good luck is surely considerably more than what is here allowed us. A false representation in literature of the average virtue or happiness of life, is not necessarily, as we have seen it called by writers who praise Crabbe for his truth, false morality. Provided that the distinction between vice and virtue, and between the natural consequences of both, is not mystified or denied, the cause of morality will not suffer from any such exaggerations, whether on the favourable or unfavourable side of the account, as a reasonable person is likely to commit. Violent extremes either way—*optimism or pessimism*—besides being absurd, must be pernicious. But, to a certain extent, a habit of looking at the bright side of every thing is far from being a fault or weakness. On the contrary, a little optical delusion of this kind is a habit of sufficient moral importance to make it worth the while, both of individuals and of society, to countenance and confirm it. The general question, however, which we have above examined, and to which the contents of this last volume force us for a moment to recur, is not whether 'Nature's sternest painter 'is the best,'—by best, meaning either the truest or the most moral.

It is an easier point which criticism and experiment have to settle—simply, whether the sternest painter is likely to be the most popular. If our view of them is correct, the posthumous tales are exposed to the same steady and silent opposition as their predecessors have sustained. They are likely, too, to make a less vigorous resistance, as they have less merit of other kinds to compensate for their defects. The strong enchantment of immortal harmony is wanting, which might carry away the reader, as the music and excitement of a battle keep the soldier insensible to his wounds. Poetry and painting, before they can affect mankind at large, in the manner that many of Crabbe's admirers have expected and still insist that mankind ought to be affected by him, must appeal to a higher nature than the average condition of ordinary life. The sense of this necessity has been, of olden time, the secret of the sublime and beautiful. Thence the name, the *belle arti*. There are general admirers, to whom no sort of poetry comes amiss—whose universal power of association and of sympathy makes them delighted and at home with Coleridge as well as Crabbe, and every intermediate son of song. But the poetical associations of most minds are much more limited. The poetry, which depends for its principal effect upon accurate descriptions of familiar life, risks being generally regarded pretty much as Crabbe himself regards the unheroic friendships of modern days.

> 'Yes! there are sober friendships, made for use,
> And much convenience they in life produce:
> Like a good coat, that keeps us from the cold,
> The cloth of frieze is not a cloth of gold;
> But neither is it pyebald, pieced, and poor;
> 'Tis a good useful coat, and nothing more.'

In case the descriptive artist takes a pleasure in giving pain, by recalling subjects which disgust and annoy, mortify and depress, his descent in his art is something worse than a degeneracy from festival apparel down to good and useful clothing. Ordinary people will as soon think of walking out in a hair-shirt, as of seeking for his company.

We have not space for any analysis of the several stories comprised in the new series. That of 'Villiers' is perhaps the most striking. Some of them are amusing as stories, and almost all of them contain examples of his epigrammatic surveillance of ordinary life, and of his humorous or caustic verses.

Wilkie, Leslie, and Allen are said to be designing from Crabbe. They should leave the following sketch (it occurs in the fearful story of the Dealer and Clerk) for Landseer:

'There watch'd a cur before the miser's gate,
A very cur, whom all men seem'd to hate;
Gaunt, savage, shaggy, with an eye that shone
Like a live coal, and he possess'd but one;
His bark was wild and eager, and became
That meagre body and that eye of flame;
His master prized him much, and *Fang* his name.
His master fed him largely; but not that,
Nor aught of kindness, made the snarler fat.
Flesh he devour'd, but not a bit would stay;
He bark'd, and snarl'd, and growl'd it all away.
His ribs were seen extended like a rack,
And coarse red hair hung roughly o'er his back.
Lamed in one leg, and bruised in wars of yore,
Now his sore body made his temper sore.
Such was the friend of him, who could not find,
Nor make him one, 'mong creatures of his kind.
Brave deeds of Fang his master often told,
The son of Fury, famed in days of old,
From Snatch and Rabid sprung; and noted they
In earlier times—each dog will have his day.'

Gentlemen, who are wanting a wife, and are in danger of falling captive in the doll line, will do well to look at the case of 'Belinda Waters;' one of the pretty misses of idle civilisation,—lovely, useless, and at her very best, only negatively good:

'Of food she knows but this, that we are fed:—
Though, duly taught, she prays for daily bread,
Yet whence it comes, of hers is no concern—
It comes! and more she never wants to learn.'

She has the folly to marry on nothing—not even love.

'She *wonders* much—as, why they live so ill,—
Why the rude butcher brings his weekly bill,—
She wonders why that baker will not trust,—
And says, most truly says, "Indeed he must."
She wonders where her former friends are gone,
And thus from day to day she wonders on.

'So life goes on! But who that loved his life,
Would take a fair Belinda for his wife?
Who thinks that all are for their stations born,
Some to indulge themselves, and to adorn;
And some, a useful people, to prepare,
Not being rich, good things for those who are,
And who are born, it cannot be denied,
To have their wants and their demands supplied.'

Crabbe has, however, no great confidence in male discretion.

In the common alternative of wives—the ornamental or the useful—the Helen of Homer or the Helen of Miss Edgeworth; or say (that model of work-a-day virtue) Jeannie Deans—a lover is certain, he thinks, to prefer the worst. Left to repent at leisure, he will never have long to wait. For, according to Crabbe's theory of life, the ordeal of afflictions always is at hand. 'The Wife and Widow' is the account of a most excellent and exemplary woman—closing with an interrogatory, whether men are duly sensible of so much strong but simple merit.

'No! ask of man the fair one whom he loves,
You'll find her one of the desponding doves,
Who tender troubles as her portion brings,
And with them fondly to a husband clings—
Who never moves abroad, nor sits at home,
Without distress, past, present, or to come—
Who never walks the unfrequented street,
Without a dread that death and her shall meet;
At land, on water, she must guarded be,
Who sees the danger none beside her see,
And is determined by her cries to call
All men around her: she will have them all.
Man loves to think the tender being lives,
But by the power that his protection gives:
He loves the feeble step, the plaintive tone,
And flies to help who cannot stand alone:
But when afflictions come, when beauty dies,
Or sorrows vex the heart, or danger tries;
When time of trouble brings the daily care,
And gives of pain as much as he can bear;
'Tis then he wants, if not the helping hand,
At least a soothing temper, meek and bland.
He wants the heart that shares in his distress,
At least the kindness that would make it less;
And when instead he hears th' eternal grief
For some light want, and not for his relief—
And when he hears the tender trembler sigh,
For some indulgence he can not supply;
When, in the midst of many a care, his "dear,"
Would like a duchess at a ball appear;
And while he feels a weight that bears him down,
Would see the prettiest sight in all the town;
Love then departs, and if some pity lives,
That Pity half despises, half forgives;
'Tis joined with grief, is not from shame exempt,
And has a plenteous mixture of contempt.'

The story of 'Rayner,' a *nouveau riche*, who moves off to a place

left him by a relation, contains a pithy and comic notice of the embarrassment attending the ambiguous nomenclature of our ornamental times :

> ' Now, lo ! the Rayners all at Hulver Place—
> Or Hulver Hall—'tis not a certain case ;
> 'Tis only known that ladies' notes were sent
> Directed both ways, and they always went.'

The following sketch in ' The Cousins,' of the quietness of a sick chamber is perfect ; you can hear a pin drop, and see the parties. It looks, to be sure, more like a view taken by the attorney than by the divine :—

> ' The uncle now to his last bed confined,
> To James and Patty his affairs resigned ;
> The doctor took his final fee in hand ;
> The man of law received his last command ;
> The silent priest sat watching in his chair,
> If he might wake the dying man to prayer.
> When the last groan was heard ; then all was still,
> And James indulged his musings—on the Will.'

Crabbe has, in these Tales, repeated himself a little in some of his events and characters. The ' Equal Marriage' too nearly resembles ' Henry and Emma,' and is far inferior. The ' Almshouse Merchant' is part and parcel of our old acquaintance in the ' Borough.' But the above extracts are by no means solitary proofs that the old man's quiver still contained a few of its former arrows.

On taking our leave of the present work, our first sentiment is that of admiration and gratitude towards Burke. Besides his own immortal writings, the literature of his country is indebted to him for those of Crabbe. For it is very evident that, without his powerful and generous assistance, they never would have existed. The intemperate passages of his public life were only passing clouds ; while his conduct to Barry and to Crabbe is one of those examples, which lays mankind under an eternal obligation.

The meagreness of Crabbe's correspondence will bear no comparison with the fulness with which the heart of Cowper is poured into his letters. His prose is accordingly a very imperfect commentary upon his poetry. Nevertheless, we are taken sufficiently behind the scenes to identify the poetical personification of the principal events and feelings of his life. Of the lessons, thus doubly recommended, there are two far prominent above the rest. When Miss Elmy was dangerously ill at Parham, her lover had arranged, in case of her death, to

take up the flowers from her garden and transfer them to his own at Aldborough. She recovered. Afterwards, he more than realized his affectionate device by surrounding himself, day and night, during his London perils, with the image of her love. The weak, it is true, may fall into the langour of myrtle bowers, or rush upon the evils of an improvident marriage. But to the strong, enchantment has no amulet for virtue half so powerful as a fervent and honourable attachment. The other moral is equally true, though less inviting. Happiness in life mainly depends on the existence of a certain harmony between our circumstances and our disposition. To bring up a child with tastes, feelings, and ideas, which unfit him, instead of fit him, for his place in life, is to do all that a parent can do towards disorganizing the first elements of happiness. It is creating, unnecessarily, in the particular case, the same dilemma which a romantic imagination makes for life at large. Crabbe's father unadvisedly placed him in this predicament. The consequence was at one time all but fatal—fatal to his existence. Burke removed this contradiction, and raised him to a station in accordance with his inclinations and pursuits. But it was too late to remove from his recollection the impressions left by the false position of his youth. While he fought the good fight in his own person with a gallant spirit, he never got the better of the wrench it cost him. A sensitive nature and a cultivated mind, made the exigencies of his situation, in the language of his dream, 'the horrible image of misery and degradation, servility 'and baseness.' And thus his genius retained for life the character stamped upon it, at a time when he believed that others, and especially the poor, were as miserable as himself.

ART. II.—1. *Antiquités de la Nubie, ou Monumens inédits des bords du Nil, situés entre la première et la seconde Cataracte.* Par F. C. GAU, Imp. fol. 1821—27.

2. *I Monumenti dell' Egitto, e della Nubia, disegnati dalla Spedizione Scientifico-Letteraria Toscana in Egitto; distribuiti in ordine di Materie.* Interpretati ed illustrati dal DOTTORE IPPOLITO ROSELLINI.—(Not yet completed.)

THE ancient temples of Nubia are probably the most imposing monuments which the world possesses of an extinct civilisation. Egypt, indeed, has edifices of a similar character, and perhaps surpassing those of Nubia in size and careful workmanship. But the light in which the remains of antiquity appear in these two countries is widely different. In Egypt we see a tolerably dense and active population, the servile instruments of no mean political power; a power not so firmly founded indeed as the pyramids, but evidently of the character best fitted to raise those extraordinary structures. We see also modern buildings not wholly contemptible, and monuments without number, of various kinds, which preserve the continuity of arts and civilisation from ancient to modern times. But in Nubia, where the desert presses more closely on the valley of the Nile, the moral scene changes with the face of nature.

Let the reader picture to himself a reddish-coloured, glaring, craggy desert, stretching to the horizon, with pinnacles of black rock jutting from it, and hardly vindicating their nakedness from the sands which mantle round them. Through this desert winds the Nile in a majestic stream, from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half in breadth. In some places pointed ledges of black granite divide its foaming eddies; in others its smooth surface gives way to sandbanks on which the crocodile is seen basking. Here and there along the edge of the river is a thin strip of lively green, rarely above a few hundred paces wide, and shaded by a continuous line of palm-trees. From the frontier of Egypt to the cataract at Wady Halfa, the breadth of the fertile valley of Nubia cannot be averaged at more than a quarter of a mile. Above that, in the Batn el Hadjar, or glen of rocks, through a distance of sixty miles, vegetation almost wholly disappears. The valley then enlarges, so that for the next 400 miles, or to the southern limits of Dongola, it may be assumed to be, on an average, perhaps a mile and a half in breadth. Such is the habitable soil of Nubia.

In the face of the sandstone cliffs, which almost every where in Nubia form a wall between the desert and the domain of fertility, are cut in some places temples of small size, but finished with care, though evidently anterior to the maturity of Egyptian art. In other places, chambers excavated in the rock, form the sanctuaries, or *penetralia* of structures raised in front, while again there are many examples of temples (of later age indeed) standing quite detached and isolated. But still the character of a building adhering or belonging to the rock is never totally lost. The ponderous style of these edifices, and the colossal ideas which even the smallest of them displays, are wonderfully adapted to the vast solitude which surrounds them. They look as if they were created with the desert which now claims possession of them, and threatens to reabsorb them in its sands. These temples, it deserves to be remarked, are not on, but adjoining, and in most cases opposite to the cultivated ground. This choice of site was obviously determined by the necessity of economizing the scanty proportion of cultivable soil, and hence the greater number of them are on the left or Lybian bank of the river, which, owing to the prevalence of the north winds, is more encroached on by the sands of the desert.

The inhabitants of Nubia dwell in mud or straw huts of the humblest description, often huddled among the ruins, and hardly distinguishable from heaps of rubbish. They have no traditions relative to the noble monuments which surround them. Their imaginations, perhaps, can hardly soar to the possibility of again erecting such temples. There is not, we believe, from Philæ to the southernmost point of Dongola a single edifice of any importance, and at the same time of Nubian origin. There are remains indeed of Coptic monasteries and churches; there are mud forts or castles of Arab or Bejáwy origin, and houses or castles raised by the Turks; but the Nubians, as a nation, cannot found an authentic claim to any architecture beyond that which is exemplified in the construction of their humble dwellings. They are, in short, strangers in a land of monuments, which, as regards the generations of men not less than the face of nature, may be said to stand between the dead and the living; and which serve to prove how little connexion there exists between the modern and the ancient occupants of the Nubian valley.

But are not the modern Nubians, it will be asked, the descendants of the people who erected those temples, or who saw them erected by their conquerors, the Kings of Egypt? Are they not living proofs of the fluctuation which human society may undergo in the course of two or three thousand years—fallen as they are to a nearly barbarous state, amidst the enduring monuments of their

ancient greatness? Is it not ascertained that the Nubians were, in remote antiquity, a powerful and polite nation, who cradled the arts and civilisation which subsequently flourished in Egypt? In reply to these interrogatories, we hesitate not to state our confident opinion, that the Nubians of the present day have no community whatever, of race or language, with the people to whose history the monuments of Nubia belong. This opinion will startle, we dare say, many a zealous antiquarian, who mopes with ready faith and admiration in the twilight of ancient Egyptian and Ethiopian history. But his reluctance to adopt it will not arise, we are satisfied, from any positive or presumptive evidence which he can array against it; but merely from the attachment which the mind secretly forms to the image of antiquity of race or national grandeur fallen to decay. We have to contend not with historical difficulties, but with the prejudices of imagination.

But we shall, in the first place, endeavour to disarm another class of prejudices of a remarkably obstinate nature. The Nubians are mentioned by most of the writers of antiquity under the names of *Nubi*, *Nubæ*, or *Nobatæ;* but a candid and judicious critic will find little in these writers to warrant the belief that the Nubians inhabited the valley of the Nile long previous to the fourth century of the Christian era. Ptolemy, whose information respecting the Nubæ evidently reached him not from the south, or from the nations dwelling on the Nile, but through the Lybian or Berber tribes, assigns them a position, in language not very accurate, on the south-eastern frontier of the last mentioned race. Strabo (on the authority of Eratosthenes, the best of the ancient geographers) places the Nubæ in Lybia, westwards of the Nile, between (in respect to latitude) Meroe and the great bend of the river. Pliny, whose rich materials are thrown together in inextricable confusion, appears to transfer them to the eastern side of the Nile; but that he erred in so doing is obvious from the distance which he reckons between them and the Sembritæ, whom he erroneously places to the west of the river. We have ventured, indeed, in appealing to these ancient writers, to quit the guidance of zealous commentators, who interpret their authors in a spirit of literal exactness, which converts vagueness of expression into positive absurdity. The attempts made to force the geographers of antiquity into an accordance with reality, before the reality itself, was perfectly understood, and of thus compounding their knowledge with the ignorance of their commentators, have given rise to numberless mistakes which are now unhappily become the inheritance of scholars. The statements of the three ancient geographers above cited, respecting the Nu-

bians, appear to us capable of being reconciled by an hypothesis much less violent than most of those which follow in the train of the generally-received interpretations. But in one very important respect these three authors agree, they all place the Nubæ on ground far removed from that which the Nubians now occupy. Strabo and Pliny carry them quite to the south of modern Nubia; the former of these, and Ptolemy likewise, place them westward of the Nile. However vague and unsatisfactory these statements may be, one fact may be collected from them with certainty, viz. that the Nubians of these authors did not inhabit the valley of the Nile near Egypt, nor indeed as far up as the Romans had a detailed knowledge of the river.

The Nubians of the present day occupy the valley of the Nile from Egypt to the southern extremity of Dongola. Their national name, Nuba, is obviously the very name which has been modified by the Greek and Roman writers, according to the genius of their respective languages. Now, the name Nuba is not restricted to them, but is extended also to the free negroes of Kordofan; whence a connexion between the two nations might be naturally inferred without further enquiry; but fortunately our information respecting the languages spoken in Kordofan, though scanty, is yet quite sufficient to establish the plain fact that the Nubians on the Nile are descended from the negro Nubas. If the vocabularies of the Nubian dialects be compared with those collected by Rüppel, in Kordofan, it will be seen that the Nubian terms relating to husbandry, with perhaps the mass of the Nubian language, are derived from the dialect of Koldaghi, which prevails in the northern parts of Kordofan. From the industrious communities of Takele and Shabún further south, are borrowed the names of manufactured articles. Another class of words may be traced to the Shillúks, and the country south of Sennâr. Finally, those Nubian words of which we are unable to assign the distinct origin, all belong to that fundamental and indispensable department of language in which no tongue, however barbarous, is deficient; we cannot, therefore, with any show of reason, suppose them to spring from sources more refined than the other and less vulgar materials of the language with which they are incorporated. We are justified, in short, in concluding that the language of the Nubians is chiefly derived from Kordofan; many terms, however, expressive of common objects, being introduced from the more distant, and perhaps more barbarous, slave countries.

It must not be supposed that the Nuba, or free Negro of Kordofan, is a savage. He is inferior to the Turks, Arabs, and Sennâry, who drag him into servitude, in arms alone. His habi-

tation is in general much better constructed, and more comfortable than those of the people dwelling along the Nile; his husbandry is quite as skilful and provident as theirs; his social manners less corrupt; in fidelity, tractability, and the humaneness of his disposition, he fears no comparison with them. Wherever the Nubas settle, they till the ground. They have never been seen in the nomad state; nor, if the permanence of manners fo rude nations be considered, can it be deemed likely that they were ever in a condition so alien from their present habits. The sentiments of local attachment which they imbibe in their native hills, still govern their conduct when they descend to the plains. So steadfast and pacific in character, it is not surprising that the Nubas should be most highly esteemed as slaves. In all the countries from Abyssinia to Egypt, they are reckoned the best settlers or colonists. On the route northwards from Kordofan to Egypt, small parties of them occupy every spot as far as Abu Haraza, where water is found, and cultivation can be carried on. If it were not for the slave trade, which, as a means of colonization is infinitely less efficacious than the natural motives which it quells, it is likely that a constant flow of emigration from the hills of Kordofan would supply all the countries near the Nile with Nuba labourers.

The first establishment of the Nubians on the Nile, immediately above Egypt, took place towards the close of the third century. The Emperor Dioclesian, as Procopius informs us, finding the Ethiopian valley to be narrow and unproductive, and the Blemyes in its neighbourhood restless, withdrew the Roman troops from a soil which did not seem worth the trouble of defending, and yielded a territory, seven days' journey in extent, to a colony of *Nobatæ*, brought from a town in the Oasis. Measures were taken at the same time to quiet the Blemyes, whose incursions might have been ruinous to the infant colony; and the dangerous experiment was made of quenching their love of rapine by gifts of money. The economical considerations which induced the Roman emperor to contract his dominion in this quarter within the limits of Egypt, had afterwards a like influence on the Caliphs; and thus affords an historical illustration of the true character of the natural boundaries of Egypt on the south. The territory relinquished by the Romans to the Nobatæ extended from Philæ probably as far as Hierosycaminos, the modern Meharraka. The Oasis which the Nobatæ are said to have inhabited, might have been Selimé, or Abu Haraza, or even Kordofan itself; but the question is of little importance. The following facts, however, may be deduced with certainty from the historian's text; first, the Nobatæ dwelt not on the river, but at a distance

from it, westward; secondly, they were not nomadic, but inhabited a town (the *city of the Oasis*), which, in the phraseology of those countries, means that they were cultivators; thirdly, they frequented the river, probably as labourers or dealers, and as such 'had every thing their own way;' fourthly, they were not thought likely to be troublesome neighbours—the Blemyes alone, on the eastern side of the river, exciting dread and apprehension.

Let us now turn our attention to the Blemyes, whose name occurs so frequently in the ancient history of Nubia. They were known to Eratosthenes, who flourished about two centuries before the Christian era. In his time they occupied or roamed over the country on the eastern side of the Nile from Egypt to Meroe. The collective authority of nearly all subsequent writers confirms this account. Some of them, indeed, place the Blemyes near Abyssinia and the Red Sea; others fix them in the vicinity of Egypt; but these discrepancies will appear of little moment, if we consider that in a country inhabited by many tribes of the same race, the particular names of the tribes may be easily confounded with their general designation; and the one or the other is employed according to fluctuating circumstances. Only two writers of antiquity, Pliny and Mela, appear to dissent from the general host, and place the Blemyes, in company with the Satyrs, Ægipanes, and other monsters, on the Lybian side of the Nile. They tell us at the same time that the Blemyes were headless, with eyes in their breasts. Absurdities of this kind ought to have served as a warning to critics; but the wantonness of an Etymological mania proves even weaker than ordinary credulity; and for the sake of deriving the modern name *Bilma* from the Blemyes, Malte Brun, with most of the modern geographers in his footsteps, have transported that people to the Lybian deserts. Pomponius Mela, as an authority, is below contempt. Writing in a mean spirit, which survives to the present day, he gathered promiscuously the fables of every age, and called the mixture geography. Pliny, who alone merits attention in the present instance, threw together rich materials with little care. A general error seems to pervade his geography of the Nile; if he places the Blemyes on the western side of the river, he also removes the Sembritæ, or Egyptian emigrants, to the same side, shifting the Nubi to the east; all in contradiction to the distinct authority of Ptolemy, and involving in inextricable confusion the subordinate details of the author himself. But even if the error of Pliny were not manifest, his authority could not overpower the voices of some score writers who, during a course of eight centuries, agree in placing the Blemyes on the eastern side of the Nile between Abyssinia and Egypt.

It is sufficiently evident that the name Blemyes, properly belonging, perhaps, to a single tribe, was often employed as the general denomination of the race called by the Arabs Boja or Bĕja; the numerous tribes of which are now comprised under the two great divisions of Bisharín, north of the route from Suakin to Shendy, and Hadendoa, south of the same line. It is not unlikely that the Coptic name, Balnemmówy, given to the same people, was contracted by the Greeks into Blemyes or Blemmyes; and as this word would appear to them to signify *ugly*, or grim-visaged, the deformity of the people so called would soon become a matter of popular belief. Their singular mode of wearing their hair in a great bushy mass resting on the shoulders, as is represented in Egyptian sculptures, and still practised at the present day with some modification, would be a sufficient nucleus to hold together all the exaggerations respecting their appearance which credulity could collect. The picture drawn by Strabo (or rather Eratosthenes,) of the nomad Ethiopians or Blemyes, represents in a very characteristic manner the Hadendoa or Shepherd Beja of the present day. The only change which, after a lapse of two thousand years, appears to have taken place in the circumstances of these tribes, is an increase of pastoral wealth, arising chiefly from the multiplication of the camel. In ancient as in modern times, all the predatory aggressions which Upper Egypt had to fear, came from the eastern side of the river; a fact which may be easily explained from the nature of the country.

We have seen that the Nobatæ obtained possession of the Valley of the Nile, from Egypt to Hierosycaminos or Meharraka, at the close of the third century; the restless neighbours of the new colony, the Blemyes, being at the same time paid to remain quiet. But means which betray weakness and excite cupidity, are not likely to be effectual in preserving peace. How long the Nobatæ enjoyed their new possessions undisturbed we are not informed; but we know that little more than a century later (407–425) Olympiodorus found the Blemyes in possession of the Valley of the Nile, from Primis (the modern Ibiim), down to Taphis (now Tafeh), not more than thirty miles from the Egyptian frontier; nor does it appear that the Nobatæ occupied the intervening space. What, then, had become of them? We cannot suppose them expelled altogether from the river, since but a few years after the journey of Olympiodorus, (in 452,) we find them joined with the Blemyes in a treaty, by which the Romans gave permission to both nations to worship Isis at Philæ, and even to borrow the statue of the goddess annually, on condition of returning it at a stated time. It is manifest, therefore, that an important revolution had taken place in the course of the fourth cen-

tury. The Blemyes had dispossessed the Nobatæ, and driven them up the river. They had become masters of Talmis (the modern Kelabshy), which was deemed a sacred city. Their territory extended northward only as far as Taphis, and from this place to the Egyptian frontier was probably neutral ground. Southwards they occupied Primis, a fortress situated on a rock. It deserves to be remarked, that the sacredness of Talmis was probably as ancient as those shrines the noble remains of which still decorate the place. The Nobatæ, it is also evident from the treaty above alluded to, had adopted the superstitions of the original tenants of the Ethiopian valley, and were still Pagans in the middle of the fifth century.

Again, a century elapses before another ray of historic light breaks in upon the obscurity which conceals the growing fortunes of the Nobatæ. An inscription discovered in the temple dedicated to Manduli, at Kelabshy, and which has had the singular good fortune to find for commentators Niebuhr and Letronne, reveals to us some very important particulars. It informs us in barbarous Greek that 'Silco, petty king (*βασιλίσκος*) of the 'Nobatæ and of all the Ethiopians, attacked the Blemyes, and 'took all their towns from Primis down to Talmis and Taphis. 'God gave him the victory, but as the Blemyes swore to him 'on *their idols*, (probably to maintain peace,) he withdrew his 'forces, leaving them in possession of an undiminished territory. 'He also resented the insults of the nations dwelling above the 'Nobatæ, and ravaged their lands.' It is evident from the terms of this inscription that Silco was a Christian, and indeed it may be laid down as an established fact, that the use of the Greek language in Nubia, above the Roman territory, was posterior to, and a consequence of, the introduction of Christianity into that country. Silco must, therefore, have been later than the reign of Justinian, and the inscription recording his victories may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the sixth century. The Blemyes at that time still adhered to their ancient idolatry. Talmis, which was styled the *sacred city* long before the Nobatæ were established on the Nile, and the temple of Manduli or the Sun, which preserved the fame of its rites long after the other local superstitions of Ethiopia had fallen into total oblivion, were destined to receive the inscription of Silco. It is also a very important observation, that the territory of the Blemyes had in the time of Silco precisely the same extent (from Primis down to Taphis), which Olympiodorus assigned to it a century and a half before. With respect to the title of *Basiliscus*, or petty king, on which Silco appears to have plumed himself, we readily agree with Niebuhr and Letronne, that the adoption

of it is quite in keeping with the barbarisms which occur in every line of the inscription, and is a fair specimen of the writer's ignorance. But at the same time we see no reason to reject the obvious inference, that Silco assumed with ignorant complacency the mean title which was actually given him by the Greeks, and that he was in fact nothing more than a petty chief. To suppose that his allusions to the nations dwelling above the Nobatæ, were directed to Abyssinia or Sennâr, is to fall into the vulgar error of magnifying whatever is obscure, and to abuse needlessly the speculator's privilege of arranging every thing on a great scale.

About the middle of the seventh century, or not more than a hundred years at the utmost after the date of the above-mentioned inscription, the Arabs subdued Egypt, and made attempts to establish their dominion and their religion in the countries adjoining it on the south. Their fanatical zeal, it may be well imagined, awakened the enthusiasm of the Christian communities in all the countries above Egypt, to which the Coptic priests fled from the Mahometan persecutions; and it is not improbable that the fervour of religious hatred operating incessantly for some ages, wrought at length considerable changes in the constitution of the Nubian community, by fermenting its various ingredients into a more uniform consistence. The Arabian writers were the first who introduced into geography the name *Nubia;* which they applied properly to the Valley of the Nile, above Egypt, inhabited by the Nubas or Nobatæ, and, in a wider sense, to all the Christian nations along the river as far as Abyssinia. Ibn Selim el Aswâny, who flourished in the middle of the tenth century, informs us that Nubia (properly so called) was inhabited by two races of men, speaking different languages, viz. the Nuba, and the people of the province called Mokra, or Macorrah. By these distinct languages he cannot have intended different Nubian dialects, between which there is so close a resemblance, that the Nubians are every where intelligible to one another. The people of Macorrah and the Nuba were constantly at war with each other, until, embracing Christianity, they were united by the bonds of a common religion. The province of Macorrah commenced, he says, at Tafeh, that is Taphis, the ancient frontier town of the Blemyes. But what, we may ask, had become of this last named people? Must we suppose that between the middle of the sixth and that of the seventh century, they had been so totally exterminated, that the Arabs never heard of them; or that they were concealed under a new name? The latter supposition is obviously the more probable. If the Greek or Coptic name gave way to one of Arabic derivation, the change would be neither novel nor surprising; but it is still more

likely that the Blemyes assumed a new name when they embraced Christianity. At all events, it is hardly possible to doubt that the people of Macorrah, who, before they embraced Christianity, waged constant war with the Nuba, and who occupied, in the tenth century, the same territory which the Blemyes had held previous to their conversion, were, in fact, the descendants of the latter people.

The following then is a brief summary of the few historical facts which help to elucidate the transition of the ancient Ethiopia into the modern Nubia. While scattered asunder, they only make the obscurity more visible, but brought together and arranged, they may perhaps prove capable of shedding a valuable light. 1st, The Nubians did not occupy any part of the Valley of the Nile till near the close of the third century. 2dly, The Blemyes possessed the country above Egypt on the eastern side of the Nile, at least as early as the time of Eratosthenes. 3dly, The colony of Nobatæ or Nubians, established in lower Nubia by Diocletian, were driven up the river in the course of the fourth century by the Blemyes, who then became masters of all the territory which the Romans had resigned. 4thly, In the middle of the fifth century, the Blemyes and Nobatæ were still pagans. 5thly, A century later, or after the middle of the sixth century, the Nobatæ had embraced Christianity, while the Blemyes still adhered to their ancient superstitions. This important alteration was followed by a change of political fortune, and the Blemyes were now conquered by the Nobatæ. 6thly, Again, in the middle of the seventh century, when the Arab invasions commenced, the two races, forgetting their ancient animosities, lived together in Christian union; the Blemyes no longer retained their ancient name, but are evidently the people whom the Arab writers call Maccorah.

Now, if we endeavour to complete the historical ground-plan of which the foregoing train of events exhibits a well-defined, though broken, remnant, by tracing on the one side an outline of the manners and social circumstances of Ancient Ethiopia, and on the other, an analogous draught of Modern Nubia, we shall find those wings of the mentally-restored edifice differing widely in some very essential particulars; and the contrast between them will tend to confirm our suspicions respecting the difference of the two races, whose mode of connexion, from their opposition at the base of the political arch to their union at its summit, is decernible in the historical fragments which remain to us. We think it indeed impossible to resist the conviction, that the Nubians of the present day are descended, not from the possessors of Ethiopia in its flourishing period, but from the

predial and slave population of that country, increased by colonists, and raised into a nation by peculiar circumstances, between the third and sixth centuries of the Christian era.

We are told by Diodorus that the Ethiopians and Egyptians bore a close family resemblance to each other in language, manners, and religion; and the correctness of his assertion is fully evinced by a comparison of their monuments. All the names of places on the Nile above Egypt, transmitted to us by ancient writers, have the characteristic forms of the Coptic language. But can the faintest resemblance be traced between the Coptic and Nubian language at the present day? Certainly not. Two languages so wholly unlike in elements and structure cannot for a moment be supposed to be descended from a common or from kindred stocks. Even the long-continued intercourse and contiguity of the two nations (if such a state of things can be supposed to have anciently existed) must have established some points of affinity between their respective languages, and given them some terms in common. But no; the Nubian language at present offers as little affinity with the Coptic as with the Chinese, and it is highly improbable that it ever had more. On the other hand, its relationship to the languages of Kordofan, particularly that of Koldaghi, is too plain to be mistaken. A marked difference indeed is observable between the language spoken by the Nubians on the Nile and the kindred dialect of the Nubas of Kordofan. But it is precisely the kind of difference which results from a long period of separation; the forms of language altering while the elements remained unchanged.

Now, if we are to suppose that the Nubian language, being that of Ancient Ethiopia, had once a close resemblance to the Egyptian, we must also suppose this patriarchal tongue to have spread southwards among the negroes of Kordofan; and furthermore, we must suppose that while time and revolution widened the breach between the sister nations, the languages of the Ethiopians (or Nubians) and of the Koldaghi negroes, fell into such surprisingly parallel corruption, that while losing every trace of resemblance to their Egyptian conqueror, they still preserved unimpaired the marks of their relationship to each other. But suppositions so absurd cannot be entertained for a moment. The negro blood, it is evident, must be always considered a prime element, when we calculate the genealogy of nations. Mixture of races very soon obliterates, but never produces the physical peculiarities of the negro. The Nubas of Kordofan cannot therefore be descended from the handsome tribes which occupy the banks of the Nile, nor is it likely that they borrowed their language from them; so that we must conclude, from all these con-

siderations, that the Nubian language is originally from the mountains of Kordofan; that it never had any resemblance to the language of Egypt: that it was not, therefore, the Ethiopian language of which Diodorus speaks; and consequently that the Nubians themselves, are not (as a nation) descended from the Ethiopians.

Perhaps some acute reader may smile at the stress which we lay on the dissimilarity of the Coptic and Nubian languages; and may feel disposed to ask us whether the Beja, for whom we claim the escutcheon of Ethiopic ancestry, can draw from their modern tongue any presumptions in favour of so honourable an alliance. We candidly confess our inability to reply with an unqualified affirmative: but, at the same time, we submit that a careful consideration will deprive this objection of all its cogency. The Beja have been always placed in the whirl and eddy of those revolutions which have wrought so many changes in the countries above Egypt. The streams of invasion flowing along their frontiers have kept them in perpetual agitation, and more or less commingled with them. Hence Marmol says, with much show of reason, that the language of the Beja is a mixture of Arabic, Chaldee, (Geez or Ethiopic,) Nubian, and Coptic.* But the Arabic has had a paramount influence on it, particularly among the tribes near Egypt and the Nile, some of whom, forgetting their origin, fancy themselves to be Arabs by descent as well as language. The Bisharín themselves call their language *ratânah*, that is, a gibberish or corrupt jargon. Now, it cannot surely be thought surprising that the same influences which have completely extinguished in Egypt the ancient language of that country, should have operated in a similar manner on the sister language of Ethiopia,—extinguishing the dialects of the more settled and civilized tribes, and leaving for our study and comparison those which are least suited for our purpose? In the Nubian language, on the other hand, there is no trace of similar corruption; on the contrary, when we compare it with the parent stocks of Kordofan, we are surprised at its freshness and integrity; and feel therefore justified in concluding, that the want of resemblance between the Coptic and Nubian language, is owing to their being radically distinct: while a similar absence of connexion between the Coptic and surviving dialects of the Beja affords

* Some Coptic sorts still remain little altered in the language of the Bisharín; for example, *iom*, Copt. the sea; *O-yom*, Bish. water; *oîni*, Copt. light; *t-oîn*, Bish. the sun; *son*, Copt. brother; *a-ssanok*, Bish. my brothers. In the Bishary language, the masculine article is *o*, or before a vowel, *w*, in the singular, and *a* in the plural. The feminine article is *t*.

but a weak argument respecting these, and none at all as regards the extinct dialects formerly spoken by the Beja tribes inhabiting the river. In fine, if the question, 'who were the Ethiopians?' be tried by the comparison of languages, the only decision to be obtained is, that they had no connexion with the Nubians.

Let us next enquire whether and how far the Nubians can be said to have ever had a community of religion with the ancient Egyptians. We are told by Priscus (*Excerpta Legationum* in Labbe's *Protrepticon*,) that about the middle of the fifth century (A. D. 452) a treaty was made by Maximin with the Nobatæ and Blemyes, by which permission was given them to worship Isis at Philæ, and to borrow annually from the same place a certain statue of that goddess. This is the only passage of history, we believe, in which the Nubians are distinctly mentioned as followers of Egyptian superstitions. But this passage, from the manner in which it associates the two races whose respective claims to be considered the Ethiopians described by Diodorus, we are now endeavouring to sift, does not immediately decide the point at issue. It calls forth, however, the following reflections; first, that the Nobatæ here mentioned were evidently the descendants of the strangers established in the Roman territory a century and a half before, and therefore not the Ethiopians; and secondly, that the chief shrine on the river near Egypt,—the only temple the fame of whose religious rites descended to the times of Arab conquest; in short, the sacred city of Talmis, was perseveringly held by the Blemyes, who adhered to the religion of ancient Egypt after the Nobatæ had abandoned it, and who in the sixth century swore before their idols in the temple of Manduli to observe the terms dictated by the Christian Silco, a petty chief of the Nobatæ. To the foregoing observations we may add, that the gods of Egypt were worshipped in Meroe, whereas there is no reason to believe that the Nubians, properly so called, ever extended along the Nile above Dongola; for though the Arab writers vaguely comprise under the general name Nubia all the Christian kingdoms above Egypt, yet they state the boundaries of race and language clearly enough, and obviously place the Beja tribe of the Zenafedj in the country of the modern Shaikye. In fine, the historical testimony which remains to us concerning the diffusion of the religion of Egypt through Ethiopia, evidently relates to a people quite distinct from the Nobatæ or Nubians, to whom specifically there is but little allusion; and that little so modified by circumstances of time and place, as to be incapable of warranting any general inference as to their religion.

Many of the customs of ancient Egypt and Ethiopia are still

preserved in Nubia and in the countries southwards, up the Atbara and Blue River. Indeed, we suspect that those traditionary relics of ancient manners are more frequent towards Sennâr than on the borders of Egypt. But peculiarities of costume and manners are too easily assumed and too mutable in their nature to afford incontrovertible proof of the descent of nations. We must therefore enquire into their antiquity in every case, with a view to discover how far each respective claimant can found a title on the prescriptive possession of such heir-looms. Let us then follow the two races who at present occupy the Ethiopic valley of the Nile, to what may be considered their original seats: and among the negro Nubas of Kordofan, in the first place, we look in vain for any thing that bears a characteristic resemblance to the customs of ancient Ethiopia. The Nubians dwelling on the Nile must have borrowed those customs, therefore, subsequent to their settlement on the river. But when, crossing to the eastern side of the Nile, we cast our eyes on the Hadendoa or nomad Beja, who are perhaps more barbarous than the naked Nuba, we immediately recognise among them the bushy head-dress represented on the ancient monuments of Nuba and Egypt; the ancient sandal also, and the singular wooden pillow or arm-rest, which is often found in the mummy pits. Is it not, therefore, just to conclude that the Ethiopians, who resembled the Egyptians in manners, were of the Beja and not of the Nubian race; since the ancient traditional customs, preserved only locally by the Nubians, are still the general characteristics of the Beja tribes?

We dare say that most of our readers will have already begun to suspect with us, that the Nubians are in reality comparatively recent intruders on the sacred soil of Ethiopia; strangers to the land in which are reared the monuments of the ancient Pharaohs, of Amenotoph, and Rhamses the Great. But still a few, mistrustful of new opinions, will perhaps hope to embarrass us by exclaiming, What! are not the Nubians a handsome people, with oval faces and regular features, not unlike those represented in the paintings and sculptures of the ancient monuments of Nubia? If their national physiognomy be such as might beseem a Memnon, how can they be supposed to be the progeny of the woolly-headed, obtuse-visaged negroes of Kordofan? Alas! This argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much. Are not the people of Sennâr, at the present day, among the handsomest of the tribes inhabiting the banks of the Nile? And yet they are descended from the negro Shillûks, who, not more than three centuries and a half ago, poured from their savage forests on the fertile plains near the Blue River. When Poncet visited Sennâr

(in 1696) he found its inhabitants still negroes. Bruce, seventy years later, observed with astonishment how soon the negro features disappeared among the descendants of the Shillúks; and was so forcibly impressed with that physiological phenomenon, as to hazard the hypothesis, that the climate of Sennâr alone, without intermixture of blood, is capable of changing, in one generation, the ill-moulded visage of the negro into a countenance partaking of Caucasian beauty. Again, M. Cailliaud, seventy years after Bruce, informs us that the people of Sennâr have an agreeable and regular physiognomy, with copper-brown complexions. Here, therefore, in the instance of Sennâr, we see forcibly exemplified the easy transition of a tribe of negroes into a nation of handsome mulattoes. However repugnant it may be to those genealogical prejudices which are cherished nearly as much by European historians as by Arab Bedwins, it is yet an incontestable fact, that the Valley of the Nile, from Egypt to the southern limits of Sennâr, is chiefly occupied by a mulatto population, whose physiognomy differs from that of the West Indian mulatto, as the Arab visage differs from the European, being at once more dusky and more regular. The Arab tribes near Shendy may still perhaps justly boast of the purity of their blood; but, generally speaking, within the limits mentioned above, the slave or negro population is always about a sixth of the whole, and continually amalgamating with it. While Nature kindly endeavours to wash out the stain, every caravan from the south or west pours in a new supply of slaves, and restores the blackening element. Such is the process from which originates that peculiar style of rounded Ethiopian beauty, so much admired in some of the sculptures of ancient Egypt. Nor is it confined to the Valley of the Nile, or to the country immediately above Egypt. A large mixture of negro blood is found among the Abyssinians, the Somâly, the Gallas, and among the Arabs, who occupy the eastern coast of Africa as far south as cape Delgado. This offspring of mingled race bear every where a family resemblance to one another and to the Nubian type; and no where are they handsomer than on the borders of the negro country, where the intermixture is most actively maintained—at Sennâr on the one side, and the sea-coast near the river Juba on the other.

But while the features of the Nubians offer an equivocal testimony on the one side, their sable hue is an unanswerable evidence on the other. The Ethiopians represented in the paintings which ornament the walls of the Nubian temples, were not a black people. Negroes sometimes figure in those paintings as captives and slaves, bound together, or laden with the produc-

tions of the south; but the people whose national exploits were blazoned on these monuments, are painted of a dull red colour; which, though to a European it may appear unnatural, nevertheless differs very little from the complexion of the Adhareby and other Bishary tribes at the present day. In short, a moment's inspection of these monuments must satisfy any candid enquirer, that they record the triumphs and religious ceremonies of a race differing widely in complexion from the modern Nubians. But we can call a witness of no mean authority in corroboration of our opinion. Ptolemy (Lib. i. cap. 9) confutes Marinus Tyrius, who extended the Ethiopian country of Agisymba as far as the southern tropic, in the following words:—

'For in corresponding situations on our side of the equator, 'that is to say, under the tropic of Cancer, men have not the 'colour of Ethiopians, nor are there elephants and rhinoceroses. 'But a little south of this, (the northern tropic,) the people are 'moderately dark, (ἠρέμα τυγχάνουσι μέλανες) as those, for example, 'who inhabit the thirty Schœni, (as far as Wady Halfe,) above 'Syene. And for this very reason, Marinus himself places the 'Garamantes, not under the tropic of Cancer, nor yet north of 'it, but quite to the south. But in the country round Meroe, the 'people are already sufficiently black (ἤδη καλαπόρως εἰσὶ μέλανες,) and 'there first we meet with pure negroes, (Αἰθίοπες ἄκρατοι) as well 'as elephants and other strange animals.' This passage of the Alexandrian geographer proves beyond dispute, that in the second century of the Christian era, the Valley of the Nile immediately above Egypt was occupied by a race extremely unlike its present swarthy possessors, who are unquestionably the darkest people on the river, the Dongoláwy excepted; the beauties of Shendy and even of Sennâr being pale and unripened in comparison with those of Philæ.

But enough has been already said to overturn the common belief, which is indeed a bare presumption, that the Nubians are descended from the Egypti-Ethiopians. They are, in fact, but the supposititious inheritors of that accumulation of fame which admiring posterity award to the erectors of so many noble monuments. According to Erastosthenes, the Nubæ extended, on the western side of the Nile, (he does not say at what distance,) from the latitude of Meroe to that of the great bend of the river, (that is of Dongola.) They were governed by petty chiefs quite independent of the Ethiopians. This statement received the sanction of Strabo: Ptolemy placed the Nubi at a great distance from the river. Pliny sets them on the eastern side of the Nile, eight days from Meroe, while he transports the Sebritæ and Blemyes to the west. His error is manifest, but it is sufficient

for our purpose to observe, that his Nubæ were not within the limits of modern Nubia.

In little more than a century after Ptolemy, we find the Nobatæ (the original name having received a more thoroughly Greek form) brought from a distance and established in the valley of the Nile by Diocletian. Here, therefore, in the vicinity of Egypt, in the country most thickly studded with Ethiopian temples, we see clearly the comparatively recent introduction of the Nubians. Scanty gleams of historical light, and an inscription or two, just suffice to show us the fluctuating fortune of the Nubian colony. They were at first driven up the river, but their conversion to Christianity obtained for them abler guidance, and a temporary superiority. The general spread of the Christian religion soon after united the hostile nations; and the Nobatæ or Nubians occupied the valley of the Nile as joint tenants with a people of totally different race, and who were evidently the prior possessors of the soil. Then comes a long period of historic obscurity and confusion, and, as the darkness clears off, we discover a nation called Nubians, occupying a long extent of territory above Egypt, and hear, for the first time, of a country called Nubia.

If our readers should seek, for they would not be justified in peremptorily requiring of us, an explanation of this change, or a developement of the silent and almost imperceptible revolution by which one nation came to supersede another, we must again appeal to their candour; and warn them, that though they might feel strong in denying our proposition, they would be sadly at a loss for positive proofs in support of its contradictory. Mankind, though always mistrustful of new hypotheses, have no objection to the most gratuitous assumptions which have been some time in circulation. Yet, where history is silent, we must necessarily have recourse to conjecture to explain the course of events. The utmost that can be done, in such a case, is to offer an explanation conformable to the general history of mankind, in which each event is referred to its most natural cause, the peculiar circumstances of society being taken into consideration, and the individual influence of heroes and other poetic agencies being jealously excluded;—an explanation which relies, in short, on the operation of no causes but those which the experience of history shows to be more or less inevitable.

Nature has nowhere prescribed in a more authoritative manner the social condition of man, than in the countries immediately above Egypt. The chain of high mountains which flank the western shores of the Red Sea, are visited by periodical and heavy rains; and pour down numerous torrents, which are ab-

sorbed by the intervening plains before they reach the Nile. These hills, therefore, with the plains of Taka, which are annually inundated by the Mareb, are capable of supporting many nomadic tribes; the impulse towards a wandering life being continually communicated by the nature of the soil and climate. But the vast plains which spread on the western side of the Nile, like the valley itself of the river, north of latitude 17°, are never or very rarely refreshed by passing showers. Hence we find that the roving tribes on the eastern side of the Nile have been in all ages formidable neighbours to the more civilized settlers on the river; while the scanty nomadic population of the western desert (above Egypt) makes no figure in history. But among the hills of Kordofan a more humid atmosphere, with less violent vicissitudes, encourages cultivation and the habits of settled life. The Nubas, when they descend from their hills, still retain their original habits; they cultivate the soil where water can be found, but have never been seen associated in wandering tribes. In this way they now occupy small spots on the caravan routes northward from Kordofan; and it is highly probable that in ancient times they were the scattered tenants of the desert of Bahiúda, thus approaching the Nubian portion of the Nile only at its southern extremity, or at Dongola.

If we compare all the circumstances, physical and moral, of the Beja tribes on the one side, with those of the Nubas on the other, we cannot avoid arriving at the conclusion, that the former were the masters of the soil in the valley of the Nile, and that the latter were an adscititious labouring population. The negroes from Kordofan and the countries immediately south of Sennár, are most highly esteemed as slaves; being peaceable, intelligent, and more or less acquainted with the humble arts which minister to social comfort. Bruce found flourishing colonies of Nuba in Sennár; similar colonies have been recently established in Nubia.* Now, if we take into consideration the permanence of manners of unlettered nations, may we not confidently infer that the same negro tribes were equally esteemed in antiquity, and that the Nubas were as eagerly sought then as at present to fill every vacancy in the productive class? Or, we might rather ask, would it not be highly absurd and paradoxical to maintain that the nations dwelling on the Nile, in ancient times, had no slaves, or supposing they had, that these were not chiefly Nuba? Now it is well known that negroes were numerous in the population of Ancient Egypt; and whence they came may be easily col-

* Rifaud, *Tableau de la Nubie.*

lected from the fact, that Nuba numerals have been detected in some specimens of the Egyptian Demotic writing.*

The Blemyes continually harassed the Roman territorry above Egypt, of which the Nobatæ, under the imperial protection, had virtually the sole enjoyment, or where, as Procopius expresses it, 'they had every thing their own way,' (ἄγον καὶ ἔφερον). But as soon as the Romans, weary of protecting at great expense an unproductive province, (like the Caliphs afterwards, and perhaps the Pharaohs before them,) withdrew from the valley of the Nile above Egypt, and ceded it to the Nobatæ, the natural balance was soon restored between the two races, in spite of Roman influence, and the Blemyes (a Beja tribe) became masters of the soil. The influence which the presence or proximity of the Romans must have had in raising the productive and checking the more turbulent party, cannot be reasonably doubted; and before it was totally extinguished, Christianity had reached the Nobatæ, and given them national unity. We need not enlarge here on the political results which we ascribe to the spread of the Christian religion, nor explain why the Nobatæ took precedence of their Beja neighbours in coming within its pale. These matters offer no difficulties to the minds of those who are tolerably conversant with the history of mankind. The Blemyes, worsted by the Christian Nobatæ, embraced the religion of their conquerors; and it was probably at this period of their history that they took the name of Macorrah. The two races now became politically united, though not blended together, under a hierarchical form of government, whence we might be justified in conjecturing that the ruling families were of Greek or Coptic descent.

A century after the conversion of the Nobatæ, the Arabs invaded Egypt, propagating a new faith by fire and sword. The Coptic clergy, flying from these conquerors, sought refuge in Nubia, where they strengthened the cause of Christianity at a most important crisis. The Mahomedans, carrying their arms southward, easily succeeded in making converts and allies of the more powerful Beja tribes, the kinsmen of the Macorrah. This circumstance is of the utmost importance to our speculation; since it is evident that it must have operated directly on the population of the river. In the course of the often repeated warfare carried on during a long period of eight centuries and a half, (for Christianity was not extinct in Nubia at the beginning of the sixteenth century,) between the Christians on the river and

* See a paper by Mr Hinckes on the Enchorial Language of Egypt, in the *Dublin University Magazine*. No. III. 1833.

the Mohamedan invaders, the Macorrah, it is manifest, occupied an equivocal and dangerous position—a position indeed which could not possibly be long maintained in a contest inflamed by religious hatred. They must have been compelled either to quit the river and join their brethren in the plains, or else, forgetting their origin, to lay aside the distinctions of their race, and to assimilate themselves as much as possible to the less questionable, that is to say, to the Nubian portion of the Christian community. In short, if Christianity first raised the Nubians into a nation, the long-continued struggle which they maintained with the Mahomedans must have had the effect of blending and uniting their society more closely together; the heat of religious animosity expelling every heterogeneous particle. The Macorrah disappeared, but not without leaving a faint vestige behind; the dialect spoken in the districts which they occupied differs from that spoken at the extremes of the Nubian valley, in the Wady el Keniüz and in Dongola; the physiognomy also of the inhabitants of Mahass and Sukkot betrays a Bejáwy extraction.

In fine, the chief articles of the historic creed which we here endeavour to promulgate, are, that the Ethiopians above Egypt, who resembled the Egyptians in manners, language, and religion, and whose monuments we gaze on with so much admiration at the present day, were of the Bejáwy race: that the Nubas or Negroes from Kordofan were always numerous in the Valley of the Nile, constituting the predial or servile population; that these latter were protected and increased by Roman policy; and finally, that their conversion to Christianity gave them a national existence, while their subsequent warfare with the Mahomedans rendered them the nucleus or main prop of a mixed population, and caused all lingering differences of race to be absorbed in the Nubian name.

We have not by any means exhausted the considerations which countenance our theory; but it is not our intention in the present instance to do more than to offer to the meditation of our readers such a chain of argument as fairly warrants our conclusion; and thus to submit the question in its simplest form to the decision of the learned world. The age which produces such splendid works as those of Gau and Rosellini,—works in which the scholar and the artist unite their efforts to perpetuate all that remains of ancient Nubia,—cannot surely be indifferent to a discussion which aims at establishing, with respect to that country, the historical relationship between the past and present, and at supplying, in some measure, the deficiencies of historical details from the philosophy of history.

ART. III.—*The Collected Poems of the late* N. T. CARRINGTON. Edited by his son, H. E. CARRINGTON. 2 vols. 12mo. London: 1834.

COUNTY histories, the antiquities of towns, topographical and legendary anecdotes of remarkable places, are not made half as much of as they deserve. How few persons have really studied them, although they are valuable for a variety of purposes! To instance only one: It is very desirable to connect the material and moral world as much as possible, and to multiply the links, by which a rational affection binds us to all the different concentric circles, which spread from home to country—from country to the world. Now, no Worcestershire squire, who is unacquainted with the three folios of its historian, Dr Nash, can at all know and love his county as he ought to do. The unknown and the nonexisting are so much the same, that, in this respect, he might almost as well have been born in Kentucky, where, some fifty years back, there was no history at all. The pride which the inhabitants of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire take in their cathedrals—the miles that the yeomen rode into Lincoln from the fens, when an accident had happened to 'Great 'Tom'—the passion with which, on rebuilding York Minster, both laity and clergy were recently seen debating the future position of its screen—as things touching their inheritance—exemplify the degree to which, in even our wandering and business-like age, the living principal of local attachment may be strengthened by a single class of monuments and traditions. Interests to the full as powerful, whether in striking buildings or in curious remains, in beautiful scenery or in spots consecrated by great men and extraordinary events, are doubtless scattered over almost every district inhabited by an ancient nation. The difficulty is, in bringing them forward with the same effect, and keeping them equally present to the mind. The success of many a popular provincial ballad, shows what an important and delightful auxiliary towards the preservation of these feelings poetry may become; and certainly on easy terms. With these sentiments we took up the poems of Mr Carrington, the poet of Dartmoor and the banks of Tamar; and we have a satisfaction in thinking that they may be extremely useful and deservedly popular in Devonshire, although readers at the other end of the island should find them a little dull.

'Open rebuke,' says the wise man, 'is better than concealed 'love.' Be that as it may, there can be no doubt of its being infinitely better than preposterous and injudicious praise. It is

a truth-protecting law of nature, that exaggeration, instead of magnifying, lessens. The extravagance of the Stoics has made more Epicureans than Epicures; and the extravagance of some literary panegyrists, who forget that the West of England is not the whole of it, is exposing Mr Carrington's modest volumes to the penalty of a similar reaction. Mr Carrington himself (for we are sorry to say he is dead) was evidently a very meritorious and amiable person. A memoir of him also, which his son has prefixed to the present Collection, is written in good taste and good feeling. In justice to them both, we have done our best to get rid of the impression produced by indiscreet and provoking friends. The partiality of an editor-son is a very different affair. Every body feels tenderly towards it. Yet critics are bound to be on their guard even against the seductions of a son.

Mr Carrington was born at Plymouth. His father was a grocer, and apprenticed him at an early age to a measurer in the dock-yard. He was so disgusted at the 'blackguardism,' which at that time corrupted and disgraced this national establishment, (are things now on a better footing?) that he took the first opportunity of running away, and entered himself on board a man-of-war. In this manner, he was present at the victory off cape St Vincent. Some juvenile verses, which he indited in honour of the event, introduced him to the Captain, who immediately, on the return of the ship to England, restored him to his parents. After this naval frolic, he was allowed to adopt a profession better suited to his character and attainments; although, if we are to judge by his poetical complaints, it was not much more in accordance with the bent of his inclinations. He would have greatly preferred rambling under hedgerows, or along the seaside, to teaching little boys. However, having once taken up the cross of a schoolmaster, the remainder of his life was faithfully devoted to its duties; and poetry became only the plaything of his holydays, or the recreation of an evening, after the heat and burden of the day. Residing at Plymouth, he dedicated his muse entirely to the beauties of his native country. It is agreeable to learn, that the gentlefolk of Devonshire were sufficiently alive to the value of a provincial poet to pay Mr Carrington considerable attention during his lifetime; and that his dispersed poems have been now collected into a uniform edition, in consequence of numerous enquiries for them. It is true, the Tamar has not been as fortunate as the river Duddon, nor, will Dartmore, be visited, like Loch Katrine, by pilgrims from foreign lands. But it is a gratifying triumph, worthily achieved, to have taken advantage, in ordinary minds, of the natural intro-

duction, which a vanity in their own beautiful neighbourhood may afford for the poetry that celebrates it; and to have provided the real admirers of simple nature with those more extensive and more affecting associations which, springing from human life, at once both inspire and are inspired by the mysterious harmony of numbers. This is what Mr Carrington has done. We admit that he is often too languid to be impressive, and too diffuse to be picturesque. But this is unfortunately a part of his case, and a distressing part of it. The variable spirits of an invalid, and the listlessness of a jaded schoolmaster, will account too well for the air of faintness and melancholy which he has thrown over his favourite pursuits, even at the moment of turning to them for relaxation from his labours.

The landscape painter has a great advantage over the corresponding branch of the sister art; since it is unquestionable that words, substituted for colours, speedily disappoint and tire. No degree of talent can prevent it. Let the poet accomplish all that every possible combination of language can place within his reach, what is it he can perform? His vales and mountains soon become indistinct—his breezes and waterfalls monotonous; the bee, butterfly, and lyric lark of one page, are only the same bee, butterfly, and lark which we parted company with a little while before. We have heard the absence of regular descriptive poems mentioned as a reason for suspecting that classical antiquity took but little pleasure in the beauties of nature. On the contrary, it is, in our opinion, only a proof of the wisdom of the ancients, that they declined attempting any thing of the sort, as a main continuous subject, on a considerable scale. In saying this, we are far from meaning to decry—nobody can be so foolish—the merit of good descriptions. The only question is, whether they can afford to be the principal object of a poem, or ought not to be kept subordinate. It is a question of proportion. On the first plan, (which is that of Mr Carrington,) unless the series of descriptions is to become intolerable, it must be interspersed with appropriate reflections, and enlivened by antiquarian and legendary allusions. If sameness is avoided, it is at the risk of breaking up the whole into detached pieces. In the latter case, the principal subject, whatever it may be, has a specific movement and interest of its own. The descriptions will be accessories only. Thrown in, incidentally, in order to excite, illustrate, or amuse, they are often necessary, and must be always agreeable, whether in lyrical narrative, or didactic poetry. What a splendid national effect may be thus created! Italy is a proof. Without a single purely descriptive poem, how completely is it sown with poetical recollections! and happy the day when a scholar, for the first time, sits

down on a hill at Rome, with a Horace in his hand! Pope was wont to say, that 'the Æneid was evidently as much a party 'piece as the Absalom and the Achitophel.' We have not the means of knowing whether the designs of Augustus would not have been more effectually served by putting the political object plainly forward. But we feel confident that the scenery connected with the last six books of the Æneid would have only suffered in interest, if, instead of occasional notices by its epic minstrel, it had figured as the substantial argument of a 'Tour in Latium,' or 'A Day upon the Tiber.'

Supposing that descriptive poems of any length must be tedious at best, Mr Carrington's are more so than need be. The school-room took out of him so much of his freshness, buoyancy, and vigour, that the fatal character of a prize poem, or composition made to order, is apparent on the surface. The poem called 'Dart-'moor,' though not sent in in time for competition, was, in point of fact, written for a prize upon that subject, which was given by the Royal Society of Literature, and obtained by Mrs Hemans. The lack of muscle and spirit, to which we have already alluded, is felt throughout. The dangerous facility of blank verse has led him to run it up, slight in substance and flimsy in construction. Frequently, for a page together, it is not raised above the level of ordinary conversation, by as much elevation in the sentiment, or the expression, as Shakspeare thought befitting dramatic prose; nor transposed half as elaborately as the 'numerous prose' adopted by Milton and Shaftesbury.

The effect of some of the prettiest passages is worse than destroyed by a bad habit of dropping his voice on a sudden into a feeble and inglorious close.

> 'Soft the landscape melts away
> Into the billowy distance, where the eye,
> Resting upon the shadowy moor, discerns
> Hengeston, with head majestic, looking down
> On distant towns and hamlets, fertile vales,
> Hills, lawns, and woods, and streams—*a map immense.*'

This is a climax which few people can admire, except it be Mr Arrowsmith.

The tide which had carried a party of pleasure up the Tamar turns abruptly. The misfortune is only made more dramatic by the emphasis of the apostrophe.

> 'Its force is spent,
> Swift it retreats adown the verdant bank,
> And ere yon lovely blushing flower had sipp'd
> The draught saline, an agency unseen,
> Check'd the usurping flow, and lo! it rolls
> Backward its flood—*behold the obedient ebb!*'

There can be no objection to flowers drinking; but something

depends on the liquor, and much on the grace which is put into the operation. A 'draught saline' so administered is more than we can recommend to the poetical Floras of the north. Even still greater management is required in the successful use of metaphors from eating. We should think that a sentimental alderman (provided the anomaly exists) is the only reader who will not feel that the graceful compliment to evening is seriously injured by the word *repast*.

> 'If morning bid
> Nature, reviving from her rest, to bless
> The sky, the grove, with livelier song, fair Eve
> Has too her dying and bewitching strains;
> A magic power is hers—a nameless charm,—
> And rich is the *repast* she gives to him,
> Who loves amid her fairy reign to rove,
> And hear the lay that bids the sun farewell!'

If we are called upon for a reason—why *Fate* should not be as well entitled to a besom as *Fortune* to a wheel, or *Time* to a scythe—reason we have none: certain, however, are we, that the besom must be held by a more powerful hand than that of our author, or it will drop from the sublime of scripture to the ridiculous of bombast.

> 'But still the mouldering hand
> Of Fate is on man's noblest towers, and *sweeps*
> His columns and his cities from the earth
> With such wide-wasting *besom*, that no trace
> Remains to tell the traveller where stood
> The boasted structures once!'

The great defect in the general execution of Mr Carrington's two principal poems, is, that the really poetical features in his landscapes are not sufficiently selected and condensed. In consequence, the lights are scattered, as if at random, over the different figures of the piece, while the subjects themselves seem capable of dragging on to an alarming and indefinite extent. No one part is more concentrated than the rest; and the whole appears too desultory and rambling to come properly within the frame of a single picture. The only limits to the poem of 'Dartmoor' is the same which limits to three hundred square miles, 'its rugged and mist-swept hills—its rock-strewed 'and torrent-haunted glens—and its wide expanses of purple 'heath, stretching miles and miles away, in utter and most im-'pressive solitude.' The only limit to the 'Banks of Tamar' is the length of its navigable stream, and the catalogue of the gentlemen's houses by which it flows. Not that we complain at the catalogue. It is quite as good a string in its way for tying together historical reminiscences as the Homeric catalogue of ships.

Dartmoor must be a singular region;—vast, lone, and visionary, as a Scottish heath, among the smiling prospects and level land-

scapes of the south. Its terrible grandeur appears to have acted on the gentle imagination of the Plymouth schoolboy like a German fairy tale.

> 'Dartmoor! thou wert to me, in childhood's hour,
> A wild and wond'rous region. Day by day
> Arose upon my youthful eye thy belt
> Of hills mysterious, shadowy, clasping all
> The green and cheerful landscape, sweetly spread
> Around my home, and with a stern delight
> I gazed on thee. How often on the speech
> Of the half-savage peasant have I hung,
> To hear of rock-crown'd heights, on which the cloud
> For ever rests; and wilds stupendous, swept
> By mightiest storms; of glen, and gorge, and cliff
> Terrific, beetling o'er the stone-strewed vale;
> And giant masses, by the midnight flash
> Struck from the mountain's hissing brow, and hurl'd
> Into the foaming torrent; and of forms
> That rose amid the desert, rudely shap'd
> By superstitious hands, when time was young;
> And of the dead—the warrior dead—who sleep
> Beneath the hallow'd cairn!'

His worn out manhood,

> 'Struggling with the usual lot
> Of genius, to be praised and be forgot,'

at times turned afterwards towards these solitudes with a deeper feeling than the emancipation of a holyday:—

> 'Here might the man, disgusted with the world,
> Retire, and commune with himself, with God,
> And nature; here, unsought, unvex'd, unknown,
> The stern contemner of his race might dwell,
> With mountain independence ever—lord
> Of the lone desert. On his musings free
> Nor speech impertinent, nor harsh command,
> Nor frivolous talk, consuming half the hours
> Of hollow artificial life, nor hum
> Of populous cities, nor the deaf'ning din
> And shout of savage war, would e'er intrude;
> But he would live with liberty, and climb,
> With vigorous step the heathy ridge, or wind
> The vale, and list with rapture to the sounds
> Delightful, that can bless e'en steep and stream
> Of the scorn'd forest. Nor would winter's voice,
> Though stern, be undelightful; the high peal
> Of the great thunder, and the winds that speak
> Almost as loud as the loud thunder. Then,
> Though guilt might crouch, his steady eye would mark
> The lightning gild the hill's tempestuous brow,
> Or flash from tor to tor, illuming all

The man-deserted waste; and, as the storm,
Rocking his lowly home, sublimely raged,
His high wrought soul would triumph in that hour,
And hail the awful elemental war!'

An imaginary day upon the moor presents us with the successive effects of morning, noon, and evening. Nor do we see it merely as it exists at present. We are taken back (for our poet is one of Mr Polwhele's forest faction) to the days of luxuriant forests—of wolves and winged serpents. The Danmonii, 'our brave forefathers,' are reinstated in their round houses, standing singly on the hills; and the Crockern Parliament resumes its sittings in the open air;—an atmosphere probably not a great deal more unwholesome than that to which, but for the fire at Westminster, our modern senators would have continued to be condemned.

'Not always thus
Has hover'd, Crokern, o'er thy leafless scalp,
The silence and the solitude that now
Oppresses the crush'd spirit; for I stand
Where once the fathers of the forest held
(An iron race) the parliament that gave
The forest law. Ye legislators, nurs'd
In lap of modern luxury, revere
The venerable spot, where, simply clad,
And breathing mountain breezes, sternly sat
The hardy mountain council. O'er them bent
No other dome but that in which the cloud
Sails—the blue dome of heav'n. The ivy hung
Its festoons round the Tor, and at the foot
Of that rude fabric, pil'd by nature, bloom'd
The heath flower.'

The mountain streams make admirable outlets from this dreary, if exclusive, subject.

'Streams—desert born!—I love you, and I love
The fruitful mother that with look austere,
Yet bountiful of heart, has sent you forth,
A matchless progeny, to bless the earth,
And bid it bloom like Eden. I could dwell
For ever near you; or, when flashing down,
Far seen—far heard—the mountain steeps sublime;
Or when ye warble through the myrtle vales
Of Devon, wide diffusing o'er her shores
Atlantic, boundless beauty. But, farewell!'

The Cromlech and Logan of the Druids on the Teign, are the stepping-stones of superstition by which history passes on to the ruined monastery on the banks of Tavy. The prophetical inspiration of our poet consists in little more than in hastening to realize the patriotic hopes of Sir Thomas Tyrrwhit. For the

'magic hand of cultivation' is slowly approaching the tor-crowned hills, and the railway already traces them.—

> 'Lo, along the iron-way
> The rocks gigantic slide! The peasant views
> Amazed the masses of the wild moor move
> Swift to the destined port. The busy pier
> Groans 'neath the granite spoils;—the future pile
> Is there—the portal vast—the column tall—
> The tower—the temple—and the mighty arch
> That yet shall span the torrent.'

All interests will be reconciled, provided the improvers will only leave the antiquarians their granite god upon the moorland edge, and not carry away legendary tombstones (like that of Childe the Hunter) to make their doorsteps. Mr Carrington has written a spirited ballad on the fate of this savage sportsman. He was benighted on the moor it seems, and to keep himself warm, he killed his horse, disembowelled it, and went to bed in its belly. The precaution did not answer. So he left a paper, intimating, that whoever buried his body should have his lands at Plymstock. The tradition goes, that in this manner Plymstock came into the hands of the monks of Tavistock and the house of Russell. If such a story is no authority for the law of real property, it is some for the brutality and superstition of an age which could invent it.

The Tamar winds pleasantly on, under pensile boughs and the tell-tale smoke of lark-awakened cottages.—

> 'O! blest is he who in the rural reign
> Lists to the rustling of the wind-swept blade,
> The whispering of the leaf, the hymn of bird,
> The flow of rill, the torrent's distant roar,
> The burst of matin and of vesper song:
> And, whether Nature in the summer noon
> Reposes deep, or sends her breezes forth,
> Is ever grateful, loves her changeful face,
> Prefers his peaceful cot with foliage deck'd
> To all the splendid domes that grandeur rears,
> And, conscious of his happiness, contemns
> The specious, heartless pleasures of the town.'

It was natural that Mr Carrington should think that persons who lived in the country, and had their time to themselves, and could get up every morning to see the sun rise, and write verses on it, must be happy. We suspect, however, that there is more heavy and wasted time in the country than in the town; and that, from the force of contrast and from greater activity of mind, towns-people have, as a class, the deeper feeling of the two for the beauties of external nature.

Mr Carrington's talent appears, on the whole, to the greatest advantage in his minor poems. At all events, the tedium of suc-

cessive descriptions made us read 'Wilverley' and 'The Land of the Logan,' with more unbroken pleasure than 'Dartmoor.' 'The Martyr Student' was a congenial subject to call out the sympathy of a teacher. It is an appropriate companion to a tender sketch of a consumptive child contained in the piece entitled 'My Native Village.' 'The Hell-weathers' is a striking description of the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel with two thousand seamen on the Scilly rocks. But our space confines us. Therefore our readers must be content with two very favourable specimens of his ability as a painter of sea pieces. The first is a description of the ground swell—the second of a storm.

'The winds of June are sleeping—the light cloud
Is motionless in heaven—the earth is still
And silent as at midnight—e'en the sea
To the blue offing his unruffled flood
Spreads, beautifully smooth. And yet, upheaved
From depths that know not summer calms, a surge
Breaks round this crescent bay, and all its arch
Magnificent is foam-fringed. Earth may droop
In the dull, drowsy noon—her million songs
Be deeply hush'd—the gales forget to breathe
Upon her grassy seas, and all her woods
Be strangely still; but Ocean never rests,
And if, soft kiss'd by summer winds, he wears
A smiling mien—the smoothness of his brow
Conceals an unquiet bosom. Far away,
E'en to the dim-seen headlands of the west,
I mark him rushing on the surf-swept strand;
And here, ere since his billows lash'd the shores
Of the resounding globe, his huge, dark wave,
Has met the rock in anger, and his voice
Has spoken—audibly—as now.
'Ye fields,
In austral beauty clad—ye savage cliffs,
That fringe them—ye wild headlands that have spurn'd
The shatter'd surges of six thousand years—
Ye reefs, and fretted caverns—and ye dark
And lonely isles—not always speaks the voice
Of Ocean thus, in music. There are strains
Of deeper meaning—fearful tones that rise
Around you oft—too startling for the ear
Of weak humanity. Oh! when the winds
To battle with the great Atlantic rush,
Far, far from you the shuddering seaman steers
His fear-wing'd bark; for, where the mighty rocks
Fling off the mountain wave, dread sounds are heard,
Amid the giant strife, that almost chill
The heart blood of the bravest.'

Mr Carrington shows that the terrors of the Atlantic had not been lost upon him.

> 'The evening winds shriek'd wildly; the dark cloud
> Rested upon the horizon's hem, and grew
> Mightier and mightier, flinging its black arch
> Around the troubled offing, till it grasp'd
> Within its terrible embrace, the all
> That eye could see of ocean. Then arose,
> Forth from the infinite of waters, sounds
> Confus'd—appalling; from the dread lee shore,
> There came a heavier swell, a lengthen'd roar,
> Each moment deeper, rolling on the ear
> With most portentous voice. Rock howl'd to rock,
> Headland to headland, as the Atlantic flung
> Its billows shoreward—and the feathery foam
> Of twice ten thousand broken surges sail'd
> High o'er the dim-seen land. The startled gull
> With scream prophetic sought his savage cliff,
> And e'en the bird that loves to sail between
> The ridges of the sea, with hurried wing,
> Flew from the blast's fierce onset.
>
> 'One—far off—
> One hapless ship was seen upon the deep,
> Breasting the western waters. Nothing lived
> Around her—all was desert—for the storms
> Had made old Ocean's realm a solitude,
> Where man might fear to roam. And there she sat
> A lonely thing amid the gathering strife,
> With pinions folded—not for rest—prepar'd
> To struggle with the tempest.
>
> 'And it came
> As night abruptly clos'd; nor moon nor star
> Look'd from the sky, but darkness deep as that
> Which reign'd o'er the primeval chaos, wrapt
> That fated bark, save when the lightning hiss'd
> Along the bursting billow. Ocean howl'd
> To the high thunder, and the thunder spoke
> To the rebellious ocean with a voice
> So terrible, that all the rush and roar
> Of waves were but as the meek lapse of rills,
> To that deep, everlasting peal which comes
> From thee, Niagara, wild flinging o'er
> Thy steep the rivers of a world. Anon
> The lightnings glar'd more fiercely, burning round
> The glowing offing with unwonted stay;
> As if they linger'd o'er the dark abyss,
> And rais'd its veil of horror but to show
> Its wild and tortured face. And then the winds
> Held oft a momentary pause,

As spent with their own fury; but they came
Again with added power—with shriek and cry,
Almost unearthly, as if on their wings
Pass'd by the spirit of the storm;
'They heard
Who rode the midnight mountain wave—the voice
Of death was in that cry unearthly. Oft
In the red battle they had seen him stride
The glowing deck, scattering his burning hail,
And breathing liquid flame, until the winds—
The very winds grew faint, and on the wave
Rested the column'd smoke; but on that night
He came with tenfold terrors—with a power
That shook at once heaven, earth; his ministers
Of vengeance round him—the great wind, the sea,
The thunder, and the fated flash! Alas!
Day dawn'd not on the mariner; ere morn
The lightning lit the seaman to his grave—
The sea-dog feasted on the dead!'

Certain poetry is like certain wines—the natives alone relish it. We are far from saying that no demand for the present volumes is to be expected out of Devonshire; but, as is the case with their cider and their cream, true Devonshire people, born and bred so, will best understand, and value them. There is another kind of poetry which is like another kind of wine; to be enjoyed in perfection, it must be drunk upon the spot. If Providence should ever grant us a day on Dartmoor or the Tamar, Mr Carrington's muse shall have the benefit of the experiment. His principal poems have all that we should want in a guide-book—and have blank verse besides. They are indeed a guide-book put into verse—and into much more quiet and well-conducted verse than would suit the ambitious genius of most of those dilettanti works. Fame is far too high and sacred a word to tamper with on so slight an occasion. But if Mr Carrington would have been satisfied himself with as much of the 'unfading 'wreath of fame,' as Mr Polwhele has acquired by his 'beautiful 'poem on the influence of local attachment'—and we suppose that he would have been so, from his verses in its honour,—thus far, we think, we may safely undertake for him. Mean time, we would advise his friends not to injure his honest credit by scheming or dreaming after more.

Art. IV.—*An Account of the present state of the Island of Puerto Rico.* By Colonel Flinter, of the General Staff of the army of her Most Catholic Majesty. 8vo. London: 1834.

This volume has the recommendation of presenting us with a full and interesting account of a valuable island, less known in this country than even Japan or Madagascar; and it possesses an additional value in our eyes, from being the production of a writer who has evidently formed his opinions on his own account. His sentiments do not savour of any class or school: on the contrary, he frequently advances, in the same breath, positions which are usually maintained by persons of opposite principles in political matters. Thus, being an officer in the service of Spain, he has a high respect for the administration of the late King Ferdinand, and a thorough contempt for all the various liberal sects which overturned his absolute throne, and have now taken his daughter under their protection. He moreover holds in utter abhorrence all the promoters of the South American revolution, and all persons and things connected with the new republican governments; which afford, it must be confessed, but too good grounds for his sarcastic remarks. Here, however, besides the feelings of the soldier and the royalist, additional bitterness is imparted to the Colonel's pen, by his recollection of the sufferings and losses of his 'father-'in-law, Don Francisco Arambureo, one of the wealthiest landed proprietors of Caraccas.' But at the same time he is a strong partisan of negro emancipation; and his book, written before, but published after, the passing of that great enactment by the British Parliament, contains some of the most pointed examples which have yet been adduced in its favour. He is moreover a political economist; and has garnished his pages with a great many citations from Say, who appears to be his favourite authority. But with all his ardour for the cause of free trade in general, he nevertheless impresses upon his government, the necessity of protecting the manufactures of the Peninsula: these he asserts the colonists of Cuba and Puerto Rico will not take, though as good and better than those of France and England, owing to a perverse prejudice; and they should be compelled, in his opinion, to adopt more impartial sentiments by the gentle arguments of the Custom House; while, on the other hand, they should be restrained from importing provisions from abroad, that they may be encouraged to develope their own agricultural resources. If, without entering into our military author's speculations on these subjects, we shall content ourselves with the facts which he has brought be-

fore us, concerning the present condition of this island, we shall find, in his details, some singular views of a state of society which was not believed to exist in the West Indies, and which, according to theories generally received amongst us, was *a priori* conceived impossible.

Colonel Flinter appears to have commanded, for several years, the regiment of Spanish troops which was in permanent garrison at Puerto Rico; and must have had ample opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with its internal condition. It will be perceived, no doubt, that his local partialities sometimes lead him into apparent overstatements and manifest contradictions; but every candid reader will make allowance for the spirit of exaggeration which appears occasionally to dictate his eulogies on his favourite colony.

The early history of Puerto Rico affords few features of interest. Although one of the oldest colonies of the Spanish crown, it served for three centuries only as a convict station; and its free population presented, until a few years ago, a marked specimen of the besotted indolence which characterised a Spanish settlement of the old times. The military and civil expenses were defrayed by remittances from Mexico; and it was not until the revolution caused these remittances to cease in 1810, that the island, owing to the extreme embarrassment of its financial condition, began to attract the notice of the mother country. In 1815 a decree was published in its behalf, distinguished, like many of the early acts of the restored government, by its enlightened sagacity. But this decree, whilst it greatly encouraged free industry, unfortunately at the same time gave an impulse to the employment of slave labour, which had hitherto been unused, rather from indolence and want of capital than from motives of humanity. Colonists were invited to the island on the most liberal terms—lands were allotted gratis—the settlers were freed from direct taxes, and, for a certain number of years, from the tithes and alcabala; as well as from the exportation duties, which formed one of the most impolitic features of the old Spanish system.

From the period of this decree, the advance of Puerto Rico in wealth and population has been unexampled, even in the virgin regions of America. A great additional impulse was given by the arrival of capitalists, driven by civil war from the Spanish Main;—men distinguished in the more prosperous times of South America for their steady regularity and probity in the transaction of business. Our limits will not allow us even to abridge our author's account of the rapid improvement of the island; and of the manner in which her soil has been cultivated, until she is become, next to Brazil and Cuba, the most formidable rival with

which our colonies have to contend in the production of their staple articles, and at the same time a granary competent to supply all the ordinary wants of her abundant population.

The island appears to be one of the most lovely of all those regions of loveliness which are washed by the Caribbean Sea. Even in that archipelago it is distinguished by the luxuriance of its vegetation and the soft variety of its scenery. It comprises every kind of tropical landscape in a space not much exceeding the area of one of the larger English counties. Like Jamaica, it is divided from east to west by a range of forest-covered mountains, which do not appear to exceed 3000 or 4000 feet in height, but which are sufficient to create a very marked difference of climate between their opposite declivities. The northern district is moist, subject not only to the periodical rains of the West Indies, but visited also by occasional showers. Hence its undulating surface is adapted for pasture and the more ordinary kinds of cultivation, and is intersected by numerous perennial rivers; whilst the southern part of the island is frequently without rain for many months together, although even here, water, according to our author, is always found at half a yard beneath the surface. The sugar-cane, notwithstanding the drought, thrives abundantly, and most of the chief plantations of the island are formed on this coast. This inestimable benefit of moisture, Puerto Rico derives from its forests, which as yet clothe a large portion of the interior; the thick cover at once attracting the rain and preventing evaporation. By the laws of the colony every person who cuts down a tree is bound to plant three in its place. But it is to be feared that a law so difficult of enforcement is habitually violated, and that it will come, like some other islands, which formerly exhibited a similar feature, to present a naked surface to the ineffectual vapours of the Atlantic: its fertility will then diminish, and its perennial rivers waste away; even as the clearing of the forests on various parts of the Mediterranean coasts,—in peninsular Greece and Sicily, for example,—which were well wooded within the historical era, has diminished the classical rivers of antiquity into mere occasional torrents.

Although the climate of Puerto Rico does not appear to differ materially, as far as its effects can be measured by instruments, from that of the other islands of the Gulf of Mexico, yet its inhabitants certainly seem to enjoy a more than ordinary exemption from the evils which afflict humanity in these sickly regions. The mortality, according to our author's tables, does not exceed that which prevails in some of the healthier countries of Europe. A still more singular characteristic appears to distinguish this island from its neighbours, namely, the great

deficiency of native animals of every sort; and especially the entire absence (if our author can be credited) of those noxious reptiles and insects which seem to inherit the rest of the West Indies as their peculiar possession.

The population of Puerto Rico amounted, according to the Spanish census of 1830, to 323,858; of which 127,287 were free people of colour, and 34,240 only, slaves. But as the numbers of all the classes were probably underrated; and as there was every inducement to return an under estimate of the slaves, in order to avoid the capitation, our author calculates, apparently on good grounds, the whole number at 400,000, and the slaves at 45,000; or nearly 180 inhabitants to the square mile.

Here, then, we have a free white population of 200,000 souls, or half the entire amount of inhabitants. What causes can have produced a result so utterly different from that which exists in all the West India islands, except those of Spain? Whence arises this numerous and prosperous Creole yeomanry, (for we shall see that a great proportion of them are owners or occupiers of land,) whilst other colonies are divided between a few white proprietors, and a degraded multitude of slaves, with hardly a vestige of an intermediate class? Such was not always the state of our own islands. Without admitting the exaggerated accounts of the early greatness of Barbadoes, we have abundant evidence that Antigua, St Kitts, Dominica, and other colonies, possessed, a hundred years ago, a multitude of English settlers; who have gradually dwindled away, by intemperance, by their own misconduct, and above all through the extension of the sugar cultivation, and of its companion the slave trade, to the small remnant which now exists. We believe, that if any causes should arise to give a sudden impulse to the colonial industry of this now happy Spanish island, it would soon follow—as Cuba is already following—the baneful course of our own settlements, and purchase wealth at the expense of happiness. But this is an opinion which our readers will be best enabled to estimate, by observing the results displayed in the work before us.

Of the free inhabitants of Puerto Rico, a very small proportion is settled in the towns: indeed, the capital, San Juan, with about 8000 souls, is the only place which seems to merit such a title. Some of the best, in point of connexions and respectability, are the descendants of military men, who, during the long period when the island was a mere garrison, formed alliances and settled within it. These people maintain the pride of their descent with all the stateliness of grandees; and some of them are opulent. Wealthy merchants and planters (many of whom are foreigners) form the next class; but the latter, fortunately for

the happiness if not for the riches of the island, form altogether but a small, and not now a very thriving class. The number of sugar estates is about 300; chiefly situated on the southern coast. They hardly pay at present, according to our author, the expenses of cultivation. But there are, in addition, some 1300 small plantations belonging to poor cultivators, who, growing only an acre or two of cane, devote their attention chiefly to the raising of provisions. There are 148 coffee estates; but in this branch of cultivation, as well as that of sugar, the larger capitalists have been gradually losing money and abandoning their estates; whilst the small farmer who pursues various lines of industry on his little tract of land, has been able, in this way, to increase his comforts.

It is this class which forms the distinctive feature of the population. A numerous race of cultivators—brave, for their courage was largely tried in the exigencies of the South American wars—of white blood, and Spanish feelings, opinions, and prejudices,—is something so widely different from what is to be found in our own islands or those of France—that we are almost tempted to abandon the principles of political economy, and to feel grateful for the want of enterprise, and slothful contentment, which undoubtedly have prevented the conversion of the island into one wide sugar factory, with white overseers and negro labourers. Our author gives the extraordinary number of 19,000 proprietors of land in perpetuity: nearly 18,000 of these are small occupiers, raising provisions and herding cattle. The Xivaros—as the white country population are called—are, it cannot be denied, an indolent race; who seem to multiply under an easy condition of existence, without adding much to the commercial wealth or social refinement of their country.

'Like the peasantry of Ireland, they are proverbial for their hospitality: and, like them, they are ever ready to fight on the slightest provocation. They swing themselves to and fro in their hammocks all day long, smoking their cigars, and scraping a guitar. The plantain grove which surrounds their houses, and the coffee-tree, which grows almost without cultivation, afford them a frugal subsistence. . . . . The cabins are thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree; the sides are often open, or merely constructed of the same sort of leaves as the roof—such is the mildness of the climate. Some cabins have doors, others have none. There is nothing to dread from robbers, and if there were banditti, their poverty would protect them from violence. A few calabash shells, and earthen pots—one or two hammocks made of the bark of the palm-tree—two or three game-cocks, and a *machete*—form the extent of their moveable property. A few coffee-trees and plantains, a cow and a horse, an acre of land in corn or sweet potatoes, constitute the property of what would be denominated a comfortable Xivaro—who, mounted on his

meagre and hardworked horse, with his long sword protruding from his baskets, dressed in a broad-brimmed straw-hat, cotton jacket, clean shirt, and check pantaloons, sallies forth from his cabin to mass, to a cock-fight, or to a dance, thinking himself the most independent and happy being in existence.'—Pp. 76–78.

'Riding out one afternoon in the country, I was overtaken by one of those sudden showers of rain so common in tropical climates. I fled for shelter to the nearest house, which happened to be the cottage of a poor Xivaro. It was on the slope of a little hill, surrounded by plaintain trees, which did not appear to be carefully cultivated, and a large patch of potatoes was close by. I placed my horse without ceremony under the projecting roof. I entered the humble dwelling with the usual salute, which is the same as in Ireland, "God save all here," which was courteously answered by the man of the house, who seemed to be about forty years of age. He was dressed in a check shirt and wide linen drawers. He was coiled up in a hammock of such small dimensions, that his body was actually doubled in two; one foot rested on the ground, with which he propelled the hammock to and fro; and at intervals with his great toe he turned a large sweet potato, which was roasting on a few embers, placed on a flag on the ground close to him, and which no doubt was intended for his evening meal. He had a guitar in his hand, from which he produced sounds which appeared to me discordant, but seemed to please him exceedingly. On my entrance he turned on his side, and offered me the hammock, which of course I refused to accept. Two small children, perfectly naked, were swinging to and fro in another small hammock, and greedily devouring large roasted plantains. The woman of the house was squatted on the floor, feeding four game-cocks, which were lodged in the best part of the house, while the husband every now and then would warn her not to give them too much corn or too much water. They received me with an urbanity unknown to the peasantry of Northern Europe. They placed a large leaf of the palm-tree over my saddle to protect it from the rain; and pressed me to sit down in the kindest manner. The host was very communicative; he gave me the whole pedigree of his game-cocks, and enumerated the battles they had won. He pointed out one to me which he said was "a most delicate bird," an expression made use of by the Xivaros to denote its great value; and he concluded by offering it to me as a present. Indeed a Xivaro would form a very poor opinion of a person who could not discuss the merits of a game-cock. In going away they offered me their cabin with as much politeness as if it had been a palace, and hoped to see me again. I was forcibly struck with the native courtesy of these people, and it gratified me to observe the content and happiness they enjoy, without a thought for the present or a care for the future—without wants, without wishes, without ambition.'—P. 80.

We cannot see, in the descriptions of character which the Colonel has here given, any symptoms of the industry which he elsewhere attributes to the husbandmen of Puerto Rico. But it is quite clear, that the spread of these tropical backwoodsmen

over the virgin soil of the island, has prevented it thus far from falling into the hands of the sugar monopolist: and it furnishes a sufficient answer to those who imagine that a European race, living by its own labour, cannot exist, where 80° is the average height of Fahrenheit's thermometer. With the gradual diffusion of education, of which our author admits that there is a lamentable deficiency, much of the grosser parts of their character may be progressively removed.

Puerto Rico produced in 1830, 414,000 quintals of sugar, 250,000 of coffee, and 35,000 of cured tobacco, besides other colonial produce; and it possessed, in addition, very numerous herds of cattle, divided among numerous proprietors—from the three or four who owned upwards of 1000 each, to the poorest of the free peasantry, who possessed a cow or two for the supply of their family. Its revenue is stated at 800,000 Spanish dollars; its whole expenses, civil and military, at 630,000.

The free coloured inhabitants of Puerto Rico are by far more numerous than in any other West India island; and this fact alone, —when we consider the ineradicable prejudice attaching to colour, which has brought such infinite misery, and social discomfort, over great part of the world,—speaks more than any eulogy in favour of its people and their government. The whole British West Indies contained, before 1834, not more than 80,000 free coloured inhabitants, in a population of ten times that amount: of these, sixteen thousand were to be found in Trinidad alone,—an island which had long been governed by Spanish laws. Although white blood is, in Puerto Rico, as every where else beyond the Atlantic, a patent of nobility, yet the Xivaro no more treats with contempt and contumely his inferior in caste, than the grandee of Old Spain, his inferior in station.

But the good treatment of the slaves is the basis upon which the polity of the island may be said chiefly to rest. Small as their number may be, we may safely say, that in every community in which slavery is recognised, it gives a character to the whole society;—that the people in general are licentious, cruel, disorderly, according to the estimate formed of the lowest class. The peculiarities of the Spanish character are as strongly marked in the New, as in the Old World. No national character, perhaps, is so deeply engrained with opposite hues of excellence and of evil. The same natural and fundamental goodness of disposition,—paradoxical as it may seem to speak thus of a people whose evil deeds are blazoned in the worst pages of European history,—prevails wherever the Castilian standard has been raised, and the industrious Catalan and Biscayan have assembled around it. The Spaniard is, above all mankind, subject to strong and overpowering passion. His

goodness of disposition, although radical, is but a passive quality, easily subdued by the prevalence of strong emotion. His reasoning powers are of the same character as his moral,—fundamentally good, yet swayed and distorted by every impulse of prejudice. Thirst of gold in former times, then zeal for religion, and lastly, the spirit of party, have roused up in him all the savage ferocity of which nature is capable. Yet in the worst crisis of the passions, when the evil spirit was silenced even for a moment in the bosom which it swayed, a natural and graceful kindliness of heart has often shone forth in full brightness. It was while the mania of avarice ruled the early conquerors of America, and seduced them into practices revolting to human nature, that the foundations were laid of a code of laws both for slaves and the native Indians, the spirit of which has ever since prevailed among the Spanish creoles, and which puts to shame the nations which arrogate to themselves exclusively the title of enlightened. Shallow thinkers have often entertained the paradox, that free states show less humanity in their colonies, than is shown in those under absolute monarchies. Of all West India annals, those of the French islands, before the Revolution, were perhaps the most darkly stained with cruelty. And the free states of South America, on the other hand, have not only followed, but have still farther extended, in the midst of their anarchy and factions, those principles of Christian mercy and justice, which Spain alone, until recently, knew and practised.

By the Spanish laws, the hours of labour, the amount of food and clothing, and various other particulars in the treatment of the slaves, are minutely and humanely specified. Owners are obliged to have their slaves instructed in the elements of Christianity, so that they may be admitted into the church by baptism within a year after their importation. Twenty-five stripes form the maximum of punishment. The regulations for the encouragement of marriage—according to our author's statement—are so favourable to the slaves, that they must frequently produce much hardship to the owner. These are only a few specimens of a clement code, which seems to be so seconded by the natural humanity of the people, as to leave as little of misery and shame attached to servitude, as is compatible with its miserable and shameful nature.

Thus far it is easy to agree with our author, upon the whole, in his estimate of the condition of his favourite island. The statements by which he endeavours to establish the practicability of sugar cultivation, by unrestricted labour, although highly encouraging, are not, we confess, wholly conclusive. But they form the most important passages in his book: and, on a question of such infinite importance—one, as yet undecided, and which awaits

for final decision the issue of the momentous experiment now in trial—all evidence is useful: and, we may add, without partiality, that all evidence which appears to bear on the side of truth and religion is peculiarly welcome.

In 1823, Jamaica, with 340,000 slaves, exported 1,400,000 quintals of sugar. Puerto Rico, with 45,000 slaves, produces about 410,000. The French colony of Guadaloupe, with twice as many slaves as Puerto Rico, produces an equal crop of sugar. The soil of the latter is far more fertile than that of the other islands, already in great measure exhausted. But, on the other hand, capital and industry form essential elements of the manufacture, in the British and French isles, while the Spaniards are far behind in all pursuits requiring either. From these premises our author concludes, not unreasonably, that a large proportion (which elsewhere, however, he calculates at one-fifth only) of this crop of sugar is raised by free labour.

But it must be remembered, that, besides the greater estates, there are in Puerto Rico some 1200 or 1300 small sugar plantations, the property of the Xivaros of the interior, who live cheaply and work lazily, but who contrive to raise a small quantity of this valuable article, together with provisions and cattle. If such rough cultivation as this succeeds at all, it can only be in consequence of the vast productiveness of the soil, cleared of its forests only within the last twenty years, which gives the planter the same advantage over his brethren to windward and leeward, as the settler of Illinois has over the cultivator of the worn out 'old fields' of the Atlantic coast. Such production can in the nature of things be only temporary. On the other hand, the great sugar estates, which must form the main sources of this commodity, are evidently cultivated here as elsewhere by slaves; and although at present the cultivation of sugar on a large scale is extremely unprofitable, a rise in its price would undoubtedly cause at once an increased importation of slaves, and the application of more capital and ingenuity to the business, until the small farmers would be driven from the market by the slave-owning capitalists. Many contingent events might occasion such a rise;—as a temporary diminution of the produce of the British islands; or an increased consumption in Great Britain in consequence of a reduction of the duty. Upon the whole, therefore, notwithstanding the flattering anticipations of our author, we cannot see, in the present state of Puerto Rico, much to justify his prophecy that slave labour will be permanently dispensed with, merely from the preference which free labour will find in the market.

At present the question of the future destiny of this beautiful

and happy island may be said to remain undecided. But it soon must call for a final adjustment. Slave labour, reinforced by the slave trade, cannot long coexist with the industry of a free race of cultivators. Puerto Rico, long neglected and unknown, now called into unexampled prosperity by the same causes which once raised cities and established small commonwealths in the windward islands, is fast reaching the same crisis in her fate which they reached; and it is in the power of the Spanish Government, by abolishing the slave trade, to enable her to pass that crisis in safety. The island is only preserved from presenting a spectacle similar to theirs, by a concurrence of circumstances which render the cultivation of sugar at present a disadvantageous investment of capital; and by its yet unexhausted soil, which affords an ample return of other colonial produce to such labour as her free husbandmen are inclined to bestow upon it. Remove that obstacle, and let capital flow into the island, together with an unrestricted slave trade, and Puerto Rico will follow the fortunes of Cuba. That island, when visited by Humboldt, thirty years ago, was chiefly tilled by the labour of freemen. But at the close of the war, the baleful influence of African importation began. One hundred and eighty-five thousand slaves were landed at the Havanna alone in fourteen years; a peaceful and industrious people became contaminated with vice and disorder of every kind; the slaves already exceed in numbers the white free population; and the old Spanish kindness and loyalty between master and slave has so far disappeared, and tyranny has so far begun its usual work, that the planters openly confess that one of the reasons for the importation of fresh slaves is, to supply the masters with a guard of Mamelukes against the discontented negroes of the colony. If the colonists of Puerto Rico will not follow the example, which Antigua alone of all the West Indian Islands has yet proclaimed, by setting her negroes free on the day when statutory emancipation began, without apprenticeship, or deduction from freedom of any kind, it is at least in the power of the crown of Spain, without injustice to any one, to cause the greater evil of the slave trade to cease; and to rescue one fair island,—one loyal and gallant people,—from the insidious advances of ruin. Would that we could with confidence anticipate this or any other good result, from the issue of the ill-omened struggle which now convulses that unfortunate monarchy!

Art. V.—1. *Statements as to the Proceedings of the Committee for Classing the Mercantile Marine.* By John Marshall, Esq. 8vo. London: 1829.

2. *The Mercantile Navy Improved.* By James Balingall, Esq. 8vo. London: 1832.

3. *Sea Insurance the Cause of Shipwreck.* 8vo. London: 1834.

On various occasions we have felt it to be our duty to expose the fallacy of the statements of the shipowners in ascribing the reduced rate of freight they have obtained of late years, and the other disadvantages under which they labour, to foreign competition. But though we have differed with them as to the source of their grievances, we never doubted as to their really existing: and every one aware of the vast magnitude and importance of our commercial marine, and of its subservience to the security and defence, as well as to the opulence of the country, must be heartily disposed to approve of any practical measures which, without being injurious to other interests, may tend in any degree to promote the prosperity of the shipowners. Some such measures have been, and others may be suggested; and it is not difficult to show, that while they are easy of adoption, and would be of signal service to our shipping, they are imperiously required by higher considerations, and cannot indeed be deferred without seriously compromising the interests of the public and of humanity.

The mercantile navy of Great Britain, including that of the plantations, consists at present of about 24,500 vessels, manned by about 160,000 seamen. The total burden of the registered vessels is about 2,650,000 tons; and valuing them, rigging and stores included, at a rough average, at L.10 per ton, the entire aggregate value of our mercantile shipping will be no less than L.26,500,000. Nothing surely ought to be omitted that may contribute in any degree to increase the security of so many valuable lives, and of so great a mass of property.

We regret, however, to have to state that these important national objects have been, and continue to be, very little attended to. Nothing, indeed, can be farther from our intention, in making this remark, than to recommend any vexatious interference with the rights of individuals: or even to insinuate that governments ought ever to undertake duties that may be as well, or nearly as well, performed by individuals. But there is a medium between too much interference and too little; and there are cases in which the latter may be quite as objectionable and

ruinous as the former. No person ever thought of blaming the Government for enforcing a general system of regulations as to pilotage, lighthouses and ballast. But there are other circumstances connected with shipping quite as well entitled to its attention, and where its judicious interference would be productive of even more advantage. These, however, have been entirely neglected; and in consequence of this culpable indifference practices have been allowed to grow up, and to exist for a lengthened period, the operation of which has been most destructive, and which have in fact occasioned the loss of many thousand lives, and of many millions' worth of property. This may seem to those not familiar with such subjects a startling statement; but unfortunately it is one as to the truth of which there can be no dispute.

Every one who reads the newspapers—and who does not?—has every now and then his feelings painfully touched by accounts of shipwrecks. In point of fact, however, the details as to the greater number of these catastrophes never find their way into the public prints. Many ships founder at sea—many are wrecked on distant shores—and, with few exceptions, it is those only that are cast away on our own coasts of the loss of which we ever hear. It might indeed have been supposed, seeing the vast improvements that have been made in astronomy, in the construction of chronometers, in the art of navigation, the accurate charts that have been published of most seas and places of general resort, the erection of lighthouses and beacons, and the various means and devices that have been fallen upon for lessening the dangers incident to navigation, that it would now be comparatively safe. But such, we regret to say, is not the case. In so far at least as England is concerned, shipwreck is at present more prevalent than ever, and has indeed grown to an excess that is quite frightful, and which has begun forcibly to excite the public attention. It appears from an examination of Lloyd's List from 1793 to 1829, that the losses in the British mercantile navy only, amounted, at an average of that period, to 557 vessels a-year. In 1829 the casualties were as follows:—'*On* '*foreign voyages*, 157 wrecked; 284 driven on shore, of which '224 are known to have been got off, some with more and some 'with less damage; twenty-one foundered or sunk; one run 'down; thirty-five abandoned at sea, eight of which were after-'wards carried into port; twelve condemned as unseaworthy; 'eight upset, one of them righted; twenty-seven missing, one of 'them a packet, no doubt foundered. *Coasters and colliers*, 109 'wrecked; 297 driven on shore, of which 121 are known to 'have been got off, and probably more; sixty-seven foundered

'or sunk, four of them raised, six run down; thirteen abandoned, 'five of them afterwards brought into port; three upset, two of 'them righted; sixteen missing, no doubt foundered. During 'the year four steam-vessels were wrecked; four driven on 'shore, but got off, and two sunk.'* This enormous loss has not diminished in the interval, but has gone on increasing. In 1833, no fewer than 800 merchant ships, or a *thirtieth part* of the whole number of ships belonging to the British dominions, including the plantations, were either entirely lost or driven on shore! Of the prodigious number of ships that are thus annually engulfed many are laden with valuable cargoes; so that besides the loss of lives and of ships consequent to such an appalling extent of shipwreck, there is also a great loss of mercantile and other property.

A good deal of this wide spread calamity must no doubt be ascribed to the casualties naturally incident to a navy, whose flag is displayed on every sea, however remote or dangerous. But we are, notwithstanding, well convinced that more than *two-thirds*, we believe we might safely say *three-fourths*, of the total number of shipwrecks are ascribable to entirely different causes; —to the vicious customs and regulations under which the business of sea insurance is conducted, the defective construction of ships resulting therefrom, and the incompetence of the masters.

I. However advantageous, insurance, whether of ships or houses, is not without its evils. It procures security, but it is at the same time apt to generate carelessness, and occasionally fraud. Those whose ships are insured cannot be expected to be in all respects so attentive to their condition, and to the fitness of the master, as if they had to bear the whole risk of the adventure. But the mischief does not stop here, and it is a fact established by the records of our judicial proceedings, and of which there cannot otherwise be the least doubt, that ships and goods have been sent to sea in order that they might be cast away, and a profit made at the expense of the insurers. There is not, however, any good ground for thinking that the losses that may be fairly traced to the operation of the circumstances now mentioned are at all considerable. It must be conceded that, generally speaking, caution and vigilance are diminished by the practice of insurance; but its influence in this respect is not material; and the miscreants who insure ships in the view of profiting by their loss, like those who insure houses with the intention of setting them on fire, do not amount, compared with

* See M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, second edition, p. 1268.

those who resort to insurance in order to acquire a guarantee against an unforeseen and accidental calamity, to *one in a hundred*. It is absurd, therefore, to affirm, as some have done, that insurance is of itself the cause of the excessive amount of shipwrecks. It would, we are well convinced, be too large an allowance if we supposed that twenty out of the 800 ships wrecked in 1833 met their fate in consequence of the carelessness or fraud occasioned by insurance. The temptation to neglect or destroy insured houses, warehouses, &c. is quite as great as the temptation to neglect or destroy insured ships. But, except in the case of incendiary fires, which have a totally different object and origin, it is not believed that *one* fire in *fifty* originates otherwise than in the merest accident. And it is well that such is the case. For had the prevalence of shipwreck depended on any thing in the nature or of the essence of insurance, the evil, how much soever it might have been deplored, would have been quite incurable. In highly civilized societies insurance will always exist, and it is in truth one of the least equivocal proofs and advantages of civilisation. But though it were otherwise, we might just as well try to prevent men from dealing in bread and butter as in risks. If it could be prevented, the consequences would be fatal. Not one man in twenty who has capital vested in ships would ever have placed it there, or would continue to hold it, were it not for insurance—were it not that by paying a small sum as a premium he acquires a security against loss; and that consequently his stock, though it may be floating on the Atlantic or Pacific ocean, is really as secure as if he had vested it in land or houses in his native parish. Those who propose putting down insurance might as well begin by putting down navigation. The latter is dependent for its extraordinary increase on the former—on the security which it affords to the merchant and shipowner, and without which the one would not commit his goods nor the other his ships *truci pelago*.

But, though there is nothing in the nature of sea insurance to warrant the complaints made against it, the mode in which it has been long conducted in Great Britain has been in the last degree objectionable. To insure a ship on right principles, or so that the premium shall be the proper equivalent of the risk, is no easy matter. The risk, and, consequently, the premium, depends partly on the condition of the ship and the capacity of the master and crew—partly on the nature of the cargo she is to take on board—and partly on the voyage she has to perform. The last two circumstances disclose themselves, and their influence may be appreciated, at least with sufficient accuracy for practical pur-

poses, without any difficulty. But it is far otherwise with the condition of the ship and the fitness of the crew. It is essential to the adjusting of an insurance on fair and equal terms, that these should be known: whilst it is at the same time exceedingly difficult to acquire any accurate information with respect to them.

Different means for ascertaining the condition of ships have been adopted in different nations. It is not, however, merely true, that the means hitherto adopted in Great Britain for the attainment of this object have been utterly ineffectual; it is farther true, that they have contributed, in a far greater degree than any thing else, to deteriorate our shipping, and consequently to multiply shipwrecks and disasters at sea. It is impossible, indeed, to imagine any system less calculated to promote that for which it was intended, or better calculated to promote that for which it was not intended. There is obviously but one mode of learning any thing satisfactory as to the condition of ships, and that is by having them inspected by persons of competent knowledge, during their construction; or, if the information be desired at a subsequent period, by having some of the planks taken off, and a thorough examination made of the state both of the hull and the rigging. How little soever an individual may be acquainted with shipbuilding, every one must perceive that an inspection of this sort is absolutely indispensable to enable any thing like a fair estimate to be formed of the state of the ship. It signifies nothing to be told that such a ship is new and such another old. If all ships were built in the same way and of the same materials, with the same care and exposed to the same wear and tear, the age of the vessel would be a tolerably good criterion of her condition. But there is as wide a difference between the mode in which, and the materials of which, different ships are constructed, as there is between St Paul's Cathedral and the meanest hovel in Wapping. Some ships are built wholly or principally of oak or teak, whilst others are built wholly or principally of fir; some are double planked, whilst others are only planked outside the timbers; some are copper-fastened, and others not; the timbers, knees, and beams of some are sufficient in number and of adequate scantlings, whilst those of others are deficient both in number and strength, and so forth. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive any thing more completely different, than the construction of different ships. There are not a few instances of ships being so defectively built, that they have foundered and gone to pieces on their first voyage, while others have run for twelve, fifteen, and twenty years, or upwards, with but little repair.

But, notwithstanding the criterion of age is thus really worth less than nothing, as a rule by which to judge of a ship's condition, it is *the only one that has for a long period been referred to in this country.* Since about the year 1760, or perhaps earlier, ships have been arranged by the underwriters at Lloyd's, in classes marked by the letters A, E, I, and O, and the figures 1, 2, and 3,—the former referring to the hull of the ship and the latter to the rigging. A ship marked A. 1, is in the highest class; one marked E. 1, in the next; one marked I, 1, is in the lowest available class; formed of such as are fit only for carrying coals, or other goods not liable to sea damage, along the coast: those marked O, are unseaworthy. But to get into the highest class, and to be allowed to continue there for a certain number of years, no examination of the ship, or none worthy of the name, has been required. Unless some very flagrant defect be obvious in her construction, she is entitled to stand for a certain number of years, varying according to the port in which she is built, in the highest class, or in A 1. This is sufficiently absurd; but the whole extent of the injury thence arising is not immediately obvious. Supposing two ships were built at the same time, in London or any other port—that one has been constructed of the best materials and in the best way, whilst the other has been constructed of the worst materials and in the most defective manner: those two ships would be placed side by side in the class A 1. The underwriters, seeing them there, would, without farther enquiry, insure them at the *same premium;* and the merchants would, for the same reason, be quite as willing to freight the one as the other! The temptation to construct what are called *slop-built* ships, of the worst construction, is therefore quite irresistible. For a half, or at most two-thirds of what would be required to construct a good and really seaworthy ship, a shipowner gets an inferior vessel, of equal burden, sent to sea; and, owing to the matchless absurdity of the system of classification, the worthless ship is placed in the same rank with the superior—enjoys all the advantages such distinction can give—and is, in the public estimation, deemed quite as good and as deserving of employment as the other. This is a more copious source of shipwreck than all the currents, fogs, and rocks that infest our seas; but it is not the only one. At the end of a certain number of years, never exceeding twelve, and seldom less than six, both the ships referred to above would be degraded to the class E; and yet it may happen that the well-built ship is, when so degraded, better entitled to continue in the class A, than the ill-built ship was ever to be in it. But even this does not exhaust the whole absurdity of this preposterous scheme; for, supposing that the well-built ship had

been so thoroughly repaired, as to be quite as good as the day she came off the stocks, and that the inferior ship had got no repair at all, still they would both be placed side by side in the class E! We challenge any one to produce in all the annals of all the maritime nations of the world, from the Phœnicians downwards, any instance of a regulation so perverse, contradictory, and absurd. That it should have subsisted amongst us for the greater part of a century, strikingly illustrates the influence of association and of habit in making men insensible to the mischief of perpetuating the most destructive practices and errors.

But, though it still keeps its ground, the practice has at different periods, and particularly of late years, been much objected to. In consequence principally of the strenuous and laudable exertions of Mr Marshall, the author of one of the works, the title of which is prefixed to this article, the evils of the present system were brought forcibly under the notice of the merchants, shipowners, insurers, &c., of the metropolis; and, in 1824, a committee, consisting of representatives from these different bodies, was appointed to enquire into and report on the subject. This committee collected a great deal of valuable evidence; and seems, indeed, to have performed the duty intrusted to it with equal ability and discretion. The Report of the committee was laid before a general meeting of merchants, shipowners, &c., on the 1st of June, 1826; and any one who looks into it will be satisfied that we have done any thing but give a coloured or exaggerated view of the mischiefs originating in the present system. The following extracts, to which it is unnecessary to call the reader's attention, will more than bear out all that we have stated:—

'From the absence of all control on the original construc-
'tion of ships while building,—and the impossibility of ascer-
'taining by any inspection after completion their real quality,—
'it appears to be indisputably proved, by an almost uniform con-
'currence of testimony, that the first character, or A. 1, is indis-
'criminately extended to ships differing widely in strength, du-
'rability of materials, and all those qualities on which character
'ought to be dependent; that many ships to which the first
'class is assigned are decidedly inferior to others which are
'placed, from lapse of time alone, in a lower class; that many
'become totally unfit for the conveyance of dry cargoes, long
'before the expiration of the period during which they are en-
'titled, according to the present system, to remain on the first let-
'ter, in which they are notwithstanding continued; that instances
'are on record of first class ships, which have been unfit from
'their origin for the conveyance of dry cargoes; and some are
'declared to have been hardly fit, when new, to proceed to sea

'with safety. One case is even adduced, in which, from ill construction, and insufficiency of fastening in a *new ship*, her insecurity *was predicted*, and she actually *foundered on her first voyage;* and yet this identical vessel was ranked, according to the indiscriminate system pursued, in the *first class*.

'Such, as respects *new* ships, appears by the evidence to be the practical results of a system, which, assuming to designate by marks their intrinsic quality, provides no means of actually ascertaining that quality; but offers in effect, a premium for the building of inferior and insufficient ships, by the inducement it holds forth to fraudulent construction; and by the equality of character it indiscriminately extends to the best and the worst ships built at the same port.

'Nor, your committee regret to have to report, is the evidence of the errors, inconsistencies, and evils arising from the existing system, as applied to *old* ships, by any means less conclusive. By the *refusal to restore character, in consequence of repairs, however extensive*, the inducement to maintain ships in an efficient state is removed; whilst from the absence of all regular provision for stated or periodical examination, their efficiency or inefficiency is rendered dependent upon the varying views, the caprices, or the interests of the proprietors. Hence though the second character, or E 1, is declared by the rules of the system to be the designation of ships which, having lost the first character from age, are "kept in perfect repair, and appear on survey to have no defects, and to be completely calculated to carry dry cargoes with safety," the whole body of evidence distinctly proves that character to be in very numerous instances assigned to ships, which, from original defect or want of requisite repairs, are *utterly unfit and unsafe* for dry cargoes; while others which, from sound constitution or efficient reparation, are pronounced in the evidence to be superior to many new ships, are indiscriminately classed with the actually worthless and unseaworthy. Hence, too, the employment of ships after they have passed the period prescribed by a fallacious standard of classification, becomes uncertain, precarious, and difficult: the ship-owner is injured; the shipper and underwriter misled; the building of superior ships, capable of long service, is discouraged; and *direct inducement* is held out to the construction of those of an inferior description; the general character of our mercantile marine is degraded; and it is to be feared that, could the system be traced to its ultimate results, it would be found to be productive of a lamentable loss of property and life.'

Besides operating as a large bounty on, and a powerful incentive to, the construction of *slop-built* worthless ships, preventing all thorough repair, and causing an unequalled extent of shipwrecks and loss of property, this system is one of the main causes of the low rate of freight and of the distress of the shipping interest. It must have always appeared inexplicable to those not pretty well acquainted with the arcana of the trade that, notwithstanding the long continued, loud, and probably exaggerated, but still, on the whole, well-founded complaints of the ship-owners, from *seven hundred* to *a thousand* new ships should be annually built and sent to sea. To a superficial observer this would seem to establish that our shipping interest was in the most prosperous state imaginable; but those who look a little more closely into it, will find that it does no such thing. The demand for new ships is mainly factitious, and arises out of the vicious system of classification. Hitherto the object has not been to build a really good and durable vessel, and to keep her always in sufficient repair, but to construct a *slop-built* ship that should be about *run off her legs* in ten years or thereby. The reason is, that she will then, whatever be her condition, be degraded from the class A. 1; and that it is hardly possible, in most departments of trade, to find a merchant to employ, on any thing like reasonable terms, a ship to which these symbols of imaginary excellence are not attached. Hence the shipowner, instead of repairing his ten year old ship, sells her for what she will fetch, and builds a new one. But the person who has purchased the ship degraded to E. 1, forces her, though at an enormous reduction, into business; so that there are *two* bad ships in the field, whereas, under a reasonable system of classification, there would be only *one* good ship. The injury that this does to the shipping interest is too obvious to require being pointed out. It is no exaggeration to affirm that it has been fifty times more adverse to it than all those reciprocity treaties, and that foreign competition about which there has been so much idle clamour. 'If the system of classification 'were founded on the principle of *intrinsic merit*, if the real effi- 'ciency of the ship formed the basis on which character was 'given, the consequence in numerous instances would be, that in- 'stead of supplying the place of those ships that at present lapse 'from *age only* into the second class with new ones, the owners 'would effectually repair the existing ships, so that there would 'speedily be, not only a material improvement in the construction 'of ships, but a material decrease in the amount of tonnage, and 'a corresponding increase in the rate of freight.'—(MARSHALL'S *Statement*, p. 19.)

The conclusive Report previously referred to, and the evidence

by which it was supported, were drawn up and collected, as already stated, so far back as 1826. It might have been expected that, after such an exposition, measures would have been immediately taken for effecting a total change in a system productive of such disastrous results. But instead of this, the Report seems to have been very soon forgotten. Government does not, for reasons best known to itself, appear ever to have thought that this was a matter with which it had any thing to do; and, owing to the difficulty of breaking through long established practices, the old system flourishes in rank luxuriance, annually engulfing our ships by hundreds, and our seamen by thousands!

But the enormity of the evil has at last led the merchants, shipowners, and underwriters, to take measures for carrying into effect the suggestions in the Report of 1826, by classifying ships, not according to their age, but according to their construction, as ascertained by the reports of competent inspectors. The plan which the committee has proposed seems very judicious, and it would, were it carried into effect, certainly be productive of the greatest advantage. But we are thoroughly satisfied, as well from the nature of the thing, as from the statements of some of the most intelligent shipowners, that it is not possible to form, in the first instance, or to maintain, a correct system for the classification of ships, without the sanction and co-operation of government. It is indispensable to the existence of such a system, that ships should be inspected at different times while they are building, and periodically afterwards, by surveyors of undoubted ability, experience, and character. But the services of such men cannot be secured otherwise than by allowing them competent salaries; and unless Government interfere, we see no means by which these can be paid. The proposed plan is, as we are given to understand, that a classified register of all ships should be annually published, and sold at a certain price to the subscribers, that is, to all the more eminent shipowners, underwriters, merchants, &c.; and that the salaries of the surveyors should be paid from the produce of the sale of this book, and other voluntary sources. But it is obvious that a scheme of this sort must speedily fall to pieces. If the surveyors be men of character, and do their duty honestly and fairly, they must very soon give serious offence to many individuals, who will, of course, withdraw from the association, or endeavour to get it remodelled. Complaints, jealousies, and divisions will arise; so that it requires little discernment to foresee that its operations will, at no remote period, be either paralysed or suspended. Inasmuch, too, as every thing must depend, in classifying ships according to their real condition, on the surveyors, it is clear that they ought not only to be allowed ample salaries, but that

these salaries should be quite independent of the good or ill will of those whose property they are to inspect and report upon. If it be otherwise, the appointment of surveyors will necessarily open a door for the most flagrant jobbing: and, execrable as the present system is, such a substitute for it would undoubtedly be, if it could hold together, a good deal worse. The surveyors are to be *Judges* in matters of great difficulty and importance; and it is in every respect as essential that they should be independent of those whose property is to be submitted to their inspection, as that judges in courts of law should be independent of those upon whose conflicting claims they have to decide.

It would be worse than useless to take up the reader's time, by entering into any lengthened arguments to establish the right and duty of the government to interfere in a case of this sort. No one doubts the propriety of its interfering to render navigation secure, and to obviate the chances of shipwreck, by enacting regulations as to lighthouses, pilots, &c. But the defective classification of ships occasions more shipwrecks than all the other causes of that calamity put together; and if it be right and proper for government to interfere to counteract the least copious sources of loss, can any one doubt that it is bound to interfere to counteract those which are incomparably more mischievous? Governments should not interfere in matters of this sort, unless their interference be calculated to obviate some considerable evil, or to accomplish some considerable good, which cannot otherwise be obviated or accomplished. Now the case in question is clearly of this description. The evil to be avoided is of the most flagrant description; it is the annual loss of hundreds of ships, of thousands of lives, and of a vast amount of property; and the good to be effected consists not merely in the obviating of this enormous evil, but embraces the improvement of our mercantile marine, and the advancement of the interests of the public, as well as those of the shipowners. We say the interests of the public; for, exclusive of the loss of life, the increased premiums required under the present system to indemnify the insurers, and the increased wages required to tempt men into so hazardous a business, all go to increase the freight of commodities, and consequently fall, in the last place, on the public.

It is, in fact, altogether nugatory to imagine that the crying evils of the present system can be eradicated or even materially mitigated without the interference of the legislature. The underwriters have little interest in the matter, for they raise their premiums so as to cover their risks. The more respectable part of the shipowners wish for an alteration in the present system; but that large class who send to sea *slop-built* ships, and the buyers of ships degraded to E. 1,

have no wish of the kind, but the reverse. The merchant is much in the same state as the underwriter: he insures, and includes the premium in the cost of the goods, so that, as already stated, the loss falls on the public. The seamen are the only class who have a direct, positive, and, it might be thought, overpowering interest in getting the present system abolished, and a better established in its stead; but, in point of fact, they care less about it than any one else. The frequency of shipwrecks makes parents keep their sons, in as far as possible, from going to sea; but, when once they have embarked in a seafaring life, a ship must be worthless indeed if a small increase of wages does not procure for her abundance of hands. Unless, therefore, the government and the legislature lay it down that the preservation of the lives of seamen, and the prevention of shipwreck, are objects beneath their attention, they are bound to interfere, and to adopt and enforce such regulations as may ensure an accurate classification of ships.

At present, no ship is permitted to enjoy the privileges of a British ship unless she be navigated by a certain number of British seamen according to her tonnage. But surely if the legislature interferes by a regulation of this sort to force his Majesty's subjects on board ships, it should take care that these ships are seaworthy. It cannot refuse to do this without a gross violation, not of humanity merely, but of the most obvious principles of justice.

That there are considerable difficulties in the way of a proper system of classification no one can doubt; but they would be easily overcome were government to take up the subject in a proper spirit. The first object should be to prevent, in as far as possible, favouritism and jobbing in the appointment of surveyors. To accomplish this, it has been suggested that committees should be formed in London and a few of the principal outports, consisting of some of the principal merchants, underwriters, shipowners, and shipbuilders; and that these committees should have, in rotation, the power to name two individuals as surveyors on every vacancy; and that the Lords of the Admiralty, or the elder brethren of the Trinity-House, should be authorized, after conferring with the Surveyors of the Navy, to select one of them to fill the office. As the power to be intrusted to the surveyors would be very considerable, it would be necessary, in order to prevent its abuse, to allow all shipowners who considered themselves aggrieved by their decision, to appeal to some other tribunal; and one might be framed for this purpose, consisting of another surveyor, one or two of the elder brethren of the Trinity House,

and one of the Admiralty Surveyors. It is not supposed that the expense of the whole scheme would exceed L.18,000 or L.20,000 a-year; and it might be defrayed by charging a small sum per ton when the ship was built and registered, and at each subsequent inspection.

But though the expense of the classification were to amount to L.25,000 or even L.30,000 a-year, and though it were to be made a charge on the consolidated fund, that surely could be no objection to the proposal. Our financial situation must be wretched indeed, if we should grudge such a sum to obviate one of the principal causes of shipwrecks. We have given generously, no doubt, but at the same time wisely, *twenty millions* to effect, with justice to all parties, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies; and having done this, it would be rather too much to refuse to give L.20,000 to prevent the annual sacrifice of some hundreds, if not thousands, of our seamen. Economy, when rightly understood, is a good thing; but it is no economy to save a shilling at the expense of a pound; and such will assuredly be the case if an improved statutory classification of ships be opposed on the ground of its costing a few thousand pounds. The fact is, that though the public were to expend L.100,000 a-year on this object, they would be, even in a pecuniary point of view, prodigious gainers seeing that the property that is annually engulfed and lost, because of the existing system, amounts to many times that sum.

II. But the interference of government must not stop here. An erroneous classification of shipping is one great cause of shipwreck, but it is not the only one. The ignorance and incapacity of the commanders and officers is another and hardly a less copious source of disaster. Officers of the navy are all subjected to a course of discipline, and are obliged to undergo certain examinations as to their proficiency in seamanship. This, also, was the case with the officers of the East India Company's ships, which were exceedingly well navigated. Indeed, the Company trusted entirely for protection to the goodness of their ships, and the skill of their officers and men; it not being their practice ever to insure. But the masters and officers of ordinary merchant ships are not subjected to any specific training or any regular examination. Every thing is left to mere individual investigation and selection; and this, as every one knows, depends almost wholly on accident; or, which is nearly equivalent to it, on the skill, industry, liberality, &c. of the shipowner. Every one must be satisfied that masters so chosen cannot fail of being

in many instances very ill qualified for their business. Few, however, have any notion of the extent of the mischief thence arising. But we have, at this moment, a letter before us, from a gentleman of undoubted information, and most extensively connected with the business of insurance, in which he states that, in his opinion, *nearly half the losses at sea may be ascribed to the ignorance, incapacity, and carelessness of the masters and officers.* Perhaps there may be some exaggeration in this; but supposing that only a third part, or that 266 out of the 800 vessels, wrecked in 1833, were lost through the incapacity of the masters, is not that enough not merely to justify government interfering to avert so great an evil, but to make such interference a positive duty?

The interposition of government in a case of this sort is not only absolutely just and necessary, but it is conformable to the highest authority. The famous French Ordinance of 1681, admitted by Lord Mansfield, the late Lord Tenterden, and every other authority, to be the best digested, most complete, and perfect body of maritime law that has ever been promulgated, has the following article:—*Aucun ne pourra ci après être reçu capitaine, maître, ou patron de navire, qu'il n'ait navigué pendant cinq ans, et n'ait été examiné publiquement sur le fait de la navigation, et trouvé capable par deux anciens maîtres, en presence des officiers de l'Amirauté et du Professeur d'Hydrographie, s'il y en à dans le lieu.*—(Liv. ii. tit. i. § i.) A similar article has been inserted in the *Code de Commerce;* and in 1825 the French government issued an Ordinance specifying in detail the qualifications that are necessary before any one can obtain a certificate of his fitness either to command a ship on a foreign or on a coasting voyage;—the persons who are to examine candidates, and the rules that are to be observed in the examination. Some similar ordeal ought certainly to be established in this country. The authority of the master is so very great, and the trust reposed in him, including not merely the ship and goods of his employers, but the lives of the crew and passengers, is so exceedingly important, that it is the bounden duty of the public to provide that it be not committed to ignorant or incapable hands. We have just seen what have been the consequences of the neglect of such precautions in this country; and after such a public exposure, we are slow to believe that any government can be so forgetful of its duty, as to delay introducing measures adequate to prevent such abuses, by making sure that those to whom the command of ships is intrusted know something of their business.

Perhaps it would at first be enough to enact, that no ship which cleared out for an *oversea* voyage, should be deemed a British ship, unless her master and the second in command had received

a certificate of fitness from the proper authorities. This would leave it to the owners to take whom they pleased as masters of coasting vessels; but we believe the better way would be to oblige all masters of vessels, above a specified tonnage, without regard to their destination, to be selected from among certificated persons.

Boards for the proper examination of candidates might be established in London and the other great seaport towns; and, were the system once put in motion, which it might be without any difficulty, and very little expense, we venture to say that it would, in a very short time, have the most beneficial influence.

III. The way in which the tonnage or capacity of ships is ascertained in this country has had an injurious influence on their construction. Dock, harbour, light, and other dues, with the number of men and apprentices, &c., are generally proportioned to the registered tonnage, so that it is of considerable importance to have it as low-rated as possible. Were ships measured on a proper principle, it would, of course, be out of the question to attempt gaining any thing in this way. But we have been for a lengthened period in the habit of determining a ship's tonnage by her length and breadth merely, without regard to her depth, or the curvature of her sides. During the war, when the dock and other dues were very heavy, this preposterous regulation led to the building of ships of a ridiculously disproportioned depth. Latterly it has not been so injurious; but it still continues to exert a material influence. Such a system ought to be put an end to. We do not know whether the bill for that object that was introduced two sessions ago, was the best that might have been devised; but it would, at all events, have been a great improvement on the present practice, and, if nothing better can be had, we hope it will be allowed to pass.

When a new system of classification is laid down, it will be necessary to prescribe the general rules or principles according to which all ships entitled to rank A. 1 are to be built. There is a great deal of valuable information on this subject in the work of Mr Ballingall, the title of which is prefixed to this article. He has produced many instances of shipwrecks, attended with the most frightful loss of life, that were entirely owing to the defective construction of the vessels, and when, had they been properly constructed, no loss, either of property or life, would have ensued.

We have again and again urged the repeal or modification of the timber duties. If there be one article that a manufacturing and maritime nation ought to endeavour to obtain of the best quality, and at the lowest possible price, timber is that article.

But our policy, if we may call it so, is exactly the reverse. We do our best to innoculate our ships and our houses with dry rot, by levying a duty of 55s. per load on the best timber, while we admit the worst at a duty of 10s.! To comment on such a regulation would be to insult the common sense of our readers. But as it is highly esteemed, we presume, on account of its contradiction and glaring impolicy, we need not, we are afraid, look for its speedy abolition. We do, however, hope, that, whatever may become of our houses and our machinery, our ships will, at least, be exempted from the operation of this most mischievous law. This may be easily done, by allowing them to be built *in bond;* and were such leave given, British ships would be decidedly cheaper than those of any other nation; and we might, if we chose, not only supply the world with cottons, but also with ships.

But we must have done. Of the 800 shipwrecks that occurred in 1833, we have been well assured that not more than 200, or at most 250, can be fairly ascribed to natural causes. The remaining 550 or 600 shipwrecks are wholly owing to the absurd and vicious classification of our shipping; and to the ignorance, incapacity, and carelessness of the masters. We have shown how these causes of a destruction of life and property, unparalleled in the history of navigation, may be easily, cheaply, and effectually obviated; and we trust that the next time we have to notice this subject will be to announce that the measures specified above, or others of a like import, have been carried into effect.

Art. VI.—*Lyrical Compositions, selected from the Italian Poets, with Translations.* By James Glassford, Esq. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1834.

We have been greatly pleased with this little volume, as much from its general character as from the grace and polish of its execution. It is evidently the production of one possessing a quick natural sensibility to poetical beauty, improved by art and study, and no inattentive or unsympathizing observer of the poetry of our times. It is equally evident, however, that he has no very cordial admiration of its object or tendencies: the march of modern poetry he thinks imposing and magnificent enough, but its progress appears to him to be entirely in a wrong direction; and he pretty plainly insinuates that there are not a few Pistols and Parolles among the ranks. Accordingly, he will on no account march through Coventry with them. He turns his back

on the whole glittering and noisy pageant, and betakes him to the quiet and almost deserted quarters they have left behind them.

To a considerable extent, we think a similar feeling now begins to be pretty generally diffused. There are symptoms of *reaction* in poetry, if they are not to be found in politics;—an impression gradually gaining ground, that 'the movement'—the poetry of passion and impetuosity, of vehement sensations and violent action, has been carried forward 'something too wildly,' and that a return to the calmer and more contemplative spirit of our earlier poets would not be undesirable. As the artificial and frigid taste of the eighteenth century, pushed too far, produced in the nineteenth a sudden return to the rude energy of style and natural simplicity which distinguish the childhood of poetry—so, again, this principle of freedom had begun to run into 'wasteful 'and ridiculous excess;' impressing upon the poetry of the day an unnatural vehemence of action—a hyperbolical exaggeration of tone—an irregularity of structure—and a capricious ruggedness and coarseness of style. Our descriptive poetry was becoming political—our didactic, polemical—our narrative, *convulsive*. The first symptom of a return to better taste, was the more than indifference which the public began to show to such compositions: they had learned to be dissatisfied with what they had, though they did not yet exactly perceive what they wanted. Gradually these convictions became clearer, and were brought into action: here and there some volume, breathing a purer, calmer, and more philosophic spirit, stole upon the public notice, and was received with a welcome, which showed that it was not to poetry, but only to bad poetry, that the world was indifferent.

The reception lately given to Mr Taylor's 'Philip Van Arte-'velde,' a work conceived in a grand and simple spirit, sufficiently proves to us that there is no want of sensibility on the part of the public to compositions of a classic character. The love of the strained, the gigantic, and the irregular, which Mr Glassford seems, from his preface, to regard as characteristic of our times, is really rather a past than a present taste. We appear to have bequeathed it to France, which, like most imitators, is even exaggerating our exaggerations. In every department of poetry and fiction we think the tendency at present is towards a return to a more subdued and equable tone of sentiment,—a more chastened and less hyperbolical style. We cannot indeed revert implicitly to those views of poetry which prevailed during the golden age of our literature, or re-create in the nineteenth century the strains of the sixteenth; nor would it be desirable if it were possible. Each age of course stamps its own character on its poetry; and as the men differ so must the

spirit which animates their productions. But we are likely, we think, so far to recur to the principles and practice of our elder worthies as to abate something of that undue prominence which had latterly been given to action, and passionate excitement, over more tranquil feelings and pictures; to seek for originality rather in the new and harmonious combinations of natural and familiar emotions, than in the conception of strange situations and moral problems; and to trust, not to the effect of insulated and fragmentary scenes and passages worked up with elaborate and startling effect, but to the due relation and subordination of all parts to one clear general design.

We should not apprehend, therefore, (as Mr Glassford appears to do,) that the present moment is at all inauspicious for the appearance of a selection from those great lyrical writers of Italy from whom our own Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, were not ashamed to borrow inspiration. We do not anticipate that English readers, at the present day, are likely to be insensible to the beauty and propriety of design, the blending of classic correctness with modern feeling, and the singular polish and beauty of versification which the lyric poetry of Italy in its best specimens affords; and which qualities are distinctly perceptible in the present volume. Of Mr Glassford's translations generally we think highly. In translation, as in other things, we have of late been acquiring some new ideas; and it seems now to be pretty generally felt that the main object of a translator should be to exhibit his author and not himself. If a work is worth translating at all it is worth translating *literally*, 'for better for worse,' neither attempting to add nor to take away. So far as the necessities of versification permit, Mr Glassford acts faithfully on this principle; and, keeping in view the difficulties presented to a translator by the intricacies of the sonnet and canzone, his translations are at once remarkably literal, spirited, and harmonious. He has no inconsiderable command of poetical expression; and has obviously studied the Italian sonnet in that spirit of love which alone will ever enable a translator to bestow the care and polish which are necessary to master the difficulties it imposes. Of the exquisite canzone of the Italian lyrists he has exhibited but a few specimens, and perhaps not unwisely; for its intricate and perpetual recurrence of a few fixed rhymes, 'in linked sweet-'ness long drawn out,' seems to place it beyond the pale of English versification. Of the still more intricate sestina, compared with which even the fetters of the sonnet are perfect freedom, he has judiciously attempted no specimens.

We shall ramble through a few of the best of his sonnets,—a department in which we think him on the whole more successful

than in his canzoni, or in those numerous translations which he has attempted of the very untranslateable *arie* in the operas of Metastasio; for perfect as those little similes and clusters of imagery are, both in thought and expression, they do not bear separation from the scenes in which they occur.

In all the departments of English poetry the sonnet is the one in which the fewest specimens of excellence, or even moderate success, could be pointed out. He would be a bold man that would undertake to point out thirty first-rate sonnets (in the proper sense of the word) in all Mr Capel Lofft's Anthology. We say, in the proper sense of the word, because unfortunately many English compositions, highly beautiful as poems, have really no greater resemblance to sonnets than the Macedonian river had to the Welsh. There are fourteen lines, to be sure, in the one as in the other, but all the laws of rhyme, which the Italians have studied and inwardly digested, and on which in truth half the musical charm of the sonnet depends, (and the very name 'sonetto' denotes its musical origin,) are utterly set at defiance. Noble or beautiful as are many of the sonnets of Shakspeare and Spenser, we hardly recollect one that is framed on the proper Italian model. Even in the works of Daniel and Drummond, who had studied the character of the Italian sonnet deeply, and who in other respects approach closely to their southern models, the requisites of the proper number and distribution of the rhymes seem quite as often neglected as observed. They appear to have taken for granted that the comparative poverty of English rhyme was a sufficient reason for dispensing with a rigorous fidelity of imitation in this particular. Yet Milton has shown that even in this particular the difficulty may be successfully surmounted; and that it is not rhyme, but patience, and a proper command of the resources which our language affords, which are wanting. His sonnets, which exhibit every variety of sentiment, from the inspired grandeur of that on the Piedmontese Massacre, to the tenderness of those on his blindness, and on his deceased wife,—the grave dignity of that to a Young Lady, or the cheerful and Attic grace of those to Lawrence, and Cyriac Skinner,—are framed with the strictest adherence to the proper rules of the sonnet; and prove that in English, as well as in Italian, a consummate artist can render this form of poetry equally subservient to pathos, fervour, satire, philosophy, or humour.

Of Wordsworth's sonnets, highly as they must be admired by every one for their noble grandeur and simplicity, we would say, that they would probably be most admired by those who are least versed in the laws of the sonnet, as laid down in the Italian

code. For, though a good many specimens of the strict Italian measure might be selected from his works, yet in by far the greater part, the vital requisite, that the rhymes of the second quatrain shall correspond with those of the first, is neglected. This is the case, for instance, with two of his very finest, —the sonnets on Milton, and on the extinction of the Venetian Republic—sonnets, in other respects, worthy to be placed beside those of Milton himself, or the very best of the Italian. On the other hand, and particularly among his sonnets to the river Duddon, there are many in which he has shown that under all the fetters imposed by the strictest forms of the Italian versification, he can bring out, with consummate grace of developement and finish of language, the *one* leading idea of which the sonnet should consist. In one point, the sonnets of Milton and Wordsworth are the safest of models; more so, indeed, than many of the most celebrated among the Italians: they are above the littleness into which too many of the continental writers have fallen, of finishing off their sonnets, like a firework, with a flash at the close. They never confound the sonnet with the epigram. One leading thought, not so obvious as to be common, nor so remote as to appear far-fetched or artificial, and the developement of which was suited to the space allowed, was carefully selected, its form and relative proportions clearly arranged, laboriously and carefully polished into harmony, and then poured forth as a consistent whole, of which no one part or fragment could be spared, without marring the perfect finish and compactness of the whole.

If the composition of a good original sonnet be difficult, the successful translation of a good sonnet is not much less so. The field within which even the original writer must move is narrow enough; but to the translator, who cannot vary the thoughts to suit the exigencies of the rhyme, the restraint is, of course, far more embarrassing. In this respect, and as specimens of translation, where the strict rules of the original versification are preserved, and that, too, without the too common sacrifice of reason to rhyme, or of simplicity to quaintness or affectation of expression, the present translations are entitled to very considerable praise. A certain degree of quaintness, indeed—an antique cast of expression—or some inversion of construction, so far from injuring, may even, in some classes of sonnets, assist the effect; and this translator, we observe, frequently employs these peculiarities with good taste and discretion.

We are not altogether satisfied with his selections from Petrarch, which we do not think among his most successful translations; and, save in the strict 'legitimacy' of rhyme, inferior to those of Lady Dacre, as well as to some very beautiful specimens

of translation, published anonymously in this city, some years ago, but attributed, we believe, justly to the Rev. Dr Morehead. It may be matter of taste, too, but we confess that Mr Glassford seems to us to have made but an indifferent choice in selecting such sonnets as 'Cesare poi che 'l traditor d' Egitto,' and 'Pò, ben 'puo' tu portartene la scorza,' which, though of considerable merit, are certainly not of first-rate excellence. His readers, in general, we are convinced, would have willingly exchanged these moral and reasoning sonnets of Petrarch, for one or two of those more personal and pathetic strains, in which,

> 'Wat'ring the tree that bore his lady's name
> With his melodious tears—he gave himself to fame.'

From Petrarch, Mr Glassford passes at once to the period of Bembo and of Sannazzaro, passing over an interval of about a century; an omission which we cannot say we are disposed to regret; for, though great men certainly illustrated other branches of Italian literature during that period, the lyric poetry of the time, and particularly the sonnet, corrupted by a misjudging and feeble imitation of the worst parts of Petrarch's manner, affords little which is likely to prove attractive to an English reader. Here, however, is a very good specimen from Sannazzaro,* the author of the Arcadia; one of the few works which, though now never read, actually reached in its day a sixtieth edition. We place the Italian beside it, that our readers may see with what fidelity as well as spirit the translation is executed.

> 'My soul such pleasure oft in sleep receives,
> That death begins to seem a pleasant thing,
> Nor to be arm'd, perchance, with such a sting,
> Or taste so bitter as the world conceives.
> For, if the mind alone sees, hears, believes,
> While ev'ry limb is dead and languishing,
> And greatest pleasure to herself can bring,
> When least the body feels and least perceives,—
> Well may the hope be cherish'd, that when quite
> Loos'd from the burden of her earthly chain,
> She hears, and sees, and knows her true delight.
> Rejoice, thou troubled spirit, though in pain—
> If thou canst take, ev'n here, so sweet a flight,
> What wilt thou in thy native seats again?'

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* 'Parmi che'l sol non porga il lume usato.'

'Si spesso a consolarmi il sonno riede
Ch' omai comincio a desiar la morte
La qual forse non è tant' aspra e forte
Ne tanto acerba quanto il mondo crede.
Che se la mente vegghia, intende, e vede
Quando le membre stan languide e morte;
Ed allor par che più mi riconforte
Che'l corpo meno il pensa e meno il chiede:
Non è vano sperar, ch' ancor dappoi
Che dal nodo terrestre fia desciolta,
Vegghie, veda ed intenda i piacer suoi.
Gode dunque alma affetta in pene involta—
Che se qui tanta gioia prender puoi,
Che farai tu nella tua patria accolta?'

The following beautiful sonnet, by Vittoria Colonna, written after the death of her husband, the Marquis of Piscara, reminds us of some of those in the noble collection of dedicatory sonnets, prefixed to the 'Faery Queen.' She is one of the best of the Italian *sonneteers*, ('a vile phrase,' but not easily avoided,) and, in the grave dignity of her sonnets, and in the absence of conceits and epigrammatic turns, approaches nearly to the style of Wordsworth.

'Methinks the sun his wonted beam denies,
Nor lends so fair light to his sister's car;
Methinks each planet mild, and lovely star,
Has left its sweet course in the spangl'd skies.
Fallen is the heart of noble enterprise,
True glory perish'd, and the pride of war;
All grace and ev'ry virtue faded are—
The leaf is wither'd and the flow'ret dies.
Unmov'd I am, though earth and heav'n invite,
Warm'd by no ray, nor fann'd if zephyr blow;
All offices of nature are derang'd,
Since the bright sun that cheer'd me vanish'd so—
The courses of the world have quite been chang'd.
Ah, no! but sorrow veils them from my sight.'

One of the best of the Italian lyric poets is Giovanni della Casa (1503—1556). Abandoning the vitiated manner which had been introduced by the later Petrarchists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he introduced a noble simplicity of thought and style into his compositions; and, in conjunction with Bembo, Tansillo, and Bernardo Tasso, the father of the great epic poet, may be considered as one of the restorers of the national taste. We consider the sonnet 'O dolce selva solitaria amica,' as beautiful in itself and beautifully translated:—

'Sweet wood, whose loneliness bears true consent,
With troubled thoughts like mine! now that the hours
Are few and dismal, and the north wind pours
His icy bolts down heav'n's dark battlement;
That age thy green and spreading boughs hath bent,
And on thy locks, like mine, are winter show'rs,
Now that, in room of white and vermeil flowers,
Are all thy sunny slopes with hail besprent:
I ponder, by the short and glimm'ring light,
What soon myself shall be; for I, too, feel
My veins to stagnate, and my limbs grow dumb,
But more than thee, and inly, I congeal:
My winter with a keener blast will come,
And days more dim and cold, and longer night.'

With the translations from Filicaja we have been less pleased. The celebrated 'Italia, Italia, o tu cui feo la sorte,' is but indifferently translated; and, indeed, though we have perused some twenty versions of this (somewhat overpraised*) sonnet, we have never met with any which did justice to the original. Nor do we think Mr Glassford's other selections from Filicaja, though pretty numerous, have been made with much felicity. We looked in vain for the well-known sonnets on the death of Christina Queen of Sweden, on Providence, on the Seasons, or the indignant appeal to his country, 'Dovè Italia el tuo braccio.' All these, we think, are by many degrees superior to those to which Mr Glassford has given a place. Perhaps we shall be excused for attempting a translation of two of these sonnets.

ON PROVIDENCE.

'Qual madre i figli con pietoso affetto.'

Even as a mother o'er her children bending
Yearns with maternal love: her fond embraces
And gentle kiss to each in turn extending,
One at her feet, one on her knee she places,
And from their eyes, and voice, and speaking faces,
Their varying wants and wishes comprehending,
To one a look, to one a word addresses,
Even with her frowns a mother's fondness blending.

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* Much as we admire the general structure of this famous sonnet, we think it would not be easy to produce two worse lines than the two last of the second quatrain:—

'Che del tuo bello ai rai,
Par che si strugga e pur ti sfida a morte.'

So o'er us watches Providence on high,
And hope to some, and help to others lends,
And yields alike to all an open ear,
And when she seems her favours to deny
She for our prayers alone the boon suspends,
Or, seeming to deny, she grants the prayer.

ON THE DEATH OF CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

'Questa che scossa delle sue regie fronde.'

The tree which, shaken of its royal boughs,
Gave with its trunk a shelter and a shade;
Whose broad and tow'ring top to heav'n arose
High as on earth its roots were deeply laid:
Where men the nest of all their hopes had made;
Whence virtue sought support amidst her woes;
The branches of whose glory widely spread
From the far west to where the Caspian flows,
Yields, as its massy roots are rent away,
And, in its mighty ruin, buries all
That in the shelter of its shadow lay—
It sinks, as if the solid world gave way,
Majestic in the thunder of its fall,
And mighty ev'n in ruin and decay!

Two omissions in the work rather surprise us; the one, the famous sonnet of Giambattista Pastorini, on the bombardment of Genoa by Louis XIV;* the other, the total omission of the very name of one of the best of the Italian sonnet writers, Benedetto Menzini. We shall endeavour, very imperfectly, to supply the defect, by attempting a translation of one of his sonnets.

'Dianzi io piantai un ramoscel d'alloro.'

I planted, in my youth, a laurel bough,
My humble pray'rs to Phœbus offering,
That, by his fost'ring care, the tree might grow,
And shade and shelter to the poet bring:
That Zephyr might his kindly warmth bestow,
And fan it with the flutter of his wing;
And that the icy north might vainly blow,
And have no pow'r to blight its blossoming.
Full slow, indeed, beneath that fost'ring care,
I see my tender plant its branches rear

* 'Genova mia se con ciglio asciutto.' This sonnet, if we recollect rightly, is erroneously attributed by Matthias, in his 'Componimenti,' to Gaetana Passerini.

'Midst trees of loftier height and nobler name;
But yet I grieve not at its slow uprise,—
His is no easy task, nor common prize,
Who justly wins and wears the wreath of fame!

We should have been glad if we could have spared room for some of Mr Glassford's translations from Bembo, Tansillo, and Celio Magno, but our limits will admit only of other two extracts; and these shall be the 'Care dell' alma stanca' of Carlo Maria Maggi, and the 'Leggiadra Rosa, le cui pure foglie' of Metastasio; the refined beauty and finish of whose sonnets and lyrical pieces in general have been eclipsed by the more obvious fascinations of his operas.

CARLO M. MAGGI.

'O welcome as the hall to pilgrim feet,
Ye woods and steeps, breeze, fountain, shade, and green,
Where bitter draughts of life, and sorrows keen,
To fond remembrance change, and musing sweet!
Home of the sober mind, whose calm retreat
A haven to my shipwreck'd bark hath been,
How has my heart oft bless'd your friendly screen,
How own'd the comfort of your silent seat!
Companion of the poor, here let me stray,
Who, distant far from the world's fretful waves,
Expect in tranquil joys their resting day:
Here let me learn what fortune never gave,—
To pluck from life its flatt'ring mask away,
Here of its terrors to disarm the grave!'

METASTASIO.

'O, fair unsullied rose! whose leaf was fed
With sweetest dews, and drank the morning ray,
Whose graceful bud now bending on the spray,
Fann'd by Aurora's breath, puts on the red,
That careful hand which plucks thee from thy bed,
Removes thee only to a brighter day,
Where stripp'd of them, never to decay,
Thy choicer beauties may unmingled spread.
Thus art thou planted a perennial flower,
Far from this fickle region full of gloom,
Which winds disturb, and frost, and sweeping shower.
A faithful guardian tends thee now, by whom
Secured thou shall combine in peaceful bower
Immortal fragrance with immortal bloom.'

Among the canzoni and hymns, of which the present volume contains translations, perhaps the most successful are the famous hymn of Cotta, 'Odami cielo e terra,' and the opening canzone

from Petrarch, 'Standomi un giorno solo alla fenestra.' We regret that instead of the 'Amor Superno Amore' of Felicaja, Mr Glassford did not rather give us translations of his noble odes to John Sobieski, King of Poland, or that on the siege of Vienna by the Turks,—two of the most splendid lyrical compositions to be found in any language, and to which we are sure he would have done ample justice; and we also wish he had made room for Celio Magno's magnificent canzone, entitled 'Dio,'—perhaps the finest burst of religious inspiration in the Italian language. We would express a hope, in conclusion, that if the translator should venture on some farther selections, he will not choose them so exclusively from the religious and moral class: a few more specimens of the amorous, or even the humorous sonnet, of which there is no want in the Italian language, would have given additional interest to the present volume; and we are rather apprehensive that Mr Glassford, from the almost unvaried tone of its contents, may have somewhat exposed himself to the remark of Boileau—

'Tous d'un même ton semblent *psalmodier*.'

Art. VII.—1. *Report of the First and Second Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at York in* 1831, *and at Oxford in* 1832; *including its Proceedings, Recommendations, and Transactions.* 8vo. London: 1833.

2. *Report of the Third Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cambridge in* 1833. 8vo. London: 1834.

The political convulsions which distinguished the close of the eighteenth century were accompanied with various secondary movements, more pacific in their character, and more permanent in their results. Though not contemplated by the apostles of anarchy, the changes to which we refer were perhaps among its legitimate consequences; and when they have been studied through a longer period of their perturbations, they will doubtless be ranked among those compensatory adjustments in which Providence strikes a balance between present and overwhelming evils and future and permanent good. In the political, as in the natural world, the desolating torrent which sweeps away its bulwarks often loses its power in the depth of its excavations, whilst it forms a new barrier out of the very elements which it has displaced.

Amid the subversion of ancient institutions, whether established by despotism or deformed by corruption, the elements of society are let loose from their forced arrangements; and, in obedience to their natural affinities, they enter into new and less constrained combinations. Kindred minds unite their sympathies for good or for evil: Daring and restless spirits conjoin their physical powers of mischief. Wealth seeks its preservation by uniting itself to wealth, and power strives to extend itself by an alliance with power. But when the transfer of the social elements is over, and the ebullition which accompanies it has subsided, we are permitted to see the powers which have been in exercise, and the products which they have formed. In such political movements, wealth and rank have frequently exercised a predominant influence; and brute force has still oftener enjoyed its short-lived triumph; but intellectual power, the weapon of virtuous and educated minds, has never failed in establishing its just and unalienable rights. When this irresistible auxiliary is allied with the ambition of the despot—when it guides the schemes of an unprincipled oligarchy—or when in its individual action it gives birth to theories of wild import directed against the peace and happiness of man, it may, as it has done, exercise a baneful influence over civil and religious liberty: But even then its ascendency is only temporary. It perishes at an elevation where it cannot breathe, and its inspirations are only deep and strong in the humbler level of reason and justice.

Whatever be the forms which the institutions of society have assumed,—whether they are crowned with the diadem of a monarch or the many-headed cowl of a republic, they must ultimately be amenable to the calm and stern scrutiny of reason. The attribute of antiquity, in place of being a shield against improvement, is an argument for closer enquiry; and the long-continued monopoly of privileges by one class of society, and the long-continued exclusion of others, are irresistible inducements to change. There are no abuses more to be dreaded than those which are hoary with age; and no act of misgovernment more deserving of reprobation, than those which refuse to extend to all orders of society, and to all descriptions of merit, the same honours and advantages, and to make real talent and honest merit the principal, if not the only, passport to the offices of the state.

Great as have been the improvements in our social institutions, Europe has not yet achieved in any of her states the blessed triumph of a paternal government. The events which now agitate England indicate her distance from so glorious a consummation. While the interests of a great country are frequently and suddenly transferred from one set of statesmen to another, of

opposite principles, neither can the people be happy nor the nation prosperous. The Minister, indeed, who shall first obtain for his country the blessings of a stable government, must summon into his service the intellectual might of England. He must banish ignorance from its strongholds; and privileged power, and democratic violence, will soon follow the culprit into exile. The education of the people—the diffusion of knowledge—the encouragement of literature and science and talent of every kind, are the only ballast for a government like ours, exposed to the double hostility of popular menace and aristocratical inroad. But of all these elements of stability the most efficacious is that of intellectual power, whether it is exhibited in the statesman's forethought and sagacity, in the philosopher's powers of combination and judgment, or even in the lighter and more elegant accomplishments of the scholar and the poet. The shaft of the stately column is not weakened by the acanthus which curls at its summit, nor is the reason less enlightened when it derives a ray from the imagination. Intrenched in such defences, an honest administration could never be dislodged; and the blessings of the people, and the respect of foreign states, would give it fresh vigour and endurance. A government thus constituted could devote the time now wasted in its own preservation to the real business of the state; and *local legislation*, or the adjustment of the laws to the varying localities and conditions of the different parts of the empire, would receive that attention which it has never yet met with from a British Parliament.

Did our limits permit, we might draw from ancient and modern history innumerable proofs of the truth of the views which we have now advanced; but we can scarcely conceive minds so constituted as to deny their truth, and if such persons do exist, they must have closed their eyes against the most instructive events of their own times. The young diplomacy of the American states was raised into distinction when Franklin took upon himself the functions of her ambassador; and France was at the zenith of her glory when the Marquis Laplace was President of her Conservative Senate, Lagrange a Peer of France, and Carnot her Minister at War.

We have been drawn into these observations from a desire to make our readers acquainted with the circumstances and views which led to those large reunions of scientific and literary men which have recently sprung up in Europe; and, also, to enable them to judge of the advantages, and predict the destiny of such powerful associations of talent.

Of all the continental states, those which compose the German empire had derived the least benefit from the calamities which

had afflicted themselves, and from the convulsions which had been raging around them. The free spirit of her population, however, and the speculative boldness of her philosophy, were ill suited to antiquated institutions and absolute governments. Men of all castes—the political, the theological, and the philosophical writers of the day—were restless under the ignoble pressure which weighed upon their faculties; and the censorship, which blighted the periodical press, extended its paralysis even to the journals of literature and science. Professor Oken, a learned naturalist, who filled the chair of Natural History in the University of Jena, in the duchy of Saxe Weimar, was one of those independent men whose inherent love of liberty was fostered by the study of nature. In his journal of literature and science, called the *Isis*, he had published some political articles which were ill suited to the temper of the government. The vengeance of power instantly descended on his devoted head; and he was indulged with the alternative of relinquishing his Professorship or discontinuing his journal. The independent spirit of the editor predominated over his passion for science; and while he surrendered his chair at Jena he transferred the publication of his journal to the freer atmosphere of Leipsic.

During his residence at Jena, and, we believe, previous to his political transgression, Oken had proposed to assemble, in an annual congress, the cultivators of natural history and medicine from every corner of the German's fatherland. The very suggestion of so extensive a reunion rendered him unpopular with the alarmists around him; and the peaceful naturalists, who had never wielded a weapon save their lancets and their dissecting knives, became the objects of hatred and suspicion. A phalanx thus summoned from the Rhine, and the Danube, and the Bohemian frontier, and representing the intellectual community between the Southern Alps and the remote shores of the Baltic, could not be viewed with indifference by an arbitrary and suspicious government. In every German capital where its banner was to be unfurled, it could not fail to leave behind, its mantle of knowledge and of free discussion; and it was scarcely to be apprehended that men accustomed to witness in the kingdom of nature the benignant and tender adaptation of its laws and arrangements to the wants and desires of every order of being, could shut their eyes against the obtrusive deformities, and the vicious and selfish laws of aristocratic rule. It was not, indeed, the object of Oken and his friends to study or to slay the monsters of German policy; but the dread of an adversary's power is the very act which invests him with it; and the attempt to guard against designs that were never meditated is often the germ

from which they spring, as well as the arm by which they are executed.

But, while the projected congress of philosophers existed only in the ardent mind of its founder, and in the proscribed pages of his journal, it met with more opposition than when it was regularly organized, and invested with the powers of mischief. The first meeting, which took place at Leipsic, in 1822, was so impotent in numbers, as to excite contempt rather than fear. About twenty individuals from the city, and twelve strangers, formed the first Philosophical Congress in Europe; but the snowball was moulded—the plains of Germany lay extended before it—and it now rivals the most gigantic iceberg of the frozen zone.

The following were the laws which this small but enlightened band laid down for the future government of the association:—

'1. At a meeting of German naturalists and physicians, held at Leipzic on the 18th September, 1822, it was resolved, That a *Society* be formed to be named the *Society of German Naturalists and Physicians.*

'2. The chief object of this society is to afford an opportunity to the cultivators of natural science and medicine in Germany, to become personally acquainted with each other.

'3. Every person who has written upon natural science or medicine, is admissible as a member.

'4. The composition of a mere inaugural dissertation, does not entitle any person to be considered as a writer.

'5. A particular election is not necessary, and no diplomas will be given.

'6. All persons are admissible to the meetings who employ themselves with natural science or medicine.

'7. Only Members have the right of voting at the Meetings.

'8. Every thing shall be decided by the majority of voices.

'9. The society shall meet every year, and deliberate with open doors; to commence on the 18th of September, and continue for several days.

'10. The place of meeting shall be variable. At each anniversary, the place of meeting for the ensuing year shall be determined.

'11. A president and a secretary, resident in the place of meeting for the time being, shall conduct the affairs of the Society till the ensuing anniversary.

'12. The president shall appoint the hours and place of meeting, and arrange the business; and every one who has any thing to bring forward must notify the same to him.

'13. The secretary shall have charge of the minutes, the accounts, and the correspondence.

'14. Both office-bearers shall subscribe only in the name of the Society.

'15. They shall make known, as early as possible, the authority conferred upon them by the immediately preceding assembly, and at the same time take measures for making the ensuing place of meeting as generally known as possible.

'16. At each anniversary, the office-bearers for the ensuing year shall be appointed. Should the appointment not be accepted, the office-bearers shall select another individual, and must, at the same time, appoint a new place of meeting.

'17. Should the society lose one of its office-bearers, the survivor shall nominate another. Should it lose both, those of the preceding year shall resume their office.

'18. The society shall form no collections, and except its records, possess no property. Whatever is laid before them shall be again withdrawn by its owner.

'19. The expenses of the meeting shall be defrayed by the contributions of the members present.

'20. These regulations shall remain unaltered for the first five years.'

Assembling in successive years, and with continually increasing numbers, at Hallé, Wurzburg, Frankfort, and Dresden, the congress met at Munich, in 1827, where it received the patronage and hospitality of Louis Maximilian, King of Bavaria. This patriotic monarch, whose predecessor had been the liberal patron of the illustrious Fraunhofer, invited the members of the congress to dine with him in his palace; and he marked his opinion of the association, and the merits of its founder, by appointing Oken, in the same year, to the physiological chair in the University of Munich.

Thus stamped with royal approbation, the German congress rose rapidly in public esteem. The objects of the association were now better defined and more widely extended; and, in place of assembling in one hall, the philosophers divided themselves into sections, corresponding to the sciences which they cultivated; and arrangements of the most judicious kind were adopted, for promoting the objects of the meeting, and securing the comforts of its members. These practical improvements were especially effective in 1828, when the congress was held at Berlin. In this capital, the seat of a learned academy, the Society of Naturalists attained its highest splendour. The celebrated traveller, Baron Humboldt, was chosen president of the meeting; and the *soirée* which he gave, on the first day, to about 1200 guests, was graced by the presence of the King of Prussia, the heir apparent of the crown, and the other princes of the blood: while the Prussian nobility, and foreign princes and foreign ambassadors gave additional lustre to the party. The great concert room attached to the theatre, where this party assembled, was fitted up for the accommodation and amusement of the guests; and the names of the most illustrious philosophers of Germany were inscribed in letters of gold at the end of the largest hall.

This was doubtless a proud day for the intellectual community

of Germany. The homage thus paid to science by a powerful sovereign, was at once a compensation for her labours, and an acknowledgment of her power. Nor was this the only effect of the royal benignity. While so gracious a sovereign must have risen in the esteem and affections of his people, the interests of education and knowledge must have received a vigorous impulse; and the latent and developed enthusiasm of youthful genius must have been roused and inflamed by the display of honours thus placed within their grasp.

The *Savans* who attended the Berlin meeting amounted to 464, the number of strangers being 269. Of these, 175 were from Berlin, 95 from the Prussian provinces, 43 from the German states, 21 from Saxony, 12 from Bavaria, 5 from Hanover, and 2 from Wirtemberg. The only kingdom of Germany which sent no representative of science was Austria. The helmsman who guided her vessel of state had long viewed these philosophical unions as the harbingers of a political storm; and it has been generally believed that individuals were sent from Vienna to watch their proceedings. But, however this may be, the fact that no Austrian philosopher went to the Berlin meeting, whilst it establishes the hostility of the Austrian government, exhibits a distressing picture of the obsequiousness of her philosophers. The Emperor of Austria is said to have perused the accounts of the German meetings, and to have expressed his surprise that his own capital had not been honoured as one of their places of resort. When a map of Europe, which indicated only the towns which had sent representatives to Berlin, was found by the Emperor not to contain Vienna, the monarch, unacquainted with the views of his minister, openly expressed his chagrin; and conceiving that the want of means for the journey must have been the only cause, he announced that the necessary funds would in future be supplied from his treasury. When the next meeting took place, passports were asked from the director of the police; but, though they were not refused, the applicants learned the important lesson, that in accepting the liberality of the emperor, they might forego the good graces of his minister.

In the year 1829, the German naturalists held their eighth anniversary in the beautiful city of Heidelberg. The members amounted only to 273, of whom 193 were strangers; and though the splendour of a court was not here thrown round the meeting, yet its proceedings were highly interesting to science, while the hospitality shown to strangers was creditable to the university and the city.

The honour of receiving the philosophers at their ninth reunion was contested by Hamburgh and Gotha. Copenhagen,

though out of the pale of the German Empire, had implored a visit from the continental naturalists: but, though their petition embodied the anxious wishes of the King of Denmark, the rules of the society could not be broken, and Hamburgh was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous. Although placed in a corner of Germany, the strangers amounted to 258, and the whole number to about 400. The Emperor of Austria seems to have at last overcome the scruples of his minister, for the tenth anniversary of the association was fixed to be held at Vienna; but we believe it did not assemble, on account of the prevalence of cholera in that capital and throughout the rest of Germany.

This brief chronicle of the German Association has brought us down to a period in our own history, when the state of British science had become a subject of controversial discussion. Four English philosophers, Sir Humphry Davy, Sir John Herschel, Mr Babbage, and Sir David Brewster, under a deep concern for the honour of England, boldly pointed out the fact of the decline of science and the scientific arts. They investigated the causes by which so fatal a change had been produced, and suggested the means by which the sciences might be fostered and revived. Some individuals, interested in science as a source of professional gain, and others, prompted by vanity and ignorance, endeavoured to thwart these appeals to the government and the country. A third class, already enjoying professorships, and other university appointments, repudiated the idea of a national establishment for science, which had produced such glorious effects in Prussia, Russia, and France. They conceived that philosophers, like Puritans, would be disgraced by secular honours and dignities; and it was their desire that science, like virtue, should be its own reward! But in the rare and pure ether which they breathed, they had forgotten that in the two English universities, no fewer than *nine* professors had received *from government* an annual addition of L.100 to their incomes. This unexpected disclosure, though not creditable to their consistency, was yet favourable to their argument. The science of this little institute had been so feebly advanced by the national bounty, that they were doubtless justified in opposing a more extended establishment; and it was natural, too, for men who destined themselves to be deans, prebends, and bishops, to maintain the aristocracy of science, by stopping even a parish allowance to the lower orders of philosophy.

It was from this controversy that the British Association derived its origin. The public had judged calmly, and decided justly; and ministers, in power and out of power, had pledged themselves to a more generous patronage of science. Sir Robert

Peel had made two distinct, though small, steps in its favour; and his successors in office would no doubt have pursued and completed its regeneration, had not the loud demand for more urgent reforms, and the necessity of eradicating deeper seated and wider felt grievances, absorbed all their attention. It was necessary, however, to keep the public mind at its pitch—to employ a force of high pressure against the antagonist power of political excitement; and to marshal in favour of science all who had the courage to enlist under its banner. In one of the appeals to the public, above alluded to, Sir David Brewster declared, 'That the 'sciences and the arts of England are in a wretched state of depres-'sion, and that their decline is mainly owing to the ignorance 'and supineness of the Government; to the injudicious organiza-'tion of our scientific Boards and Institutions; to the indirect per-'secution of scientific and literary men, by their exclusion from 'all the honours of the state; and to the unjust and oppressive 'tribute which the patent-law exacts from inventors.' And, despairing of any effect being produced by individual zeal and activity, he suggested what he considered to be the only remedy for such palpable evils. 'An association,' says he, 'of our no-'bility, clergy, gentry, and philosophers, can alone draw the at-'tention of the sovereign and the nation to this blot upon its 'fame. Our aristocracy will not decline to resume their proud 'station as the patrons of genius; and our Boyles, and Caven-'dishes, and Montagues, and Howards, will not renounce their 'place in the scientific annals of England. The prelates of our 'national Church will not refuse to promote that knowledge 'which is the foundation of pure religion, and those noble en-'quiries which elevate the mind and prepare it for its immortal 'destination. If this effort fail, we must wait for the revival of 'better feelings, and deplore our national misfortune in the lan-'guage of the wise man: "I returned and saw under the sun 'that there is neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men 'of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill."'

The objects of this Association, therefore, were to revive science from its decline, and the scientific arts from their depression;—to instruct the government when ignorant, and stimulate it when supine;—to organize more judiciously our scientific institutions, and the public boards to which scientific objects are intrusted;—to sweep away the oppression of the Patent Laws;—and to raise scientific and literary men to their just place in society, and vindicate their claims to the same honours as every other class of national benefactors.

In a month or two after the publication of this appeal, (in October, 1830,) which had excited a strong feeling throughout the king-

dom, its author conceived the idea of assembling at York, in 1831, the cultivators and friends of science from every part of the British islands. He selected this city as the most centrical point of reunion for the three kingdoms, and as possessing an active Philosophical Society, at whose apartments, and with whose assistance, the meetings might be conducted; and he published the two following notices of the intended meeting in the 'Edinburgh Journal of Science.'

'*Great Scientific Meeting to be held at York.*

'Arrangements are now making for holding at York, in July next, a meeting of the cultivators of science from every part of the British islands. The object of the association is similar to that of the German society, so fully described in this number. The sittings will continue for a week. The Lord Mayor and the authorities at York have, as might have been expected, entered heartily into this plan, and the Philosophical Society of that city have kindly offered to charge themselves with any preliminary arrangements which may be necessary.

'Scientific individuals who propose to attend or to become members of the association, are requested to communicate their intention to John Robison, Esq., secretary to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, who has undertaken to act as secretary till the association be constituted.'—(*Edin. Journ. Science*, March, 1831. No. VIII. p. 374.)

This notice was widely circulated through the kingdom, and when the arrangements were farther advanced, the following more extended notice was published.

'Some months ago it occurred to the Editor of this work that the general interests of science might be greatly promoted by the establishment of a Society of British cultivators of Science, which should meet annually in some central town in England. He accordingly corresponded on the subject with several influential individuals, and found that there was a general desire for the organization of such a society. As York possessed peculiar advantages for the first place of meeting, from its local position in reference to the three capitals of the kingdom—from its having a Philosophical Society, containing many distinguished members—and from its having a Museum and other apartments, suited for the meetings of the Society, he addressed himself to Mr Phillips, the secretary to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, in order to ascertain how such a meeting would be viewed by that Society, and by the principal authorities in York. Mr Phillips lost no time in obtaining the desired information; and having made application to the Mayor of York, (the Right Honourable Lord Dundas, we believe,) he was able to report that the authorities of York entered heartily into the plan, and that the Philosophical Society would willingly charge themselves with any preliminary arrangements which might be necessary.

'Upon receiving Mr Phillips's letter, he transmitted it to John Robison, Esq., who had kindly agreed to act as Interim-Secretary, and who, with the assistance of J. F. W. Johnston, Esq., who attended the last meeting of German Naturalists at Hamburgh, proposed to draw up a set

of regulations or laws to be submitted to the Society at its first meeting.

'Under these circumstances, he drew up the notice of the meeting which was published in the last number of this Journal, and which has been widely circulated by the periodical press.

'These steps having been taken previous to the dissolution of Parliament, it was conceived by some individuals who were extremely anxious about the success of the plan, that the election might interfere with the meetings of the Society, and that it might be more prudent to delay its establishment to another year. As the political agitation of the country has entirely subsided, there can be no sufficient reason for such a delay, and it has accordingly been agreed upon to hold the first meeting of the Society at York, on *Monday, the 26th September.*

'The following regulations, most of which are adopted by the German Association, are suggested to the consideration of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, *who ought to be prepared with a code of laws, to be submitted to the Society at their first meeting.*

'The rules now suggested will be useful in enabling those gentlemen who mean to attend, and who will be entitled to act as members, to transmit any observations or suggestions on this subject, to R. Phillips, Esq., Secretary to the Philosophical Society, York.

'1. The Society shall be called the Society of the British Cultivators of Science.

'The principal objects will be, to promote personal intercourse among scientific individuals, and *to adopt every means for advancing the interests of science in every part of the world, by promoting scientific enquiries, and procuring assistance to men of science in the prosecution of their researches.*

'3. That the Society shall consist of those only who have written upon scientific subjects, or who have been the zealous patrons of science.

'4. The Society shall be managed by a President and a Secretary, resident in the place of meeting for the time being.

'5. The Society shall meet annually on the ——, and shall deliberate with open doors.

'6. The Society shall hold its meetings at different towns, where sufficient accommodation can be obtained; and the place of meeting for the next year shall be fixed by the Society before the termination of its sittings.

'7. The Society shall hold no property; but if books, &c. are presented to it, they shall be lodged in the museum of the town where the Society last met.

'8. A record of the proceedings of the Society shall be kept by the Secretary.

'9. The expenses of the Society shall be defrayed by the contributions of the members present.'

In consequence of these arrangements, the Association met at York on the 26th of September, 1831. It was a fortunate circumstance that it first assembled in a city containing so many able and respectable individuals; and still more fortunate that the

Philosophical Society had for its vice-president the Reverend Mr Harcourt, who devoted himself with enthusiastic zeal to secure the foundation, and promote the objects of the Association. Nor was it among the least auspicious events which fostered the new institution, that it was patronised by the learned and venerable the Archbishop of York, whose amiable and intelligent family graced its meetings, and whose kind hospitality was experienced by all its members.

The members of the Association did not exceed 200. They consisted of men who never doubted the utility of the Institution. The common impulse of an enthusiastic admiration of science convoked them round its smoking altar; and with the sincerity of true worshippers, they offered their sacrifice in peace and friendship. Dalton, Brisbane, Greenough, Lloyd, Pritchard, Howard, Pearson, Murchison, Smith, Robison, and Scoresby, emulated the younger members in activity and zeal; and we venture to state, that every individual, of what was then considered a large meeting, left the scene of their labours with one common conviction, that the success of the meeting, and the personal instruction and happiness which they had received, far surpassed their most sanguine expectations.

Our readers will no doubt be desirous of knowing the composition of the first meeting of the Association. It contained a great number of dissenters, as well as members of the established church; and in addition to those whom individual zeal brought to York, there were deputations to the meeting from various philosophical societies, particularly in the north of England. The universities stood aloof—perhaps to watch—perhaps to stem the flowing tide of knowledge. Oxford sent *one* representative, that ardent and liberal philosopher, Dr Daubeny; but Cambridge, like Austria among the German states, sent *none* of her scientific host. It was understood, however, that she was willing to take an active part, and bring up her contingent to Oxford, provided that the *decline of science* was not to be the watchword, nor its *direct national encouragement* among the objects of the Association. By what secret article these concessions were made, or supposed to be made, and by what ingenious modification of the avowed designs of its members these integral parts of the plan were surrendered, or supposed to be surrendered, we never learned, and have no means of ascertaining.

In the year 1832, the Association met at Oxford, on Monday the 18th June, Dr Buckland being president, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Mr Whewell, vice-presidents; and though this meeting assembled while the Reformed Parliament was sitting, yet many members of the House of Commons, and many

of the nobility, honoured the Association with their presence. The Vice-chancellor, Dr Jones, the heads of colleges, the professors, and the clergy of Oxford, received the meeting with unbounded hospitality. The gorgeous halls of this city of palaces opened their portals to men of all castes; and it is a fact which will never be forgotten in the history of this university, and which should be balanced against less liberal parts of her statutes, that of the four philosophers on whom she conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, there was not one of them a member of the Church of England. The proceedings of the sections or scientific committees were carried on with considerable regularity. Many interesting papers were read, and many beautiful instruments exhibited; but perhaps the most prominent feature at Oxford was the production of several Reports on the present state of various branches of science, the preparation of which had been suggested by the Rev. Mr Whewell, now one of the most active members of the Association, and himself the author of the best report which has yet appeared.* The number of members was about seven hundred.

The third meeting of the Association was held at Cambridge, on the 18th June, 1833, under the presidency of Professor Sedgwick, and the vice-presidency of Dr Dalton and Professor Airy. In this venerable university, which has been long and justly placed at the head of the universities of Europe, the congress was received with the greatest hospitality and the highest distinction. The vice-chancellor and the other functionaries exerted themselves in promoting the comfort of eminent strangers; and the honours which it was in their power to bestow, were liberally conferred on the more distinguished members. The proceedings of the sections were carried on with much spirit; the scientific reports read at the public meetings were able and interesting; and the domain of the Association was extended by the addition of a new section on Statistics. The meeting was attended by more than nine hundred members.

The fourth congress of British philosophers was held at Edinburgh, on the 8th of September, 1834; Sir Thomas Brisbane being president, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Dr Romney Robinson, vice-presidents. The great distance of our city from the scientific population of the island had excited considerable fears about the success of the meeting; but these fears were happily disappointed. The famed hospitality of the Scottish metropolis

* Report on Mineralogy.

was never more nobly displayed; and the arrangements which were made by the committee were in every respect elegant and convenient. The sections, which met in the lecture-rooms of the university, had never been so well accommodated; and even the sub-sections into which some of the committees were necessarily subdivided, found ample room for their meetings. On this occasion the scientific reports were very properly read at the sections; and at the public meetings which were held every evening in the city Assembly Rooms, popular lectures were delivered. These public meetings were alike numerous and splendid, and the demand for ladies' tickets could not be supplied.

Among the many distinguished individuals who assisted at the Edinburgh Congress were some of those members of the late ministry, who were more particularly connected with Scotland. Lord Brougham, who, on the motion of Sir David Brewster, was admitted a member by acclamation at the concluding meeting of the general committee, attended the public sitting of that day,* and delighted the immense assemblage by that powerful and striking eloquence with which he adorns his various acquirements.

The number of foreigners who attended the previous meetings of the Association was extremely small; but several distinguished individuals, the chief of whom were M. Arago, Professor Moll, M. Treviranus, and M. Agassiz, honoured the present meeting with their presence. M. Arago, whose splendid discoveries in optics and magnetism, have placed him among the first philosophers in Europe, assisted at all the meetings of the natural philosophy section; and contributed greatly to the interest of the proceedings by his extensive knowledge, as well as his readiness and power as a speaker.

The Magistrates of the city, and the University, bestowed each their peculiar distinctions on some of the more eminent members of the Association. The freedom of the city was conferred on M. Arago, Dr. Dalton, Professor Moll, and Sir Thomas Brisbane; and the *Senatus Academicus*, by an unanimous act, conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon M. Arago, Professor Moll, Dr Dalton, M. Agassiz, and M. Treviranus. The Judges of the Supreme Court, the Law-Officers of the Crown, the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and several of the Professors of the University, rivalled each other in their attention and hospi-

* This meeting was held in the grand Hall of the University Library, one of the noblest and most beautiful apartments in the island.

tality to strangers. The number of members present at this meeting amounted to twelve hundred and sixty-eight.

Having thus given some account of the origin and history of the British Association, we shall now proceed to consider its primary objects; the manner in which they have been pursued; the advantages which may be expected from the pursuit of these objects; the objections which have been urged against such an assemblage, and its future duties and prospects.

We have already stated, on the authority of published documents, the views entertained by those who originated this congress respecting the state of British science, and the means by which it might be fostered and extended. The York Philosophical Society having, 'at the express desire of the promoters of the 'meeting, undertaken to make all the arrangements for it, and to 'prepare the plan of a permanent Association,' this plan was brought forward by their vice-president, Mr Harcourt, who thus stated the objects of the Association:—'The Association con-'templates no interference with the ground occupied by other in-'stitutions. Its objects are—To give a stronger impulse and a 'more systematic direction to scientific enquiry—to promote the 'intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of 'the British Empire with one another, and with foreign philoso-'phers—to obtain a more general attention to the objects of 'science, and a removal of any disadvantages of a public kind, 'which impede its progress.'

The slightest examination of this statement will convince the reader that it assumes, though with some ambiguity, all those opinions which were maintained by the originators of the congress.

1. It takes for granted that there were grand objects in science to be promoted, which none of the existing institutions were either able or willing to undertake; or which, if they did form part of their plan, had been wholly neglected.

2. It assumes that science was in a declining state so as to require a stronger impulse; and that the direction of scientific enquiries was so oblique or devious that it required a new power to render it more systematic;—or, to use Mr Harcourt's more definite language, *to point out the lines of direction in which the researches of science should move—to indicate the particulars which most immediately demand investigation—to state problems to be solved, and data to be fixed, and* TO ASSIGN TO EVERY CLASS OF MIND A DEFINITE TASK. Without adverting at present to the impossibility of such objects as these being accomplished by an ambulatory association which enjoys only a week's existence in

the year, we may remark, that if our three Metropolitan Societies, and our hundred provincial ones, have neglected all these useful, and obvious, and necessary duties, they ought to have been suppressed by act of Parliament. Mr Babbage and his friends never charged these public bodies with such culpable remissness, and never formed so low an estimate of their real and developed resources. The Royal Society itself is stated by Mr Harcourt 'to have contemplated in its origin the objects which we now 'propose to pursue.' If they were practicable they should pursue them still; but if they found them visionary and chimerical, it is in vain for any other body to attempt to realize them.

3. It takes for granted that the objects of science are not sufficiently attended to in Great Britain, and that there are *disadvantages of a public kind* which impede its progress, and which ought to be removed. These last objects are stated so generally that the words employed do not excite in the mind any definite idea; but they are thus clearly explained in Mr Harcourt's address when he moved the adoption of them:—

'Among the subjects to which a scientific association may be justly expected to call the public attention, I would particularly instance a revision of the law of patents. The protection which is given to every other species of property is not given in the same extent to the property of *scientific invention*. The protection which it does receive must be bought of the state at a high price; an expense, varying from two to four or five hundred pounds, is first to be sustained. Then, after encountering the risk of this outlay, the patentee is compelled to specify publicly, and with legal precision, the particulars of his invention; thus it is exposed to be pirated, with the redress only of ruinous proceedings at law; and the consequence is, that no patent is considered of any value till it has actually maintained a litigation; and though patents are still taken out, their chief use is understood to be, not so much to secure a right, as to advertise a commodity. Such is the present policy of our law respecting the remuneration of practical science; a policy which seems to have no other end than to restrain the multiplicity of inventions.

'With regard to the direct national encouragement which is due to scientific objects and scientific men, I am unwilling to moot any disputed or disputable question.

'There is a service of science to be rendered to a state with which it cannot dispense; and all, I think, must allow that it is neither liberal nor politic to keep those, who employ the rarest intellectual endowments in the direct service of the country, upon a kind of *parish allowance*. It would be difficult also to withhold our assent from the opinion that a liberal public provision would have a powerful effect in promoting those studies of *abstract science* which most require artificial encouragement; and that "to detach a number of ingenious men from every thing but

" scientific pursuits; to deliver them alike from the embarrassments of po-
" verty and the temptations of wealth; to give them a place and station
" in society the most respectable and independent, is to remove every im-
" pediment and to add every stimulus to exertion." * But I will not on this occasion enter upon a subject on which any difference of sentiment can be supposed to exist, nor pretend to decide whether Playfair judged rightly of the degree in which a provision of this kind has actually improved the state of science in a neighbouring country when he adds, that " to such an institution operating upon a people of great genius and in-
" defatigable activity of mind, we are to ascribe that superiority in the
" *mathematical sciences*, for which, during the last seventy years, they
" have been so conspicuous."'

To these admirable observations Mr Harcourt adds,—

'I have spoken both of scientific societies and of the national policy with all freedom; because I take *free speech upon points in which the interests of science are deeply concerned*, to be one of the PRINCIPAL PURPOSES *for which we are now assembled*.'

Now it is manifest from these observations that two of the principal objects of the Association were to call the public attention to the revision of the law of patents; and to discuss, if not to recommend to the Government, the propriety of making a liberal public provision to those who employ the rarest intellectual endowments in the service of the country; in order to detach them from every thing but scientific pursuits, and give them a respectable and independent place in society.

Such were the avowed objects of the British Association when it met at York, as published in official documents. Let us now see how these objects have been pursued, and whether any or all of them have been modified or abandoned.

The primary and grand object of the Congress, that of collecting in the focus of an annual weekly meeting the lights and the fuel of British Science, has been nobly and successfully pursued. This is her vestal fire, which will ever burn;—this the true origin of that impulse of high pressure, which can alone elevate the prostrate science of England—which can give speed to the faltering steps of its hard-working sons, and which will ultimately wring from a reluctant Government that liberality which every other Government and every other Sovereign have voluntarily proffered to the living stars of their empire. Those who have enjoyed the happiness of sitting down at these intellectual banquets can alone judge of the strength and fervour which they

* See Professor Playfair's Dissertation prefixed to the *Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica*.

infuse into ardent and ambitious minds. To discuss the topics of abstract or natural science at the same board with the Daltons, the Aragos, the Herschels, the Faradays, the Browns, the Airys, of modern science, is a privilege of immeasurable value. A light from the union of such minds, or even a spark from their collision, would rouse the decaying fires of the oldest sage—would excite the dullest flame of the youngest aspirant, and summon to fresh triumphs the surviving faculties of the most exhausted mind. But, besides this electric influence which darts through kindred spirits, the communion of eminent great men presents more direct and durable advantages. At the sectional meetings we have listened for hours to the details of original research;—we have examined fine instruments and apparatus;—we have been taught new methods of observation;—and have witnessed instructive and brilliant experiments. Thus was knowledge added to enthusiasm, and thus was the excited and improved mind sent back to pursue its enquiries with a stronger impulse, and in a more systematic direction.

But there are other incitements to labour presented by the congenial intercourse of the cultivators and the friends of science. While popular assemblies afford abundant orifices for the discharge of shallow declamation, and sufficiently numerous occasions for the gratification of pompous vanity, modest merit is brought forward even by its own silence; and he whose youthful or unpatronised genius has never had a friend to guide, or a patron to approve, will here find his labours appreciated, his friendship courted, and his fame extended. Nor are these advantages conferred by his fellow-labourers alone. Rank and wealth and official dignity add their applause; and the young philosopher resumes his toils under the strongest and the noblest impulse which can be applied to a generous mind.

But where is the raw material to which our impelling power is to be applied,—and where the race of original and inventive minds which are required for the varied labours of science? There may be a thousand provincial societies ready to listen to geology and literature, and fraught with a large proportion of respectable talent and scientific zeal: but in all these assemblies there may not be one philosopher who is destined to carry his name beyond the limits of his borough, still less beyond the British Channel, and still less to the crest of the Ural and the Andes. Original and inventive minds are not of earthly mould. Divinely formed, they are the instruments through which Providence discloses to man the wonders of creative power, and the laws of his material universe. When the stars of this small but bright constellation appear above the

horizon, they must be watched and studied. But how are we to stop them in their course, and avail ourselves of their splendour? When a youth without fortune, but gifted with high powers, and dazzled with the ambition of fame, resolves to pursue the career of discovery, he is soon checked with the vulgar recollection that he must be clothed and fed. If he is an ingenious inventor, the Patent Law prevents him from deriving benefit from his genius. If he is a man of science, there is no situation to which he can reasonably look where he can find bread to eat and leisure to discover. He must therefore choose a profession, unless he ventures on the dangerous expedient of living by his wits, and perhaps losing his wits in attempting to live by them. He becomes doctor, lawyer, or divine, and devotes to other studies those brilliant powers which might have extended his own or his country's fame.

In France, Prussia, Russia, and other states, the young philosopher looks at once to a home in their Institutes and Academies, or in their Boards of Longitude, or in those numerous establishments which are intrusted to scientific men; and, to repeat the language of Professor Playfair, he is 'detached from every thing 'but scientific pursuits; he is delivered alike from the embarrass-'ments of poverty and the temptations of wealth:—he receives a 'place and station in society the most respectable and indepen-'dent:' every impediment is removed from his path, and every stimulus added to his exertion.

During the existence of the British Association, its leaders have almost entirely neglected its fundamental objects. Though more than once urged to it, they have not considered the question relative to the Law of Patents. Though Mr Harvey, Mr Owen, and Mr Gill recommended, both at Oxford and Cambridge, that the state of naval architecture in England should have 'the early attention of the Association, assisted by the Govern-'ment,' yet not a single step has been taken on the subject; and, though one of the express designs of the congress, not a single measure has been adopted relative to the national encouragement of scientific men. We are not disposed to enquire by what influence, or from what motives these primary objects of the Association have been so singularly overlooked; but we have no hesitation in predicting their speedy and complete accomplishment.

The remaining object of the Association, which is supposed to distinguish it from the German institution, is that of giving a systematic direction to scientific enquiry. This is no doubt a most desirable purpose; but it is one, we fear, wholly beyond the

power of any body of men to accomplish; at least by any more effectual process than that which has been employed by various other societies. If the scientific enquiries here alluded to belong to the highest departments of physical knowledge, the attempt is equally hopeless and presumptuous. Where is the great intellectual captain who is able to compose, and daring enough to issue such general orders to original talent,—or if such a sage does exist, will he devote his powers to the drill-sergeantry of science? If he does, we venture to predict his failure. We do not think that, if the British Association were to send their compliments to Sir John Herschel, and request him to investigate the manner in which the hypothetical tubes in gaseous bodies absorb and transmit definite rays under the changing circumstances of heat, pressure, and variable thickness—he would renounce his present occupation for the task; and still less do we think that the Association will be able to suggest any lines of direction into which his own genius would not naturally conduct him. Mr Faraday will not quit his rich vein of electrical discovery to study the sulpho-salts; nor will Dr Prout abandon his transcendental chemistry to study the radicals of the earths. Those high powers, indeed, which are worthy of being directed, will not run either on railways or in grooves, however wisely they may be prescribed. Let true genius be fostered and cheered. Give it a generous impulse. Give it leisure and a fair field, and it will speedily find a starting point—a direction—and a prize.

But if by the scientific enquiries above referred to, are meant those humble labours in which specific experiments and observations of a local nature may be made, and data fixed and collected for the higher purposes of generalization;—if they refer to the collection of tide observations—to measurements of rain,—to the extension of hourly observations of temperature,—to the phenomena of the aurora, and such like classes of facts, the intentions of the Association will be most useful to science. But almost all of these objects and many more have been pursued, and are at present pursued by other societies. The Royal Society of Edinburgh instituted meteorological observations throughout all Scotland:—carried on hourly meteorological observations for three years, and had observations on the magnetic intensity made throughout all Scotland. The Society of Arts for Scotland offered prizes for various specific objects in natural history, and for detailed accounts of the botany of the Scottish counties; and the Irish Institutions have, we believe, pointed out many specific objects of investigation. We have mentioned these merely as specimens of the directive energy of two societies; and we leave it to the other metropolitan and provincial bodies to say whether they have or

have not endeavoured to give a direction to scientific enquiry in the sense in which we use it. If they have not, they have neglected their first duty; and we would counsel them to vindicate their claim to scientific diligence by giving a beginning at least to so good a work.

If the systematic direction of scientific enquiry is exhibited in the recommendations of the different committees, we admit at once that the Association has *recommended* much, and that its recommendations are, so far, in a systematic order, that they are given under the heads of the different sciences;—Astronomical recommendations under Astronomy, and Botanical ones under Botany: but though the list of recommendations is an useful one, yet it may have the effect of misleading individuals from a more congenial course of study; and we cannot understand why the Astronomical Society should not have prepared the astronomical, and the Linnæan Society the botanical recommendations; and still less can we understand why the sovereign Association, swaying its sceptre only during one week of the year, while it is in a state of hybernation during the other fifty weeks, should be better able to originate and enforce *recommendations* than the *same* individuals sitting in the Astronomical, Linnæan, and other societies, who meet together, week after week, during the greater part of the year.

Whatever, in short, can be done by other institutions, as well as by the Association, should be left to their individual management: or if they have not spontaneously undertaken the task, it should be enforced upon them with all the influence of the larger body. Thus, freed from petty details, which would be more leisurely, more continuously, and therefore more efficaciously executed by the same individuals in their respective societies, the Association would be able to direct its power to purposes worthy of its developement; and would relieve itself of the charge of having neglected the grand objects of its union.

In order to illustrate this position by an actual example, we shall take the first that occurs in the list of recommendations referred to.

'The Committee for Mathematical and Physical Science stated, that it would tend much to the advancement of Astronomy and the art of Navigation, if the observations of the Sun, Moon, and Planets, made by Bradley, Maskelyne, and Pond, were reduced.

'It was resolved by the General Committee, that a representation to this effect from the British Association be submitted to Government, in the hope that public provision might be made for the accomplishment of this *great national object;* and that a deputation, consisting of Professor

Airy, Mr Baily, Mr Davies Gilbert, and Sir John Herschel, be appointed to confer with the Lords of the Treasury on the subject.

'The application was immediately complied with by the Government, and an advance of L.500 has been made by the Treasury towards the reduction of the observations from the year 1750 to the present day.'

Now, it will scarcely, we think, be doubted that the four philosophers who obtained from the treasury the advance of L.500 for the great national object of reducing old astronomical observations, to forward the calculations of some individual astronomers, could have obtained the same sum if they had approached the treasury as Fellows of the Royal Society; or that the same gift would have been given on the application of the Duke of Sussex or Mr Lubbock. But whilst we mention this piece of labour as one which did not require the hundred horse power of the Association, we must speak of it also as an example of misdirected influence. Science would have derived much greater advantage by the appropriation of L.500 to promote original discovery,—especially in cases where expensive instruments were required; and we humbly think that the first bounty craved by the Association from the Government should have been for the most important general purpose which it could recommend, and one also which would have commanded the approbation of the entire body, in whose name it was obtained.

In admitting that the plan of directing scientific enquiry by drawing up reports, and recommending topics of investigation, is an useful, though a humble task, we cannot conceal our astonishment that such an object should be considered as rendering the British Association a *more permanent body* than the German Congress; or than itself would have been had no such plan been proposed. It was an essential and prominent design of the British Congress, before it met at York; and, in the printed notice it is stated as a principal object, '*to* ADOPT EVERY MEANS '*for advancing the interests of science in every part of the world*, '*by promoting scientific enquiries, and procuring assistance to* '*men of science in the prosecution of their researches;*' and these means would have been vigorously and assiduously used, whether the meeting had been called at York, Manchester, or Liverpool. It is a most groundless assertion, too, that the German Congress is nothing more than a reunion of philosophers for the promotion of personal intercourse, and the interchange of scientific discoveries. We are sure that this ardent body have exerted themselves in every possible way, both in impelling and directing scientific enquiry; and our readers will find it stated in Mr Johnston's Account of the Congress at Hamburgh, *that the German Congress wrote a letter to the* KING OF ENGLAND, *and another to the* EAST INDIA COMPANY, *requesting their assistance*

in the promotion of botanical enquiry throughout our Indian empire! Having few duties of this kind to perform at home, because their own sovereigns are not disinclined to the patronage of science, the German Congress have applied their moral power to do the work of the British Association, by attempting to rouse the slumbering energies of England. It will be a proud day for the science of these islands when the British Association shall be bold enough to recommend scientific enquiry to foreign potentates; and a prouder one still when we can apply to the King of England what Baron Humboldt, at the Berlin Congress, said of the Prussian monarch. 'What inspires every Prussian with youthful 'strength, and with an enthusiastic love for the ancient reigning 'dynasty is, that he graciously attaches to himself every species of 'talent, and extends with confidence his royal protection to the free 'cultivation of the understanding.'

To say that the German Congress is not a permanent body is equally erroneous and foolish. It is a regular society, which keeps permanent records of its proceedings, its accounts, and its correspondence. It began its career by enacting laws which should be unalterable during the first *five* years of its existence: it has now met for ten years, and we can see no reason why its anniversary may not continue to be held for centuries to come. Nor can we for a moment imagine that its rate of mortality would be extended, by resolving to write reports and accumulate recommendations. But, though despotism may tame the spirit of German research, and suppress its unions, the British Association can never be exposed to so rude a shock. Its anniversary will be celebrated under the canopy of free institutions when its reports have ceased, and its recommendations have outrun the power of obeying them.

But admitting, for an instant, that the German Congress has its days numbered, how can permanency be given to it by the addition of that which is itself not permanent? The reports and recommendations of the British Association are the only part of the plan which is not lasting, and which must, sooner or later, come to an end. During the first three years of its existence, *eighteen* reports have been published; and as other *thirteen* were undertaken at Cambridge, and probably read at Edinburgh, the whole will amount to about thirty-one. Now, if thirty-one reports have been produced in three years, two hundred and seventeen will be made in twenty-one years; which, we think, will comprehend copious histories of all existing sciences. The total recommendations are now one hundred and eighteen; and, if they continue to accumulate at the same rate, they will soon form a bulky register of the inactivity of the philosophers to whom they are

addressed. There will then be no want of impulses and excitements. Every scientific man in the kingdom, metropolitan and provincial, will, like a well filled pin-cushion, be stimulated in his four quarters to supply all data, to solve all problems, and to sift all hypotheses. They will be spurred on to enquire into the lunacy of the barometer—to watch the plants in their excretories—and to study the spiders in their orgies;—and, before twenty years have elapsed, every star will have its keeper, every rock its historiographer, every weed its nurse, and every she-beast its man-midwife.

But there are other objections to the system of reporting, well worthy of grave consideration. It is nothing more than a species of book-making, already carried on far more appropriately in our different *Encyclopedias*, which contain admirable histories of science, often written by very distinguished individuals. Now we should not greatly object to this species of labour being undertaken by the Association, provided it were executed by a class of persons not fitted for other functions; but surely every class of mind has not had assigned to it its proper task, and original talent has not been wisely directed, when such men as Peacock, Challis, Whewell, and Christie, have been each called upon to collect and to compose two reports for the Association.

The reports under our consideration occupy seven-eighths of the first volume of the Transactions; and the other eighth is filled with the proceedings of the sections, which are brief abridgements of papers, many of which have been previously published in journals, or read at societies. These abridgements occupy 115 pages, or nearly one-fourth of the second volume; and we have no hesitation in characterising this part of the publication as utterly unworthy of the British Association. When the reports have run round the circle of the sciences, the Transactions of the Association must either cease altogether, or become a magazine of meagre abridgements. Many years cannot elapse before it reaches this state of exhaustion; and we scruple not to predict, that it will only reach its meridian when it is disencumbered of the labour of book-making, and the cares of authorship.

But let us suppose that the reports are drawn up in the best possible manner, so as to contain a valuable history of each science, brought down to the present day;—such a work is nothing more than an *Encyclopedia*, whilst the transactions of the sections are nothing more than a *Journal of Science*,—with this mortifying result, that all this literary labour is a charitable gift to the Association, and that a large sum of money is thus withdrawn from the promotion of genuine scientific objects. Will the candid reader then admit that this mangled *Encyclopedia*,—this *Journal* of fragments,

—these notable torsos of the reproductive functions of the Association,—are in the least degree calculated to give it either character or stability? But after all, this *Encyclopedia* of reports, and this *Journal* of Science, is a miserable plagiarism. It is a cast-off project submitted to the German Congress when it met at Hamburgh. 'A proposal,' says Mr Johnston, 'was made by 'Dr Stintzing of Hamburgh, for the publication of an *Encyclo-*'*pedia* or a *Journal of Science* by the Society, neither of which gave rise to any observation.' Both projects were rejected, and both have been taken up by the British Association to ensure it long life and prosperity!

When the Association shall have lightened itself of these incumbrances, and shall cease to beg a charitable tribute from its members, it will then appear in its original and dignified character. It will then be a congress of ardent minds willing to impart to each other their intellectual stores; comparing and combining their views, and their methods, and their objects; animating each other's ambition by the interchange of original discoveries; uniting their common efforts for promoting the interests of scientific and literary men; removing the impediments which check the progress of invention and discovery; giving respectability to knowledge, by uniting it with the rank and wealth of the state, and associating it with all that is amiable in the relations of domestic and social life. These noble and paramount objects, sufficient to occupy all the time, and exhaust all the energy of the Association, would then be pursued without the intrusion of book-making; and for the first time would this powerful machine execute its movements free from all interference with other societies and other works. It will acquire vitality and permanence by confining its cares to purposes worthy of a national assembly; and by leaving the concerns of municipal drudgery to those lesser corporations to which they have been so long intrusted, and by which they may be so well directed.

Having thus explained the *original* and *superinduced* objects of the British Congress, the methods by which they have been followed out, as evinced at its four anniversaries, and in its printed reports, we shall now proceed to consider some of the Objections which have been urged against such meetings.

When the Congress was first proposed, philosophers of real acquirements, whom no sectarian or corporation spirit had infected, came forward to unite their hands and hearts in the cause of science. But human nature is composed of various elements. Its little jealousies and private views were soon in a state of insurrection, and they came forth in the form of a thousand and

one objections to the purposes of the Congress. As these objections, however, speedily disappeared, and the very persons who urged them soon joined the Association, they are not now worthy of our notice. We shall consider, therefore, only those objections which still influence the minds of able and disinterested individuals.*

The *first* objection which has been stated to us is, That such a large assemblage must, in reality, be more an *imposing show* than a truly valuable and working institution; that there are already numerous societies for bringing together scientific men, and promoting scientific discussion; and that the rapid interchange of suggestions and discoveries may be thoroughly effected by the periodical press. We freely admit the force of this objection, and its special application to the meeting in its *present state*. It is doubtless a very imposing show; but it is in virtue of this attribute alone that it can effect the great purposes which it had originally in view. Union of numbers, sustained by talent, personal character, wealth and rank, and official dignity, may attain useful objects, which no individual efforts can accomplish. The pageant, therefore, of a numerous and imposing assemblage constitutes the working power of the Association. It is the brawny arm with which the intellectual giant is to procure his food, and to smite his enemies, and to extend his domain. The city where such a pageant is displayed acknowledges the power and the dignity of knowledge; its scientific men are either honoured for their diligence, or reproved for their supineness; a local spirit of invention and discovery is roused; and those who have the patronage of literary offices will be induced to exert it in favour of the best qualified and the most esteemed. The second part of the objection receives an answer from the very observation which accompanies it. While the Association is described as not a working reunion, it is allowed that the existing societies are sufficient for doing all the ordinary work of science. But the Association was not, at its institution, and never ought to be, a working body, for the very reason that is here assigned; and if it does assume the attitude of labour, it wants the capacity of execution. How can committees who are engaged at the sections in the forenoon, at the public meetings in the evening, and distracted too by the incessant hospitalities of a large city, find leisure or command abstraction for giving 'a systematic direction 'to scientific enquiry?' The thing is impossible. The whole

* The objections here noticed have been stated to us in writing, for the purpose of being considered in this Article.

management must and does fall into the hands of one or two functionaries, whose movements are sometimes aided and sometimes thwarted by a few intermeddling personages who wish to be regarded as the prime movers of the vast machine. The work of the institution, therefore, is actually done by a smaller number of heads than those which conduct any of the three Metropolitan Societies; and this small number does not contain any individuals of high name, or who, in as far as we know, are carrying on any original or profound enquiries. The very functions indeed which they are called to perform in collecting reports and recommendations withdraw them from the original researches which they may be fitted to carry on, or in which they may have been previously engaged. Our answer, therefore, to the objection which has been stated is, briefly, that the Association is an imposing show, and ought not to be a working reunion —that pageantry is its power and work its weakness.

The *second* objection which has been stated to us is, That such meetings are calculated to encourage and to bring into notice forward and shallow declaimers, to the exclusion of modest merit; and to lower the character and true dignity of scientific men, by giving them inducements and opportunities to make public displays, for which their habits are not at all suited. Although this objection is well founded, yet it is one which applies to all public meetings whatever; and in institutions of human origin we must often tolerate what is evil for the sake of what is good. At York there was little room for personal exhibition. At Oxford and Cambridge the spirit of oratorical display excited general disapprobation; but the improved arrangements at Edinburgh, and the accident of silent office-bearers, rendered it less frequent and offensive than it had been at preceding meetings. We shall consider it very fortunate if the Association shall quit Dublin, next August, without any accession to its oratorical Caput. If the eloquence of our philosophers had been always directed to legitimate objects, some excuse might have been found for its exercise; but when adulation is dealt out with indiscriminate prodigality, and men of inferior talent with the garnish of a little rank, or wealth, or official importance, are placed on the same, or on a higher level than those who possess commanding powers, the character of the assembly that sanctions it is degraded, the sacred interests of truth are sacrificed, and the claims of science are meanly compromised.

At the Oxford meeting there was a display of too remarkable a character, and too illustrative of the objection under our consideration, to be passed over in silence. At a public meeting in the Theatre, the geologists found an opportunity of making a

series of orations, by delivering to Mr W. Smith, the Wollaston medal, part of the Wollaston prize, which had been previously delivered to him on the 11th of January preceding. By this act, the British Association was transformed for a time into a meeting of the Geological Society; and if the same freedom had been taken by other societies who had awarded medals, the whole time of the Association would have been sacrificed to objects equally unimportant and extraneous. It was not merely the liberty which was used with the time of the Association that was here reprehensible; the whole transaction was one of bad taste, and eminently calculated to discredit a rising institution, on which the public verdict had not yet been pronounced. But this is a subject on which we cannot enter.*

The *third* objection which has been stated against the Association is, That it has a tendency to generate cabals and jealousies amongst its members. In admitting the truth of the objection we make no admission injurious to the Association. There is no society in which the elements of human nature may not enter into disagreeable combinations, or start into painful collisions; and it becomes a duty amongst the members of so large a body to check every appearance of unseemly discordance, and to put down every allusion and discussion in which personal feelings and interests are likely to be concerned. We are not aware of any cabals which have yet arisen in the British Association; but there is one topic, relative to its origin and progress, the introduction of which has, more than any other, a pernicious tendency, and which has already begun to throw a shade over its future prospects. This body is little more than three years old, and every particular of its origin and history is as well known to its members as if they were delineated in visible symbols. Those who originated, and those who fostered the British Congress, are well known to every person interested in its success; and their respective merits were distinctly recognised at York. The moment, however, that the contingent from Cambridge joined the Association, some scheme seems to have been formed to obliterate its origin, to paralyse its objects, and to take it under their own charge as something which they had remodelled, and to which their talents and zeal had given a new birth and a new impulse. This plan showed itself at Oxford, in ways which we shall not notice; but the first public expression which indicated its ex-

* See Babbage's Reflections on the Decline of Science, p. 115; and Edin. Journ. Science, No. VIII., April 1831, p. 357; and No. XII., O. S., April 1827, p. 369.

istence, was in the speech of Dr Buckland, (whom we acquit of all blame, and of any knowledge of such a plan,) made on assuming the office of President. 'With regard,' said he, 'to the 'objects of this meeting, they have been ably, eloquently, and 'philosophically set forth by my friend (the Rev. Mr Harcourt) 'the vice-president,—I may add, the *Founder of the Associa-* 'tion.'—(*Oxford Journal*, *June* 23, 1832.) Mr Harcourt, who saw at once the inconvenience of such discussions, and felt the incorrectness and injustice of the statement made by Dr Buckland, took the earliest opportunity of giving it a public contradiction. At the great entertainment, given on the same day, when his health was drunk as the late Vice-President of the Association, Mr Harcourt, in returning thanks, said, 'That the splen- 'did success of this meeting must undoubtedly be highly grati- 'fying to those with whom the plan originated,—to Sir David 'Brewster, who suggested the idea, and was therefore entitled, if 'any one, to be called the *Founder of the Association*:—to the 'individuals who seconded it;—and to the Society which adopt- 'ed it, and undertook the task of carrying it into execution.' —(*Oxford Journal*, *June* 23, 1832.) To these sentiments, worthy of the honourable feelings of the mind which dictated them, Mr Harcourt added,—'That of the many fine experiments 'which Sir David Brewster had made, this was the boldest and 'the most successful.'

The merits of Mr Harcourt are so well known, and the services which he has rendered to the Association so universally admitted, that it is inexplicable why his indiscreet friends should try to excite and perpetuate feelings which should never have existed; or imagine that they can add to his reputation by the sacrifice of truth, and by denying to others their just and acknowledged rights. We had hoped that such claims were for ever put down by Mr Harcourt himself; but at the first public meeting of the Association in Edinburgh, another individual renewed to him the adulation from which he shrunk at Oxford; and obliged him once more to repudiate a compliment which he had already spurned.*

The harmony which has hitherto characterised the British Association will, we trust, not be disturbed by such unworthy attempts. An intellectual congress is not the sphere for flattery: its food is not the gaseous element which is inhaled by the

* He did so, at the general meeting of the Association, held in the University Library, in almost the same words which we have quoted from the Oxford Journal.

foliage; it is the substantial and nutritive sap which enters by the root.

The claims and discussions now referred to have their origin in some mysterious influence, which, though now and then cropping out to the surface, we are unwilling to explore. There is an incubus pressing on the vitals of the Association with its livid weight;—there is a congestion somewhere near its heart, impeding its respiration, and disturbing its most vital functions. Is it political, ecclesiastical, or personal, or is it all of them combined? We dare not try to answer the question; but this we know, that if it is not soon relieved, we shall speedily witness the last heavings and the final expiration of the asthmatic giant.

In making these observations on the origin, history, and objects of the British Congress,—on the methods by which these objects have been pursued,—and on the objections which have been urged against such a reunion,—we have been moved by an anxious desire to free it from its imperfections; to direct its energies to objects of permanent value; to guard it against all oblique influence and collision with existing interests; and to warn it against the fatal error of founding its claims to public esteem on any other basis than the actual benefits which it obtains for the cultivators of science, the patronage which it extends to the scientific arts, and the amount of original discovery which it secures.

In order to draw from the Association such pure and inestimable advantages, its management must be confided to men of no illiberal views—of no sectarian influence—and pursuing no separate objects and interests of their own. The permanent Office-bearers must not be secretly guided, or openly led, by any junto of individuals; and no measure, or rule, ought to be taken or sanctioned till it has been proposed for deliberate consideration and discussion at a general meeting. Without such arrangements, the schemes of the Association are only suggestions of individuals, who propose them at the general committee, when distracted with business, or weak in numbers; and they are then read at a public meeting not assembled for discussion, and pass unnoticed as the decrees of the aggregate wisdom of British science!

The arrangements for the annual weekly meeting of the Association still require improvement. Those which were made at Edinburgh greatly surpassed all preceding ones; but much yet remains to be done. The arrangements and business of the General Committee ought to be finished, if possible, during the week previous to the meeting; so that the undivided strength of the Association may be marshalled for its real business in the

Sections. Hitherto the Sections have all met at the same time; the consequence of which is, that the members of one Section are deprived of the pleasure of attending any of the rest; and they return home mortified at not having heard particular papers in other Sections,—seen particular instruments and experiments, and become acquainted with particular individuals. The only method of removing this evil, (and after all it will only be a partial removal of it,) is that some of the Sections should meet at eight in the morning, some at ten, some at twelve, and others at two o'clock. This method was adopted by the Foreign Association at Hamburgh; and notwithstanding its obvious inconveniencies, it deserves a fair trial. The public evening Meetings were well conducted in Edinburgh. If eminent individuals are willing to give popular lectures on any branch of their own subject, there can be no better way of amusing and instructing a numerous audience. The lectures of Dr Buckland, at these meetings, were agreeable specimens of blended instruction and amusement. The discussions and debates which were got up on some occasions, will, we trust, never more be heard of. They excited much ridicule in Edinburgh; and their tendency was to degrade rather than to advance science, and to claim for presumption and vanity that meed of praise which should have been reserved for unobtrusive merit.

With regard to the great objects contemplated by those who originated the British Congress, and which are so well stated in Mr Harcourt's address already quoted, the General Committee, at their first sitting, should appoint several sub-committees, chosen by ballot, to report to a general meeting on the following important matters:—

1. On a direct national provision for men of science.
2. On the revision and repeal of the patent laws.
3. On the advancement of astronomy, navigation, and general geography, by fitting out ships of discovery.
4. On the advancement of general science, by the erection of physical observatories.
5. On the most scientific and economical method of lighting the coasts and harbours of Great Britain.
6. On the improvement and extension of the lines of communication throughout the kingdom, by roads, railways, and steamboats.
7. On the formation of a scientific board for improving our naval architecture.
8. On the improvement and extension of the British fisheries.
9. On the mines and minerals of the kingdom.
10. On the formation of a statistical board.

11. On the propriety of having an annual exhibition of inventions, and of the products of British industry, at the place of meeting of the Association.

12. On the propriety of intrusting to each metropolitan and provincial society certain specific objects of enquiry, and furnishing the means, when necessary, to carry them into effect.

13. To arrange a system of prizes for the successful prosecution of particular branches of science.

When such committees have been organized, the public will recognise the utility of a national union, and the science of Britain will soon feel its power. But even should it fail in all these attempts to do good, and should it strive in vain to excite an unfriendly government, and rouse a torpid population, there is happily one result which it will never fail to secure — that of blending in unity and peace the hearts and sympathies of the friends of knowledge, and creating a moral force which will ultimately overpower the enemies of the best and most permanent interests of their country. It was well stated by Lord Brougham, as one of the principal advantages of such associations, 'that they bring together, on the *neutral ground of* '*science*, men of all countries, of all religions, and of all shades 'of political opinion.' Nations, and communities, and individuals, separated by exasperating feuds, by religious creeds, by speculative differences, and by personal distastes, find here one kindly tie, which unites them in the common brotherhood of intellectual natures, cherishing the love, and admiring the wisdom, of one common Father. The repulsive elements of clashing opinions, and dissevered hearts, are compressed into closer contact by the force of aggregation, which binds them but for a while: and ties which were assumed only as temporary, become the bond of unbroken concord, and the cement of enduring friendship.

ART. VIII.—*Travels into Bokhara; being the Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia; also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the sea to Lahore: performed under the orders of the Supreme Government of India, in the years* 1831, 1832, *and* 1833. By Lieutenant ALEXANDER BURNES, F. R. S., of the East India Company's Service. 3 vols. 8vo. With a Map, by J. Arrowsmith. London: 1834.

IF, seated on the summit of Kantal, or some other towering pinnacle of Himaleh, and seeing beneath us innumerable streams glancing in silvery lines from the skirts of its everlasting snows, and swelling into mighty rivers, which portion out the earth, and distribute the blessings of abundance among populous nations—if, we say, throned on such an eminence, we were called on to point out the region over which we should choose to wander, we should unhesitatingly select the very country which Mr Burnes has had the good fortune to visit in safety. It is true that the eastern horizon might promise us an ampler field of novelty, and an infinitely richer display of barbaric greatness; but still, between the Indus and the Oxus lies the scene of the deepest historical interest: here we find the traces of the Macedonian and the Mongol,—the demigod and the demon,—of Alexander and Zengis Khan; and the face of nature glows with a more lively expression in the rays shed on it from the epochs of history. The day is not far distant, we believe, when a flood of light will be thrown on the Bactrian kingdom, or Macedonian India, and when the passes of the Paropamisus or Hindu Kùsh will be all made known. In the mean time, we hail with gratitude and pleasure the volumes now before us, the adventurous author of which, though not the first European who has crossed the Hindu Kùsh from Cabùl to the Oxus, is yet the first who has given us a circumstantial account of that almost unknown country. In our analysis of Mr Burnes's volumes, however, we shall adhere to the chronological order of his journeys, rather than to the publisher's arrangement, or rather disarrangement of them, founded on the doubtful title of relative interest; and shall therefore commence with the voyage on the Indus which occupies the third volume. Or rather, we shall begin from his earliest peregrinations, and mark by what course of training his active spirit was prepared for difficult and important undertakings.

In the year 1828, Mr Burnes being at that time attached to the Quarter-Master-General's department in Cutch, conceived the project of exploring the Rajpút country along the river

Loonee, and between that river and the Indus. This plan, so well calculated to complete our knowledge of the frontiers of British India, was approved of by the government of Bombay; with some restrictions, dictated by the fear of awakening the jealousy of the governors of Sinde. Mr Burnes accordingly visited Jaysulmere, the castle of which place is the grandest of the Rajpút strongholds; the mountain of Aboo, and its exquisitely carved temple; the fertile country near Ajmere, and a portion of the desert north of Cutch. It may be easily imagined that this tour among the independent Rajpút princes, afforded our author an opportunity of acquiring not a little insight into the character of the native Indian courts. In the mean time, the design on the Indus had ripened into a scheme more interesting and comprehensive.

In the year 1830, the King of Great Britain sent as a present to Maharaja Runjeet Sing, five dapple-grey horses of the largest description; and Mr Burnes, who was returned from his tour in Rajpútana, was appointed, on the recommendation of Sir John Malcolm, at that time Governor of Bombay, to proceed as the bearer of these presents to Lahore, by way of the Indus. The survey of this great river was, in fact, the most important object of the expedition.

'In addition, therefore,' says our author, 'to the complimentary mission on which I was to be employed, I had my attention most specially directed to the acquisition of full and complete information regarding the Indus. This was a matter of no easy accomplishment, as the Ameers, or rulers of Sinde, had ever evinced the utmost jealousy of Europeans, and none of the missions which visited the country had been permitted to proceed beyond their capital of Hyderabad. The river Indus likewise, in its course to the ocean, traverses the territories of many lawless and barbarous tribes, from whom both opposition and insult might be dreaded. On these matters much valuable advice was derived from Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Pottinger, political resident in Cutch, and well known to the world for his adventurous travels in Beloochistan. He suggested that it might allay the fears of the Sinde government, if a large carriage were sent with the horses, since the size and bulk of it would render it obvious that the mission could then only proceed by water. This judicious proposal was immediately adopted by government.' (III. p. 2.)

These arrangements, with sundry letters of a political complexion, had all for their object to outwit the Sindian Princes, and to parry their repugnance to the exploration of the Indus. It was a more sterling kind of prudence which determined Mr Burnes to forego the doubtful protection of a military escort; and to rely wholly for personal safety on the kind and generous feelings of the tribes with whom he was about to mingle. All pre-

parations being completed, our author, accompanied by Ensign J. D. Leckie, of the 22d Regiment N. I., a surveyor, and a doctor, both natives, and a suitable establishment of servants, sailed from Mandivee in Cutch, with a fleet of five native boats, on the morning of the 21st of January, 1831. On the evening of the 24th, he anchored in the Koree, once the easternmost branch of the Indus, but now only an arm of the sea.

'We followed,' says he, 'the Sinde coast for four or five days, passing all the mouths of the Indus, eleven in number, the principal of which we entered and examined, without even the observation of the inhabitants. There was little indication of our being near the estuary of so great a river; for the water was only fresh a mile off shore from the Gora, or largest mouth of the Indus; and the junction of the river water with that of the sea was formed without violence, and might be now and then discovered by a small streak of foam, and a gentle ripple. The number and subdivision of the branches diminish, no doubt, the velocity as well as the volume of the Indus; but it would be supposed that so vast a river would exercise an influence in the sea far from its embouchure; and I believe this is really the case in the months of July and August, during the inundation. The waters of the Indus are so loaded with mud and clay, as to discolour the sea for about three miles from the land.'—(III. p. 8.)

The coast of Sinde is so low as to be rarely discernible a league off shore; and it has no trees which might serve as marks, or at least to give warning to mariners. On the evening of the 28th, the expedition anchored in the mouth of the Pittee, the most western branch of the Indus; and Mr Burnes having sent a notification of his plans to the authorities at Darajee, ventured to anticipate a welcome, by ascending the river about 35 miles from the sea. He was obliged, however, to retrace his steps; and in so doing, was so rudely treated by the natives, whose boats were gathering round him, that he thought it prudent to yield to their menaces, and await in the eastern branch of the river the effect of fresh remonstrances to the Ameer of Hydrabad. A letter soon arrived from this prince, which urged, in the strongest manner, the difficulty of navigating the Indus; but, as it did not refuse permission to make the attempt, Mr Burnes returned, and in spite of bad weather, succeeded in entering the Pieteanee mouth of the river. Still, no explicit permission to ascend the river arrived, the natives were uncivil, and our author, after spending a month on the inhospitable coast of Sinde, returned to Cutch.

Now came a fresh struggle of negotiations. Eastern duplicity vainly contended with the profounder artifice of European diplomacy. The one side pretended all friendship; the other affected to feel insulted. While the Ameer, with little regard for truth,

declared that the Indus had only water sufficient for canoes, our representatives maintained, (as if English cart horses were aquatics,) that the mission could not possibly proceed to Lahore by land; and when the former granted a passage through Sinde by land, he was understood to mean a passage by water. Matters being thus hypothetically arranged, Mr Burnes sailed a third time for the Indus, and entered the Hujamree, one of the central mouths of the river, on the 17th of March. A week's negotiation was necessary, nevertheless, to overcome thoroughly the reluctance of the Sindian government to allow the boats to ascend the river. This point gained, Mr Burnes consoled himself for the delays which had already occurred, with the reflection that they had afforded him opportunities of entering and examining all the mouths of the Indus, and of completing a map of the Delta, by the information collected during a week's residence at Tatta. This town, which contains a population of 15,000 souls, living in houses of wicker-work, plastered with clay, was formerly a place of great wealth and importance. Mr Burnes thought he saw evidence of its former greatness in the extent of its ruins; but we, without presuming to deny that Tatta has declined, will yet venture to insinuate that Europeans, in the nineteenth century, are not correct judges of the greatness of past ages and distant countries; and that they are too apt to measure antiquity by a false standard. Though the trade and productive industry of Tatta may have fallen to decay, the gains of its priests have by no means declined. It stands luckily on the high-road from India to Hinglaj, a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Mekran; and the priests, by instructing the devotees in the ritual of their penances, strip them of their money as infallibly as the pilgrimage washes away all their sins. But our author here furnishes us unawares with a curious piece of information.

'A journey to Hinglaj purifies the pilgrim from his sins; a cocoa nut cast into a cistern exhibits the nature of his career; if the water bubbles up, his life has been, and will continue, pure; but if still and silent, the Hindoo must undergo farther penance to appease the Deity. The tribe of Goseins, who are a kind of religious mendicants, though frequently merchants, and most wealthy, frequent this sequestered place, and often extend their journey to an island called Seetadeep, not far from Bunder Abass, in Persia.'—(III. p. 33.)

So we have found at last, in the gulf of Persia, the *Sweta dwipa*, or *White island* of the west, which that arch-theorist, Major Wilford, laboured so unremittingly to prove to be Albion itself. The supposition that England was celebrated in the most ancient Sanscrit writing, as a paradise or elysium, under the

auspicious title of the White island, was among the brightest imaginings of that singular man.

It was not till the 12th of April that Mr Burnes and his party commenced their voyage up the Indus, in doondees or flat bottomed boats of Sinde; these boats are cumbrous floating houses, in which the boatmen transport their wives and families, their kids, fowls, and other live stock. The Indus gradually widens as it is ascended from the sea, and at Tatta has a breadth of 2000 feet. Its depth, from its mouth to the same town, is no where less than six fathoms. Its banks exhibit a cheerless waste. From Tatta to Hydrabad the country adjoining the river is kept by the Ameers in the unprofitable condition of a hunting thicket, overgrown with furze and brushwood. In Hydrabad, the mud-built capital of Sinde, our traveller met with a kind reception; the Ameer, it is true, had the meanness to intimate what articles he wished to obtain as presents; but such freedoms on the part of the host appear to us to be venial in a country, in which a guest does not blush to accept a purseful of rupees. An easy voyage of eight days carried our author to Sehwun, and thence, another ten days, to Bukkur, where his arrival was anxiously expected by the Ameer of Khyrpoor. Throughout this distance there is little navigation on the Indus.

'There are few ferry-boats on the Indus, and it is a curious sight to see the people crossing it on skins and bundles of reeds. A native will often float down to a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, accompanied by a whole herd of buffaloes, preferring this mode of travelling to a journey on the banks.'—(III. p. 64.)

From Bukkur our traveller was conveyed in a state palanquin to Khyrpoor, fourteen miles distant from the river, where he was received with cordial hospitality by Meer Roostum Khan. This poor Belooch soldier, as the Ameer called himself, sent his guests twice a-day a meal of seventy-two dishes, served in silver, and dismissed them loaded with valuable presents. But our readers must not imagine that this munificence indicates a wealthy or luxurious state of society. The Sindian chieftains are the only rich persons in their respective dominions; they reduce their subjects to wretchedness in order to fill their own coffers; and their occasional profusion is measured rather by their pride than their resources. The progress of the mission up the river had now become a continued ovation; civilities poured in from every side; and the good fortune of the English was loudly proclaimed; since their little fleet was wafted against the stream by favourable breezes, in a country where the air is often motionless for months together. They found Bhawul Khan, the chief of the Daoodpootres, not less solicitous to please them than their friend

of Khyrpoor. But it is impossible to particularize the events of the voyage. The Indus, immediately below its junction with the Chenab, (which unites all the rivers of the Punjab,) is a mile wide. Our author proceeded up the latter stream, and at Ooch received the following information, which first awakened in his mind a desire to explore the countries north of the mountains of Hindú Kúsh.

'During our stay at Ooch, we were visited by some of the principal merchants of Bhawulpoor, who had followed the Khan. The intelligence of these people, and the extent of their travels, surprised me. Most of them had traversed the kingdom of Cabool, and visited Balkh and Bokhara; some had been as far as Astracan, and they used the names of these towns with a familiarity as if they had been in India. They had met Russian merchants at Bokhara, but assured me that they never came to the eastward of that city. The intervening countries they represented as perfectly safe, and bestowed the highest commendations on Dost Mahommed of Cabool and the Uzbeks, who encouraged commercial communication. These merchants are chiefly Hindoos, whose disposition peculiarly adapts them for the patient and painstaking vocation of a foreign merchant.'—(III. pp 94, 95.)

On the first day after leaving Ooch, the expedition passed the mouth of the Sutlege, and on the evening of the second reached the frontier of the Seik territory. Here they were met by a Sirdar, who, with a large escort of troops, had been long awaiting their arrival. This officer approached them in state, mounted on an elephant, and adorned with costly jewels, holding in one hand a bow, (the usual Seik offering) and in the other two letters enclosed in silken bags. The ceremony of presenting these was concluded by throwing bags of money at our travellers' feet. Honours thus gathered round the mission at every step of its progress; nor were the Seiks, as it appears, without an equivalent gratification.

'No sooner had the day broke than the Maharajah's people evinced much anxiety to view the dray-horses, and we had them landed for exhibition. Their surprise was extreme, for they were little elephants, said they, and not horses. Their manes and tails seemed to please, from their resemblance to the hair of the cow of Thibet; and their colour, a dappled grey, was considered a great beauty. It was not without difficulty that I replied to the numerous questions regarding them, for they believed that the presents of the King of England must be extraordinary in every way; and, for the first time, a dray-horse was expected to gallop, canter, and perform all the evolutions of the most agile animal. Their astonishment reached its height when the feet of the horses were examined, and a particular request was made of me to permit the despatch of one of the shoes to Lahore, as it was found to weigh 100 rupees, or as much as the four shoes of a horse in this country. The curiosity was forthwith des-

patched by express, and accompanied by the most minute measurement of each of the animals, for Runjeet Sing's special information. The manner in which this rarity was prized will be afterwards seen, when it is gravely recorded that the new moon turned pale with envy on seeing it!'—(III. pp. 102, 103.)

It were needless to recount how many purses of rupees or jars of sweetmeats were lavished on Mr Burnes and his party in the course of his propitious journey through the country of the Seiks; or how much gunpowder was expended in saluting him. Suffice it to say that his conductors strictly observed their written instructions, 'to congratulate him in a hundred different 'ways,' and to supply him with the luxuries of the country, 'in 'quantities without bounds.' The portion of the Seik territory which lies on the Chenab is fertile and populous; not so the banks of the Ravee or Irastee, (the Hydraotes of the ancients,) which winds in a tediously circuitous course from Lahore to its junction with the Chenab, through a parched and uncultivated country. But it is time to conduct Mr Burnes to the end of his journey. On the morning of the 18th of July he made his public entry into Lahore, and took up his abode in the house of M. Ventura, one of Runjeet Sing's foreign generals. On the morning of the 20th he was introduced at Court. Eastern pageantry outdid itself on the occasion. The five dappled grey dray horses attracted all eyes. At length the party crossed the first court of the palace, and, says our author,

'While stooping to remove my shoes at the threshold, I suddenly found myself in the arms and tight embrace of a diminutive old-looking man,—the great Maharaja Runjeet Sing.'—(III. p. 150.)

All the members of the mission being then seated on silver chairs in front of his highness, Mr Burnes explained the object of the mission, and produced a letter from his Majesty's Minister for the affairs of India, (Lord Ellenborough,) in a bag of cloth of gold, and sealed with the arms of England. The Maharaja, standing up with all his court, touched his forehead with the seal of the letter, which he then handed to his secretary to read. When its friendly contents were half through, unable to contain his joy, he ordered a salute to be fired of sixty guns. His affability continued while nature lent strength to support it.

'The exertion,' says Mr Burnes, 'which his Highness underwent, seemed to exhaust him, and we withdrew. Nature, indeed, has been sparing in her gifts to this personage, and there must be a mighty contrast between his mind and body. He has lost an eye, is pitted by the small-pox, and his stature certainly does not exceed five feet three inches.' —(III. p. 154.)

If our readers wish to obtain a thorough insight into the cha-

racter of the Maharaja, let them consult the 'Correspondence' of Victor Jacquemont. The keen eye of that accomplished writer soon seized the reality, notwithstanding the dazzling pomp and circumstance which surrounded it. Jacquemont saw that moral sentiments had little influence over 'such a pagan as Runjeet 'Sing.' He felt that the Maharaja's conversation 'was a bore.' He perceived that the enjoyment of absolute power had perfectly developed in the ruler of the Seiks, abilities of the vulgarest order. Runjeet Sing owes his present eminence to his personal courage, and the improved organization of his army. But the European officers whom he employs are the constant objects of his fears: his troops, ill paid, are always on the brink of mutiny; and he himself, the main pillar of the Seik nation, is reduced to premature decrepitude by intemperance of all kinds. He cannot last long, and with him will probably fall to the ground the political fabric, to the aggrandizement of which his life has been devoted. Mr Burnes, impressed with the Maharaja's energy, was disposed to consider him a Hindoo prodigy; and experienced as a representative of the British government such a show of zealous friendship, as naturally tended to blind him to that ruler's failings. Who could judge with severe impartiality the possessor of the wealth described in the following passage, even though not the apparent object of his especial favour?

'In compliance with a wish that I had expressed, he produced the "Koh i noor," or *mountain of light*, one of the largest diamonds in the world, which he had extorted from Shah Shooja, the Ex-King of Cabool. Nothing can be imagined more superb than this stone; it is of the finest water, and about half the size of an egg. Its weight amounts to 3½ rupees, and if such a jewel is to be valued, I am informed it is worth 3½ millions of money, but this is a gross exaggeration. The "Koh i noor" is set as an armlet, with a diamond on each side about the size of a sparrow's egg.

'Runjeet seemed anxious to display his jewels before we left him, and with the diamond was brought a large ruby, weighing 14 rupees. It had the names of several kings engraven on it, among which were those of Auranjzebe and Ahmed Shah. There was also a topaz of great size, weighing 11 rupees, and as large as half a billiard ball; Runjeet had purchased it for 20,000 rupees.

'His Highness, after assuring us of his satisfaction at a communication having been opened with so remote a quarter of India as Bombay, as it cemented his friendship with the British Government, then invested me with a string of pearls; he placed a diamond ring on one hand, and an emerald one on the other, and handed me four other jewels of emeralds and pearls. He then girt round my waist a superb sword, adorned with a knot of pearls. A horse was next brought, richly dressed out with cloth of gold, and golden ornaments on the bridle and saddle. A "Khilut," or robe of honour, composed of a shawl-dress, and many other manufactures of

Cashmere, were then delivered to me, as well as presents of a similar nature for Mr Leckie. Three of our attendants were likewise favoured by his Highness; and in his munificence, he sent a sum of 2000 rupees for distribution among the remainder of the suite. Maharaja Runjeet then produced a letter, in reply to the one I had brought from his Majesty's minister, which he requested I would deliver. It was put up in a silken bag, and two small pearls were suspended from the strings that fastened it. It occupied a roll from four to five feet long.'—(III. pp. 168-9.)

A letter five feet in length is too long for our readers, who will have found, besides, in the preceding extracts, sufficient illustration of the zeal of Runjeet Sing on the one hand, and of his English admirers on the other. We may hereafter return to glance at the political prospects and resources of the Seik nation; or as it may with perhaps more propriety be designated, the Kingdom of the Punjáb. At present we shall hasten to reconduct our author to the frontiers of British India; and then proceed to recapitulate briefly his valuable and interesting observations on the river Indus, both as a defence and a navigable channel of internal communication. Mr Burnes quitted Lahore on the 16th of August, and travelled thirty miles over a fertile country, watered by a canal from the Ravee, to Umritsir, the commercial capital of the Punjáb. Beyond this, towards the east, cultivation declined. He found the Beas or Hyphasis swollen by the rains, a mile broad; and crossing the Sutlege, where it had a breadth of 700 yards, he arrived at Lodiana, in the British territory, after a journey of ten days.

Mr Burnes has proved experimentally that the Indus and its tributaries may be navigated from the sea to Lahore,—a distance of a thousand miles. The navigation of this distance, at the most favourable season, when the south-west wind prevailed, and there was no flood, occupied exactly sixty days. Of these, forty were spent in ascending as far as Mooltan on the Chenab, about three-fourths of the whole distance. The ascent of the Ravee, which flows with a more rapid current, occupied twenty days. The last named river is the least of all the rivers comprised in the Punjáb. Its general width does not exceed 150 yards, and it is fordable during eight months of the year. The Indus, below its junction with the Chenab, never shallows to less than fifteen feet in the dry season; its average width is nearly half a mile. Its stream, free from rocks or rapids, flows at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. There can be no doubt that it is navigable in good sized boats as high as Attok, about 1200 miles from the sea. Our author supposes that a boat may drop down from Lahore to the sea in fifteen days, as follows:—To Mooltan in six; to Bukkur in four; to Hydrabad in three; and to the seaports in two.

This is a specious outline of an extensive inland navigation: but alas! the obstructions of the Indus are all arrayed in the most formidable positions: we mean, at its mouths. During the south-westerly monsoon, the sea breaks with fury on the coast of Sinde, which, at all times dangerous, is then unapproachable. The mouths of the river are all barred; some, including the largest, are scarcely accessible from the sea; the bars and sand-banks are in a state of continual change, so that under the most favourable circumstances the Indus can be entered only by small vessels not exceeding fifty tons burden; and indeed Mr Burnes seems to think that the navigation of that river must be always carried on in flat-bottomed boats, built after the native models, and not drawing more than four feet water. At present the Indus is but little navigated. From Lahore to the sea there are not above seven hundred boats, the greater part of which are stationed at the ferries. The extension of steam navigation to the Indus, of which our author seems to entertain some sanguine expectations, appears to us to be indefinitely distant. It is true that coal has been discovered on the one side in Cutch, and on the other at Cohat, not very far from Attok: but still the steam-vessels which are to navigate the Indus must be built for that especial purpose: the coal mines on both sides must be previously wrought and made available: and is it likely that the expense of securing these indispensable preliminaries will ever be incurred for the sake of a commerce not actually in existence, but which is only sought to be developed? The jealousy and barbarism of the native states on the river are also serious obstacles, though not altogether insurmountable. In fine, we will take our leave of the Indus with this reflection, that the gifts of nature, which are granted with certain provisos, or, as we may say, on tenure of active service, ought not to be considered less valuable on that account; since they can be developed only in the hands of a civilized people, and therefore call forth, as they require, greater moral strength.

But to return to the movements of Mr Burnes. From Lodiana he proceeded along the frontiers of British India to Simla, among the hills at the foot of the Himaleh, where the Governor-general of India, Lord William Bentinck, was at that time residing, in order that he might lay before his lordship an account of his mission. The Governor-general gave him the most gratifying proof of sincere approbation by sanctioning his project of a journey to Persia and Europe, by the route of Cabul, Balkh, and Bokhara. It may be remembered that our author had learned from conversation with the Hindú merchants of Ooch, many circumstances corroborative of his belief of the safety of that

frequented route. The preparations being completed, Mr Burnes left Simla on the 2d of January, 1831, in commencement of his journey to Central Asia, as he vaguely and rather pompously designates Western Turkistan. His companion on this occasion was Dr James Gerard, an experienced traveller, who had not long before explored the country near the sources of the Sutlege on the frontiers of Ladakh. In fifteen days the party reached Lahore, where, of course, they were received by the politic Maharaja with a liberal share of junketing and amusement.

But we shall not dwell on this part of the narrative. The court of Runjeet Sing, its splendour and its pleasures, as depicted in the volumes before us, with the touches of superficial perception, do not rise above the reach of vulgar imaginations. Our reader's fancy will easily make the most of gold bedsteads, gilt canopies, tents of scarlet cloth, pavilions of cashmere shawls, dingy soldiers drilled *à la Française*, and Runjeet Sing himself, the great ruler of the Seiks, drinking brandy to excess, and yet unable to quench either his thirst or his loquacity. Bidding adieu to these courtly pleasures and to Lahore, our travellers bade a melancholy farewell also to European costume; and girt themselves for their arduous journey in loose flowing robes, with slippers and umbrageous turbans. From Lahore to the Chenab, and thence to the Jelum or Hydaspes, there is comparatively little cultivation. On the eastern side of the last named river terminates a chain of hills, which extends in a southeasterly direction from lower Cabul, and contains a vast deposit of salt. Our travellers visited the mines which supply northwestern India with salt: and then proceeding some distance up the Jelum, the banks of which was thickly studded with comfortable villages, turned off again to the west through an interesting and tolerably populous country. Half way on this road from the Jelum to the Indus stands the singular monument called the Tope of Manikyala. It is a brick dome, about eighty feet high, and of peculiar shape; and is known to our readers probably from the description of Mr Elphinstone, with whom, however, we cannot agree in supposing it to be of Grecian origin. This tope, when visited by Mr Burnes, had been recently opened by M. Ventura. On removing the bricks at the summit of the building, M. Ventura discovered a shaft or wall, which he cleared out till he reached a stone chamber at the bottom of the building. On opening this he found it to contain a cylindrical iron box, in which again was a box of pewter, and in this another of gold, about three inches long and one and a half in diameter, filled with a semiliquid blackish substance, as mysterious in its look as in its lodgment. Here our author found no less than

seventy copper coins, and elated with his success, heaps prodigal honours on the locality of Menikyala. Hence he observes—

'I was much struck with the position of Menikyala, for it stands on a spacious plain, and the "tope" is to be distinguished at a distance of sixteen miles. Various surmises have been thrown out regarding this site, but I do not hesitate to fix upon it as Taxilla, since Arrian expressly tells us, that "that was the most populous city *between* the Indus and Hydaspes," which is the exact position of Menikyala.'—(I. p. 67.)

Surely this is a singular mode of fixing an exact position. There might be a thousand populous cities *between* the Indus and Hydaspes, any one of which would correspond as exactly with the position mentioned by Arrian. And here we will once for all avow the extreme diffidence with which we receive our author's decisions on the problems of ancient geography. Not that they are not often plausible and even ingenious; but because they rest always on a very slender and frequently on an erroneous formation. At the commencement of this journey, he sought the altars erected by Alexander as monuments of his furthest progress eastward, on the banks of the Sutlege, which he informs us was the Hesudrus of the ancients and is called Shittooder, or hundred waters, by the Hindus; and he declares his belief that those altars, which are said to have been erected on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis or modern Beas, must have stood below the junction of this river with the Sutlege. But what right have we to suppose that the united streams of the Beas and Sutlege did not in ancient as well as in modern times, take the name of the latter, which is the greater river of the two, and the true Sanscrit name of which, Satadrú, was known to Ptolemy who calls it Zadadrus? In short, Mr Burnes presuming that he marched on the footsteps of Alexander, has been naturally led into a train of conjectures, which unless warranted by careful and minute researches, both topographical and philological, merit but little confidence. It may be remarked that "Topes," or sepulchral monuments like that at Manikyala, are found in the country west of the Indus and north of the Cabul river. The coins found in these structures throw but little light on their age, or on the nation of their founders.

On approaching the Indus the country becomes variegated and rich, preserving many remains of imperial magnificence. That great river was first seen by our travellers from a distance of fifteen miles, and its whole course from the hills to Attak might be traced by a line of dense white vapour which hung over it. The people were now no longer Hindus, but bold visaged and manly Afghans. Our travellers were kindly received by the general commanding the Seik army encamped on the Indus.

Their conversation with him naturally ran on the heroic deeds of Runjeet Sing, and particularly on the boldness with which he had forded the Indus. Their courage was inflamed by the recital, and, says Mr Burnes, 'we soon made up our minds to 'make at least the attempt of fording this great river.' This resolution was executed in the following manner:—

'We mounted one of the chief's elephants, and accompanied by himself and 200 horsemen, passed a few miles down the river to the village of Khyrakhuel, about five miles above Attok. The stream was here divided into three branches, and in the two first gushed with amazing violence. I did not like the appearance of the torrent; and though I said nothing, would have willingly turned back; but how could that be when I had been the foremost to propose it? The chief rallied his escort round him, threw a piece of money into the river, according to custom, and dashed into it. We followed, and the whole of our party reached in safety. While on the island, and preparing to enter the principal branch, a melancholy accident occurred to some stragglers who attempted to follow us. They were seven in number; and instead of crossing at the exact point where we had effected the passage, they passed a few yards lower down, with the water but knee-deep, yet very rapid. The whole seven were unhorsed in a moment, and swept into the stream. The ferrymen ran to their assistance, and extricated them all but one poor fellow and two horses, whom we could see struggle, and at last sink. The others were rescued with great difficulty, and two of them were all but dead. We were shocked at the catastrophe and proposed to return, but the chief would not listen to it. He gave a laugh, and said "what know ye, that these fellows (we thought they had all gone) may be kings in another world; and what is the use of a Seik if he cannot pass the Attok? (Indus.)" The principal branch, however, was still in front; and I only agreed to cross, if the horsemen were left behind. "Leave my guard," cried the chief, "impossible!" but we did leave it, and safely passed the ford. The footing was slippery, and the current shot with great rapidity. The colour of the water was blue, and it was exceedingly cold, which makes it trying to both man and beast. The elephants pressed up against the stream and roared as we advanced. The excitement of such an undertaking is great, and would have been exhilarating had not our joy been dimmed by such a calamity. This ford has often been used by the Seiks, but the passage has involved many serious accidents.'—(I., pp. 75-6.)

The feat of fording the Indus above Attok has been more frequently performed, we suspect, and is more common than our author is aware of. The Emperor Baber in nearly all his invasions of Hindostan, forded the Indus at that place. But was it merely for the sake of the exploit that Mr Burnes forded the Indus? was this adventure, involving one case of loss of life and two of suspended animation, undertaken as a pastime? Mr Burnes, carried way, unfortunately, in this part of his narra-

tive by a pleasing anecdote, forgets to inform his readers of the circumstances of his return across the ford, or even that he returned at all. A careless reader might suppose that he had forded the river in prosecution of his journey, but this is irreconcilable with what follows—

'We now proceeded to the fortress of Attok, which stands on a black slaty ridge at the verge of the Indus, the "forbidden river" of the Hindoos. It was indeed a forbidden one to us, for the garrison had mutinied, ejected their officers, and seized upon the ferry-boats. Their arrears of pay were not forthcoming, and they had taken this means of informing Runjeet of their grievances. It was in vain that we produced the most peremptory orders to receive us inside the walls and show us the curiosities of the place; they replied, that our complaints will now be heard, since the Maharaja will know of their ill treatment towards us. Since they evinced no further contumacy, we halted outside in a dilapidated mosque, and were not molested. It was useless to parley with irritated men, and I thought we were fortunate in prevailing on them, after a detention of two days, to give us a boat, in which we were ferried across the grand boundary of India, on the afternoon of the 17th of March. The water was azure blue, and the current exceeded six miles an hour. We passed in four minutes.'—(I. p. 78-9.)

The simple minded reader, as we have already observed, must feel not a little puzzled by our author's narrative, which represents him first as fording the Indus from east to west, and immediately after lingering two days under the walls of Attok, which is on the eastern bank, till he procures a boat to ferry him across the great barrier of India. We, in the plenitude of our critical authority, may remove positive inconsistencies and rescue ourselves from embarrassment, and our author's narrative from suspicion, by supposing that something has been omitted; but we confess ourselves unable to explain why one who could ford the Indus for his amusement, should say that the river was forbidden to him: or delay his journey for the sake of crossing the boundary of India in a boat. The river Indus at Attok is, according to Mr Elphinstone, too rapid and too deep to be correctly sounded. Mr Burnes on the other hand tells us that it is 270 yards wide and 35 fathoms deep;—an extraordinary depth certainly, for a river flowing above six miles an hour, and which is fordable only five miles higher up. It unquestionably demonstrates the resolution and boldness of Runjeet Sing's character, that he should frequently construct a bridge of boats across a rapid river having so great a depth as 35 fathoms.

The country from the Indus to Cabul, or the valley of the Cabul river, has been already described by more than one accomplished traveller. We shall, therefore, pass over it with hasty strides, in order that we may have more leisure to look round

us in those new regions, with which our author makes us acquainted. The large town of Peshawur, situated in what may be called the Lombardy of Afghanistan, detained the travellers a month. Sultan Mahommed Khan, the ruler of this territory, is described by our author as a polite, well-bred gentleman, too mild for an Eastern despot. He pays tribute to Runjeet Sing, to save his territory from the inroads of the Seiks; and enjoys only the independence of one, as he himself expressed it, who is unable to resist, and willing to compromise. Quitting the delightful plains of Peshawur, our travellers approached the mountain passes. They fortunately ascended the country as spring advanced, so that they every where found the fruit-trees clad in their richest bloom, and the fields in their freshest verdure. But the luxuriant cultivation of the lowlands was soon changed for wild scenes—for rocks and groups, such as fed the fancy of Salvator Rosa. Crossing the Cabul river on a raft, supported by inflated skins, our travellers and their caravan put themselves under the protection of the Momunds, a tribe of mountaineers who, like the Khybarees on the southern side of the river, claim the right of pillaging all caravans which quarrel with their exactions. The march of the caravan, with these rugged companions, through a rugged country, is picturesquely described in the following passage:—

'We had now a full insight into our mode of travelling, and the treatment which we were to expect. We never moved but in a body; and when we got to the banks of the river, under a scorching sun, had no means of crossing it till our friends the Momunds could be again appeased. We laid ourselves down in the shade of some rocks which had fallen from precipices which rose in grandeur over us to the height of about 2000 feet, and before us the Cabul river rushed with great rapidity in its course onwards. Its breadth did not exceed 120 yards. Towards the afternoon, our highlanders produced eight or ten skins, and we commenced crossing; but it was night before we had all passed, and we then set fire to the grass of the mountains to illuminate our neighbourhood, and ensure safety to the frail raft. The passage of the river was tedious and difficult; in some places the rapidity of the stream formed into eddies, wheeled us round, and we had the agreeable satisfaction of being told that, if we went some way down, there was a whirlpool, and if once enclosed within its circle, we might revolve in hunger and giddiness for a day. This inconvenience we all escaped, though some of the passengers were carried far down the river, and we ourselves had various revolutions in the smaller eddies. There was no village or people on either side of the river, and we spread our carpets on the ground, and heartily enjoyed a cool night after the day's fatigue. The noise of the stream soon lulled most of us to sleep, and towards midnight nothing was to be heard but the voices of the mountaineers, who had perched themselves on a rock that projected over our camp, and watched till daylight. A truly cut-throat band they appeared, and it was amusing to observe the studied respect

which all of us paid them. Their chief, a ragged ruffian, without a turban, was mounted on a horse; his praises were sung, and presents were given him; but we had no sooner left the country than every one abused those whom we had been caressing. The spirit of the party might be discovered by one old man, who drove his horse into a wheat-field, on the verge of the Momund country, calling out, "Eat away, my good animal, the Momund scoundrels have ate much of my wealth in their time."'—(I., pp. 115-6.)

The magnificent prospect which burst on the view, on quitting the mountains at the pass of Duka, compensated the difficulties of the journey. The town of Julalabad could be seen forty miles distant, beyond a plain through which the river wound in a circuitous course. On the left hand, or towards the south, the Sefid Koh, or white mountain, more generally called Rajgul, reared its perpetual snows. On the right rose the still more elevated crest of Kooner or Moorgil, on which the Afghans believe the ark of Noah to have rested after the Deluge. On their way to Julalabad, our travellers crossed the desert plain of Buttecote, which is remarkable (to use our author's expression) 'for the simoom or 'pestilential wind that prevails here in the hot season, though the 'mountains on both sides are covered with perpetual snow.' Persons affected by it become immediately senseless, and are resuscitated with great difficulty. It is generally fatal, and induces such rapid putrefaction, that the limbs of those who perish by it soon fall asunder. This strange phenomenon is related as circumstantially by Mohammed Baber as by Mr Burnes, and though both wrote from hearsay, yet their joint evidence is sufficient to cast a great blemish on the reputation of Buttecote. But why should we ascribe these effects to a simoom or hot wind? Those who do not suffer, are not sensible of any change in the atmosphere: those who recover fancy that they felt a cold wind at the moment of their swooning. Thus the proof of a simoom is very weak indeed; and it appears to us more likely that mephitic gases are exhaled from the plain of Buttecote, as is the case in Iceland and elsewhere.

Ascending from Julalabad, our travellers carried with them a perpetual spring; and with everlasting snows at no great distance on both sides, they saw the vines wreathing the bows of the oaks at the height of eighty feet from the ground. But as they came nearer to the snowy barrier on the south, the climate suddenly changed, and 'at Gundamuk,' says Mr Burnes, 'is the bound-'ary of the hot and cold countries. It is said to snow on one 'side of the river, and to rain at the other.' This strong demarcation of climate is also mentioned by Forster, and indeed by Baber; but it is a local peculiarity which our imperfect acquaint-

ance with the face of the country does not enable us to explain. In this part of their journey our travellers met a horde of wandering Ghiljees (an Afghan tribe) driving their flocks of sheep, consisting of many thousands, towards Hindú Kush, where they spend the summer. 'The Ghiljees,' says Mr Elphinstone, 'are 'the largest, handsomest, and fairest of the Afghans:' nor does Mr Burnes appear to dissent from this decision. 'The 'children,' he says, 'are uncommonly healthy and chubby; the 'people in general vigorous.' Are not the Ghiljees, then, the fair complexioned people described by Benedict Goez, under the name of Caleias, and whom he compares to Flemings? German writers are fond of adverting to the mysterious, blue-eyed inhabitants of Hindú Kush, mentioned by the Portuguese missionary; and flatter themselves that the original stock of their race may still be discovered in the heart of Asia; but we feel satisfied that the Caleias, on whom they found their hopes, are no other than the nomadic Afghans above mentioned.

The city of Cabúl, its mixed population, thronged bazaars, gardens, and delicious climate, have been already well described by Elphinstone and by Forster. Not a few interesting particulars of its vicinity are to be found in Baber's 'Memoirs.' As all the passes over the Paropamisus terminate here, it has been an important place from remote antiquity; and its importance is not likely to decline under the steady and temperate government of Dost Mohammed Khan, from whom our travellers experienced the kindest treatment. They had also the satisfaction of befriending the zealous missionary Mr Wolff, who, having reached Bokhara in the guise of a Jew, thought fit, in his journey southwards, to style himself a Hadji, or Mohammedan, who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca. For this attempt at deception he had been summarily punished, and had been plundered, reviled, and buffeted, till at last he arrived in the neighbourhood of Cabúl, and sought the protection of our travellers. Mr Burnes, during a three weeks' residence in Cabúl, enjoyed the opportunity of conversing with the most intelligent natives, and of acquiring the most authentic information respecting the country and its inhabitants. But his remarks on society and national character are never very piercing or discriminating; and with respect to the more difficult, or rather the more learned, topics of race and language, his ideas are singularly incoherent and immature. Thus, for example, he tells us that the Persians, or Kuzzlebashes, (*i. e.* red-heads,) as they are called, who served as body guards under the Kings of Cabúl, are Turks; and, farther on, he calls the Turks, Tartars, and constantly uses these words as synonymes. The Huzaras, who occupy the hill country west of

Cabúl, and who are Mongols descended, no doubt, from a remnant of Zengis Khan's army, are confounded with the Turks, under the common denomination, Tartar. He likewise informs us that the language of the Afghans is the Persian, and that the poorer class alone speak Pushtoo; leaving the reader doubtful whether Persian be the national language of the upper orders, or only the language of education. He ought rather to have said, that Cabúl is chiefly peopled by Tájiks, who are of Persian origin, and that Pushtoo is the language of the true Afghans. Mr Burnes also favours the opinion that the Afghans are of Jewish descent, (a descent which, thus expressed, they vehemently repudiate,) because they have a tradition that they are 'Children 'of Israel.' He thinks their tradition credible, because 'some 'of the tribes of Israel came to the East.' How many tribes of Israel were there? We know of but twelve, and these were certainly in Palestine, at a date posterior to the traditional origin of the Afghans. To us it appears evident, that this tradition, as it is called, of a Jewish origin, is derived altogether from the written histories of the Afghans, which have been purloined, in a great measure, from the Hebrew Scriptures at a comparatively late age. The remarks which our author makes on the Siah-posh Kafirs, or black-coated unbelievers, who inhabit the valleys of the high mountains, which divide the basins of the Cabúl and Badakshan rivers, are, in like manner, infelicitous, as well as scanty. He tells us that he can add nothing to the intelligence respecting them collected by Mr Elphinstone. Yet, imbibing the prejudices of his Mahommedan informants, he calls the Kafirs savages; which is certainly representing them under a new aspect; and this variance is the more remarkable, since Mr Burnes, while at Peshawur, formed an acquaintance with Mollah Nujeeb, a respectable man, who had travelled into the Kafir country at the instigation of Mr Elphinstone, and who gave, on his return, a very interesting and favourable account of these brave and ingenious mountaineers. 'The Kafirs,' says our author, 'live in a most barbarous manner, eating bears and 'monkeys;'—a kind of food which does not appear to us to afford any incontrovertible implication of barbarism. The mention of monkeys suggests a well-wooded country. We know that the black-coated unbelievers have wine in abundance, which they boil, and always carry a small vessel filled with it, suspended from their necks. The missionary Goez heard with pleasure of a fair complexioned, wine-drinking race of mountaineers, who were not Mahommedans; and hesitated not to conclude that they were Christians; and he alludes to their name of Siah-posh, when he gravely informs us that they always go to church dressed

in black. The language of these people, of which our author has collected a few words, belongs evidently to the Indian family. They are probably the fountain whence large streams of population have poured on the country below. The local situation of this aboriginal tribe, and the independence which they have so obstinately maintained, tend alike to increase our interest in them, and our wish that their secluded valleys, overhung with vineyards, were explored by some intelligent European traveller.

The preparations for the journey across the mountains to Balkh, were made without difficulty or obstruction. A respectable Afghan merchant, Nazir Doulut, who had himself business at Bokhara, was appointed their conductor. The chief persons at Cabúl, as well as Peshawur, willingly gave our travellers letters of recommendation to their friends in Turkistan. Even cash was procured with facility. The merchants of Shikarpúr, in Upper Sinde, whose commercial activity and connexions extend from India to Astracan, have eight great houses of agency in Cabúl, where they live quite apart from the other Hindús, of whom there are perhaps 300 families. These enterprising and patient men, who risk large capitals for small profit, were glad to accept the bills of a British officer, payable at Lodiana or Delhi; and Mr Burnes, at his own desire, received from them in return bills on Bokhara.

Matters being thus arranged, and various farewell feasts being eaten, our travellers left Cabúl on the 18th of May, with the gratifying experience, that friendly zeal, hospitality, and politeness, are to be found in Afghanistan as well as in the more civilized quarters of the world. Their road led them west by south to the sources of the river of Cabúl, called Sirchushma, or Fountain-head. The rocky bed of a rivulet conducted them to the pass of Oonna, which is guarded by three small forts. Before reaching the pass, which is estimated to have an elevation of 11,000 feet, snow was encountered. It snowed while the party crossed the ridge; and here they found that they had outmarched the advance of spring, for the Huzaras, who occupy this country, were only sowing, whilst the grain was ripe in the valley of Cabúl. The approach to the crest of the Paropamison range is thus described by our author:—

'We continued our mountain journey by the base of the lofty and ever snow-clad mountain of Koh-i-Baba, which is a remarkable ridge, having three peaks, that rise to the height of about 18,000 feet. On the evening of the 21st of May, we reached the bottom of the pass of Hajeeguk, half dead with fatigue, and nearly blind from the reflection of the snow. For about ten miles, we had travelled in the bed of a rivulet, that was knee-deep, formed by melting snow, which we crossed more

than twenty times. We then entered the region of the snow, which still lay deep on the ground; by noon, it became so soft, that our horses sunk into it, threw their burdens and riders, and in several places were, with the utmost difficulty, extricated. That part of the ground which was free from snow had become saturated with the melted water, and a quagmire, so that we alternately waded through mud and snow. The heat was oppressive—I imagine from reflection; I had quite lost the use of my eyes, and the skin peeled from my nose, before we reached a little fort under the pass, at which we alighted in the evening with a Huzara family.'—(I. p. 176.)

These Huzaras, our author informs us, resemble in physiognomy, Chinese, with square faces and small eyes. 'They are,' he says, 'Tartars by descent, and one of their tribes is now 'called Tatar Huzaras.' It would be more correct to say that they are Mongols by descent; they still spoke the Mongolian language in the time of Baber; but, among a rude people, a change of religion (and the Huzaras are now Shiite Mahommedans) is apt to induce a change of language. They are confined to their houses by the snow, as our travellers were assured by their Huzara hostess, six months in the year. Skilled in the maladies of the climate, the worthy matron told our author that his eyes were *burned* with the snow, and recommended the use of antimonial ointment. The interesting narrative thus proceeds:—

'After a night's rest, and the friendly advice of the Huzara matron, we commenced the ascent of the pass of Hajeeguk, which was about 1000 feet above us, and 12,400 feet from (above) the sea. We took our departure early in the morning of the 22d of May; the frozen snow bore our horses, and we reached the summit before the sun's influence had softened it. The thermometer fell four degrees below the freezing point; the cold was very oppressive, though we were clad in skins with the fur inside. I often blessed the good Nawab of Cabúl, who had forced a pelisse of otter skin upon me, that proved most useful. The passage was not achieved without adventure, for there was no road to guide us through the snow; and the surveyor, Mahommed Ali, along with his horse, went rolling down a declivity, one after the other, for about 30 yards. This exhibition in front served to guide the rear to a better path; but it was impossible to resist laughing at the Jack and Jill expedition of the poor surveyor and his horse.'—(I. p. 181.)

The pass of Hajeeguk conducts to that of Kaloo, still 1000 feet higher; whence our author's narrative drops us in the city of Bameean, with less of local detail than the magnitude of the descent seems to require. The Koh-i-Baba, called by the Turks Shutur-Gherdan, is the highest mountain between Cabúl and Balkh; and may therefore be considered as the continuation of Hindú Kush by those who suppose that the relative heights of

mountains is the best index of their connexion. We must observe, however, that Mr Burnes does not pretend to exactness in his estimations of heights; and Baber informs us, that sometimes, though very rarely, the snow disappears from the summit of the Koh-i-Baba; which we may therefore conclude to be little elevated above the line of perpetual snow.

Bameean stands in a valley, the sides of which, for a length of eight miles, as well as a detached hill in the middle of it, are scooped out in innumerable excavations, called by the people 'Soomuch,' which, though only narrow caves, are still the dwellings of the greater part of the population. This subterraneous city, called Ghoolghoola, is famous for two colossal figures cut on the face of the hill, one of which is 120, the other 70 feet in height. A tunnel cut in the hill, which is composed of indurated clay, mixed with peebles, conducts to the summit. The history of these gigantic sculptures, whether they represent kings or deities, is too obscure to merit our attention. The print of them from our author's drawing, which illustrates his work, is better than a dissertation. Of the antiquity of a city called Bameean, there cannot be any doubt; but it is a question whether the ancient Bameean, destroyed by the Mongols, was not situated farther north. Our author conjectures it to be the city which Alexander founded at the base of the Paropamisus before entering Bactria. But surely Bameean is not at the base of the Paropamisus, but on one of its highest valleys; nor is it near the road by which Alexander entered Bactria.

Leaving this interesting, and, we believe, populous place, (it is said to contain 20,000 inhabitants,) dissatisfied that our author has not placed a more complete and finished picture of it before our eyes, we proceed with him to the pass of Akrobat, which separates the territory of Cabúl from that of the Uzbek chief of Kunduz. Fifteen miles further, is the fort of Syghan, adorned with orchards of apricot-trees, in a little valley, beyond the limits of which there seems to reign perpetual winter. Beyond this, they came to the pass called, from its difficulty, 'Dundan Shikun,' or 'the tooth-breaker,' which conducted them to a narrow, lengthened dell, in which the rocks on each side rose to the height of 3000 feet. On the 26th of May they crossed the Kara Koottul, or black pass, when they came on the river of Khooloom, which they followed nearly 100 miles, till it quits the mountains; the road lying chiefly in ravines so profound, that only a small arch of the heavens is visible from below. At length, after a journey of twelve days, on the 30th of May, the caravan cleared the hills, and entered the plains of Turkistan, (or Tartary, as our author

has it,) at Khooloom, Tash Koorghan, an open country, sloping down to the Oxus, being expanded before them.

But we cannot leave the mountains without casting on them a parting glance. Our author's route fully confirms the information obtained by Meyendorff. There are seven roads, according to the Emperor Baber, from Cabúl across the mountains to Turkistan. Of these the most direct, and, at the proper season, the easiest, conducts due north from Cabúl towards Hindu Kúsh; the towering snows of which rose about sixty miles eastward of our author's route. The road by Bameean may be travelled at nearly all seasons of the year; the others are closed for four or five months annually. But the difficulties are all concentered in the passage of the Hindu Kúsh; the country beyond is easy, and we believe well peopled. The silence of Mr Burnes respecting these numerous roads, the towns, climate, and productions of this elevated country, is extremely mortifying. The circuitous route which he followed by Bameean, the average elevation of which, we believe, much exceeds that of the others, was often trodden by Baber. Zengis Khan ascended from Kundúz by the eastern road to Bameean. Ibu Batuta crossed the Hindú Kúsh by the great road of Perwán; and Benedict Goez trode the same path in the opposite direction.

Below Syghan, the black felt caps of the people, and the high boots worn by both sexes, warned our travellers that they were now among a new race: and the extremely rigid observance of Mahommedan rites which distinguishes the Usbeks, was, to a European, a more serious indication of the change. They entered Khooloom with anxious minds, when an incident occurred which caused them no slight alarm; but, in order to understand the foundation of it, the reader must be acquainted with the fate of Mr. Moorcroft. That distinguished traveller crossed the mountains to Khooloom in 1824: but, before he could obtain permission to leave the territories of Murad Beg, chief of Kundúz, that rapacious ruler had extorted from him property to the amount of 23,000 rupees; and he was finally obliged, in order to save his life and the remainder of his property, to fly to Talighan, and throw himself at the feet of a saint, who exercised a commanding influence over the spirit of Murad Beg. By this means he extricated himself, after fresh losses, and continued his journey to Bokhara, where he was treated with unusual favour. Returning from Bokhara, he died of fever at Andkho, about eighty miles from Balkh. His companions, Guthrie and Trebeck, were cut off by the same malady. The latter gentleman survived Moorcroft about four months, and died at a village near Balkh, where our author visited his grave. In this affair, Murad Beg was in-

fluenced not merely by his habitual rapacity, but also by the vehemence of a Hindú at his court, who declared that the subjugation of Turkistan would inevitably soon follow the admission of the English into the country;—a declaration countenanced by the quantity of arms, and two small field-pieces which Mr Moorcroft had with him. Thus our travellers had to dread not merely the injustice of Murad Beg, but still more his hostility to Europeans and to the English in particular. What then was their grief and astonishment to find that they had been denounced as Firingees or Europeans; and to receive, on the 1st of June, a peremptory order to repair to Kundúz. Our author promptly obeyed the summons—insinuated himself into the good graces of the Hindoo officer who conducted him—personated a poor Armenian, in so true a style of Eastern humility, that the grumbling Uzbek dismissed him at once, and Mr Burnes, after a rapid and fatiguing journey, returned in triumph to Khooloom. While at Kundúz, our author conversed with several intelligent Tajik merchants, who carry on trade with the Chinese in Yarkand and Cashgar; but he does not furnish us with any information respecting the roads from the valley of Badakshan to Eastern or Chinese Turkistan.

The famous city of Balkh is now but a village in the midst of extensive ruins. It has no vestiges of magnificence. Its river, wasted by irrigation, formerly fertilized a large tract of country, but the aqueducts are now choked up or fallen to decay. The journey to the banks of the Oxus exhibited to our travellers all the cheerless monotony of the Turcoman desert. That river, when they reached it, was 800 yards wide and about twenty deep—it flowed at the rate of three miles and a half an hour. The mode of crossing it was singular, and worthy of Turcomans. Horses were yoked to the boat, and, swimming across, drew it after them. The Caravan now proceeded steadily towards Bokhara; but its speed was limited by the camels' pace, and our travellers suffered some days at Kurshee from an attack of fever. At length, on the morning of the 27th of June, they reached the gates of that Eastern capital. They entered with the Caravan, and occupied a house which had been hired for their reception.

On the evening of their arrival, our author was summoned to the presence of the Koosh Begee, or chief minister. He received Mr Burnes favourably; but cautioned him against the use of pen and ink. In a second conversation, he expressed his anxiety to increase the communication between Bokhara and Britain; 'requesting,' says our author, 'that I would myself return

'as a trading ambassador to Bokhara, and not forget to bring a 'good pair of spectacles for his use.'

'The circumference of Bokhara,' says our author, 'exceeds eight English miles; its shape is triangular, and it is surrounded by a wall of earth about twenty feet high, which is pierced by twelve gates. According to the custom of the East these are named from the cities and places to which they lead. Few great buildings are to be seen from the exterior, but when the traveller passes its gates he winds his way among lofty and arched bazars of brick, and sees each trade in its separate quarter of the city—here the chintz sellers, there the shoemakers—one arcade filled with silks, another with cloth. Everywhere he meets with ponderous and massy buildings, colleges, mosques, and lofty minarets. About twenty caravanserais contain the merchants of different nations, and about one hundred ponds and fountains, constructed of squared stone, furnish its numerous population with water. The city is intersected by canals shaded by mulberry-trees, which bring water from the river of Samarcand; and there is a belief among the people which deserves to be mentioned, that the loftiest minaret, which is about 150 feet high, rises to the level of that famous capital of Timour. Bokhara is very indifferently supplied with water—the river is about six miles distant, and the canal is only opened once in fifteen days. In summer the inhabitants are sometimes deprived of good water for months, and when we were in Bokhara the canals had been dry for sixty days. The snow had not melted in the highlands of Samarcand, and the scanty supply of the river had been wasted before reaching Bokhara. The distribution of this necessary of life becomes therefore an object of no mean importance, and an officer of Government is specially charged with that duty. After all the water is bad, and said to be the cause of guinea worm, a disease frightfully prevalent in Bokhara, which the natives will tell you originates from the water, and they add that these worms are the same that infested the body of the prophet Job! Bokhara has a population of 150,000 souls, for there is scarcely a garden or burying ground within the city walls. . . The greatest of the public buildings is a mosque, which occupies a square of 300 feet, and has a dome that rises to about a third of that height. It is covered with enamelled tiles of an azure blue colour, and has a costly appearance. It is a place of some antiquity, since its cupola, which was shaken by an earthquake, was repaired by the renowned Timour. Attached to this mosque is a lofty minaret raised in the 542d year of the Hejira. It is built of bricks, which have been distributed in most ingenious patterns. Criminals are thrown from this tower, and no one but the chief priest may ever ascend it.—(I., pp. 301-3.)

Mr Burnes is, we suspect, extremely sensible of the charms of novelty, and saw Bokhara magnified through the medium of the pleasure it afforded him. According to Meyendorff, that city contains 8000 houses, and about 70,000 inhabitants; and this estimate was confirmed by Moorcroft. Yet our author raises

its population to 150,000; and when telling us that 270,000 persons enjoy the baths annually, hints, we believe, (for we scarcely understand the drift of the passage,) that the population may approach that number. The Russian mission had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with Bokhara; but admired neither its magnitude nor its magnificence. The streets, according to Eversmann, are so narrow that a loaded camel brushes with his bales the houses on both sides. There are some of them indeed in which there is hardly room for two persons to pass. The ark, or citadel, containing the palace of the king, with the immense artificial mound on which it is erected, is the most remarkable object in Bokhara, though scarcely mentioned by Mr Burnes.

The principles of government in Bokhara, says Meyendorff, are hypocrisy and extortion. Our author saw some delinquents punished, who were caught asleep during prayers, or who smoked on a Friday. It is a mistake to suppose that this puritanical rigour had its origin in the religious zeal of the present Khan's predecessor. It was in full vigour nearly three centuries ago, when Anthony Jenkinson visited Bokhara; and was ascribed by him to the separation of the civil from the religious authority. His remark is sensible; but it is probable that the vicinity of the heterodox Persians maintains the warmth of religious zeal with the fire of religious hatred. It is curious to find Ibn Batuta, in the fourteenth century, describing the piety of the Turks of Khiva in terms which are now strictly applicable to Bokhara. 'I have never seen,' he observes, 'better bred, or more liberal people, than the inhabitants of Kha-'vârasen, or those who are more friendly to strangers. They 'have a very commendable practice with regard to their worship, 'which is this: When any one absents himself from his place in 'the mosque, he is beaten by the priest in the presence of the 'congregation, and, moreover, fined in five dinars, which go to-'wards repairing the mosque. In every mosque, therefore, a 'whip is hung up for this purpose.' Speaking of the condition of the country, and of the people, Mr Burnes says, 'When 'we place the vices of Bokhara in juxtaposition with its laws 'and justice, we have much to condemn; but the people are 'happy, the country is flourishing, trade prospers, and property 'is protected. This is no small praise, under the government 'of a despot.'—(I. p. 310.) Much cannot be said of the prosperity of the kingdom of Bokhara, while it is bearded by such inferior states as Khiva on the one side, and Kundúz on the other. The happiness of the people is not to be lightly assumed. It is impossible to peruse the pages of Eversmann, without arriving at

the conclusion, that Bokhara is one of the most vicious cities in the world; and such a state of things implies a large proportion of misery.

After remaining nearly a month in Bokhara, our travellers determined on accompanying a caravan, which was about to start for Meshed in Persia. On the 21st of July, they paid their farewell visit to the vizier, who, on every successive interview, rose higher in our author's estimation.

'The Koosh Begee,' he says, 'is a man of sixty; his eyes sparkle, though his beard is silvered by age; his countenance beams with intelligence, but it is marked with cunning, which is said to be the most striking feature in his character. He showed much curiosity regarding our language, and made me write the English numbers from one to a thousand in the Persian character, as well as the common words which express the necessaries of life. He spent about an hour in this lesson, and regretted that he had no opportunity of acquiring our language. He then made me write his name in English, and, handing it over to Dr Gerard, requested him to read it. He recurred to the subject of medicine, and was greatly pleased with the lever of an instrument for drawing teeth, which was explained to him. He fixed it on the wood of the door, and wrenched out some pieces of it. He then begged that we would return to Bokhara as "trading ambassadors," to establish a better understanding, and more extended commerce with the country. He now summoned the Cafila-bashee of the caravan, and a chief of the Toorkmans, who was to accompany it as a safeguard against his tribe. He wrote down their names, families, habitations, and, looking to them, said, "I consign these Europeans to you. If any accident befall them, your wives and families are in my power, and I will root them from the face of the earth. Never return to Bokhara but with a letter containing an assurance under their seal that you have served them well."'—(I. pp. 325–6.)

Having received the Vizier's blessing and a small present, our travellers left Bokhara the same evening. It is remarkable that they were never admitted to the presence of the King,—an honour which Moorcroft had frequently enjoyed. Mr Burnes seems to suspect that the Vizier had a jealous desire to engross his conversation. But we see no reason to doubt the sincerity of the old minister's declaration, 'that travellers have no business with 'kings.' Moorcroft enjoyed privileges and exemptions in Bokhara; but he was looked upon as 'a trading ambassador,' the forerunner of an advantageous trade with India. Mr Burnes, on the other hand, (who says not a word of Moorcroft's reception in Bokhara,) in proportion as he assumed a guise which ensured his safety, yielded up his importance. Besides, it is evident from the colours in which our author paints his Eastern acquaintances, that his discourse and demeanour were of a kind which called

forth their affability rather than their more earnest qualities; and perhaps we should err if we believed with him that good-nature is so general in the East, and penetration so rare; or if we admitted that the rulers of the Afghans are well-bred gentlemen; or that the Vizier of Bokhara, who is said to have poisoned the legitimate heir to the throne, in order to make way for the present King, is really the kind-hearted creature which he appears to be.

From Bokhara the travellers proceeded south-westward to Karakool, where they were detained a month, by fear of the Turcomans, and the necessity of negotiating their safety with the Khan of Khiva. This delay afforded them an opportunity of acquiring an insight into the character of the Turcoman tribes. They crossed the Oxus, opposite to Charjoo, where the river is a little narrower and deeper than higher up where they had previously crossed it. But Mr Burnes is wrong in supposing that this great river can have a fall of two feet a mile. His estimations of heights rest in general on very slender data. His route across the desert conducted him to the neighbourhood of Merwe, and by Serukhs to Meshed in Persia, and has considerable geographical importance. A Mr Stirling, of the East India Company's service, has crossed the Turcoman desert, farther to the south, from Meshed to Balkh. Our author supplies some amusing particulars of the Turcoman life, their equestrian markets, their feasts, and their forays. But the life of the desert is much the same every where; and our readers will probably feel grateful to us for passing it over in silence. The caravan arrived at Meshed on the 14th of September. Dr Gerard turned south to return to India by way of Herat and Candahar; while Mr Burnes proceeded in an opposite direction to the Caspian Sea, whence he afterwards crossed to the Persian Gulf, and so returned to Bombay.

It is needless to enlarge on the importance of the journeys of which we have given a slight outline. Runjeet Sing, the ruler of the Punjab, is above all things desirous of a friendly intercourse with the British nation; and the well-devised mission which Mr Burnes conducted to his court, riveted the first link of the bond of union with him. He seems willing to promote the navigation of the Indus, and to open it to commerce. And with the assistance of steam-vessels, and a portage from Kurachee, (which appears to us indispensable,) that river might become the channel of an immense trade. The Afghan states, again, are all disposed to court the favour of the Anglo-Indian government. Further on, the King of Bokhara is desirous to have an English 'trading ambassador' at his court. The turbulence of Murad Beg of Kundúz, would probably be subdued, if a mission were

sent by the Indian government to remonstrate with him concerning his past conduct, and to make arrangements for the future. It appears not unlikely then, that at no distant period we shall have political and commercial agents for the Indus and at Cabúl; and that we shall maintain a brisk intercourse with Bokhara. Much valuable information respecting the latter must, ere long, be laid before the public; unless, which scarcely is supposable, Mr Fraser, Resident at Delhi, who, by means of a native agent, got possession of the papers which Moorcroft had with him at his death, should be forgetful alike of what is due to the memory of that lamented traveller, and to himself. Some of Moorcroft's manuscripts were brought to England by Mr Burnes; but these, we believe, relate only to journeys in the countries near the sources of the Beas and Sutlege.

We cannot close this article without mentioning, that the geographical materials collected by Mr Burnes have been turned to the best account by Mr James Arrowsmith, whose map of Central Asia, inserted in his excellent Atlas lately published, is by far the best map of that region which has yet appeared.

Art. IX.—1. *Speech of Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, on occasion of a Petition from certain Members of the Senate of Cambridge, presented to the House of Lords on Monday April* 21, 1834. 8vo. London: 1834.

2. *Substance of a Speech delivered in the House of Commons on Wednesday, March* 26, 1834, *by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., in reference to a Petition from certain Members of the Senate of the University of Cambridge.* 8vo. London: 1834.

The opponents and supporters of the recent measure for restoring the English Universities to their proper character of unexclusive schools, may pretend indifferently to the honour of having argued their cases in the worst possible manner; and in the cloud of pamphlets, (we have seen nearly thirty,) and throughout the protracted discussions in Parliament, which this question has drawn forth, the reasons most confidently urged by the former, are precisely those which, as suicidal, they ought especially to have eschewed; and these same reasons, though cautiously avoided, as unanswerable, by the latter, are the very grounds on which the necessity not only of this, but of far more important measures of academical reform, were to be triumphantly established. So curious in fact was the game at cross purposes, that

the official defenders of things as they are in Oxford and Cambridge do, on the principle of their own objection to this partial restoration of the ancient academic order, call out for a sweeping overthrow of the actual administration of these establishments; and we are confident of proving before the conclusion of the present article, that, unless apostates not only from their reasoning on this question, but from their professions of moral and religious duty, we have a right to press into the service, as partisans of a radical reform in Oxford, (besides the Chancellor of that University his Grace of Wellington,) the Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Robert Inglis themselves. From the general tenor of their politics, but in particular from their personal relations to this University, (the one its representative, the other long a member of its collegial interest,) these eminent individuals were the natural, and on the late occasion, the strenuous, champions in Parliament of the party now dominant in Oxford;—indeed so satisfied do they appear with their own achievements in the debate, that they, and they only, have deemed their principal speeches, in opposition to the Dissenters' claim, of sufficient consequence to merit publication in a separate form.

In the article on this subject in our last Number, we were compelled to omit or hurry over many important matters. One portentous error common to both sides we indeed (for the second time) exposed, that the English Universities are the complement or general incorporation of the colleges:—an assumption and admission from which the partisans of exclusion were able legitimately to infer,—that, as the constituent parts were private or exclusive foundations, the constituted whole could not be fairly treated as a national and unexclusive establishment. There was, however, another not less important error on which we could only touch; and in regard to the argument attempted to be drawn from the injustice of interfering with trustees in the faithful exercise of their duty, so confidently advanced by Dr Phillpotts and Sir Robert Inglis, we merely stated, in passing, how gladly we joined issue with them on the principle; and now proceed, in supplement of our previous paper, to show, that, when fully and fairly applied, this principle affords a result the very converse of that anticipated either by those who so rashly brought it to bear upon the question, or by those who allowed it to pass without even an attempt at rejoinder. The following is the argument as pointed by the two Oxford advocates:—

The Bishop of Exeter.—'My Lords, it is, I apprehend, an admitted principle, that where a corporation has received its charter for a specific purpose, the law of England repels, and the legislature of England has hitherto repelled, every attempt to break in upon that corporation, except

on an allegation either that its members *have omitted to perform the duties for which they were incorporated*, or that the purposes for which they were incorporated were originally, or have been declared by subsequent enactments to be illegal, immoral, or superstitious.

'Such, I will venture to say, is the principle of the law of England in respect to corporations; and even if a lawyer could devise any plea in derogation of it, I am quite sure that there is no Englishman of plain understanding who would not proclaim his assent to the reasonableness of that principle. *Now, is it, can it be alleged, that either of the universities, or that any of the colleges within them, have violated the duties of their corporate character, or that they have abused the powers intrusted to them for the performance of those duties,* or that the purposes and object of their incorporation are illegal, immoral, superstitious, or otherwise condemnable? My Lords, *no man has ventured, nor will any man venture to say any of these things.* On what pretence, then, could Parliament dare—forgive the word, my Lords; when a man feels strongly, he will not scruple to speak strongly: but your Lordships will not, I am sure, think the word needs an apology, for you would not dare to do what is wrong—on what pretence, then, I ask, would Parliament dare to set a precedent, which would destroy every thing like the principle of property as connected with corporations, and *would violate all the sacredness that belongs to oaths—ay, my Lords, the sacredness of oaths?* I say this, because it must not be forgotten, that *the members of the university of Oxford have sworn that they will obey their statutes, and I doubt not they will keep that oath inviolate.* Parliament may have the power to destroy these bodies, but Parliament has not the power—and, if such a thing shall be attempted, Parliament will find that it has not the power—*to make these illustrious bodies faithless to the sacred duties which they have sworn to discharge.* My Lords, the university of Oxford I know well—many of my happiest years have been passed within it—and from that knowledge of it I speak, when I proclaim my firm conviction, that if both houses of Parliament shall pass the bill which has been brought into the other house, and if his Majesty shall, unhappily, be advised, and shall yield to the advice, to give to it the royal assent—you will not at Oxford find a man—certainly very, very few men—who would not submit to be pennyless and homeless, to be outcasts on the world, rather than do that which they now, it seems, are to be required to do—to be parties to the desecration of what they hold to be most sacred, and to the destruction of what they deem to be most valuable in this life, because it is connected with the interests of the life to come.'—(Speech, &c. p. 11, &c.)

Sir Robert Inglis.—'The honourable and learned member for Dublin contends, that as the legislature interfered once with the universities, it has a right to interfere again; but I put it upon the score of common honesty and honour, whether any gentleman in private life would sanction the principle of taking back a gift because you happened to bestow it? Tell me, if you please, that the gift *was a trust, and that the trust has been abused*, and then I can understand you. *Until it can be proved, however, that the two universities have betrayed their trust,* you cannot in

good faith or common honesty require us to restore the boon which you gave. . . . . I do not consider the question to be, whether the University was founded by Catholics or Dissenters. The present possession has lasted 600 years; *and unless* [which in his speech of the 26th March Sir Robert says, "*is not even alleged*"] *it can be proved that the trust has been abused,* I contend that it ought not to be disturbed. Is the House prepared to take away the rights and privileges of this University *without any proof of delinquency?*'—(March 21, 1834, Mirror of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 983).

—'I know how unpopular the practice is in this House of even referring to the oaths which any honourable member has taken; but I will not shrink from that duty, whether the individuals who have taken these oaths be members of the Church of Rome, or members of the Protestant Church of England. Many there are sitting on the opposite side of the House, and who, I almost fear, are prepared to vote for the second reading of this bill, who are *bound in the strongest manner, by solemn oaths, to uphold the two Universities.* I call upon the House, and upon these honourable members, to listen while I venture to read to them the oaths which they took when they were admitted into the universities. I take the oath of matriculation at Cambridge, which the members of the opposite bench have taken. . . . . The words of the oath, on proceeding to a degree, go even farther, and bind the party to maintain, not only the honour and dignity of the university—which he might contend he consults by admitting Dissenters—but even *the statutes, and ordinances,* and customs, which he cannot deceive himself in supposing that this bill upholds. The words on this occasion, addressed by the Vice-Chancellor to the party, are—"*Jurabis quod statuta nostra, ordinationes, et consuetudines approbatas observabis.*" I ask the honourable member for Wiltshire, and every other honourable member who has had the advantage of a university education, to consider the *nature of the oath* which they so *solemnly took. If there be faith in man—if there be any use in religious instruction,* I ask honourable members to pause before they vote in favour of the measure now before us. I do assure the noble Lord that *I do not quote these oaths in any other spirit than that in which I would wish him to address me, if he believed that on any occasion I was incurring the risk of violating any such engagement.*'—(June 20, 1834, Mirror of Parliament, vol. iii. p. 2354.)

The whole reasoning in these quotations, is drawn from two places: the one, *the rights of public trustees;* the other, *the obligation of the academic oaths.*

I. The reasoning from the former place is as follows:—Trustees created by and for the public, who have continued faithfully to discharge their duty, ought not (what the admission of the dissenters, it is assumed, will actually occasion) to be superseded or compelled to resign;—The governors and instructors of the English Universities are, and are admitted to be, such trustees;—Therefore, &c.

We have already stated that we join issue with our opponents

in the principle of their argument, and our line of reasoning does not require that we should correct the terms in which their major proposition is expressed. We may, however, notice, that, in the first place, it is inapplicable, inasmuch as the assumption through which it is connected with the minor—that the opening of the Universities to the Dissenters would virtually compel the present trustees to resign—will be shown, in treating of the reasoning from the latter place, to be unfounded; and, in the second, that though true, as far as it goes, it requires for absolute truth an extension also to *insufficiency;* seeing, that a public trust (saving always the interest of incumbents and independent of all private rights of property) may justly, without any allegation of dishonesty or negligence in the trustee, be reorganized, or placed under a different management, the moment that the welfare of the public renders such a measure expedient. A trustee, *qua* trustee, has, against his truster, duties but no rights. His only claim of continuance is his superior or equal competency to discharge the office. A University is a trust confided by the state to certain hands for the common interest of the nation; nor has it ever heretofore been denied that a University may, and ought, by the state to be from time to time corrected, reformed, or recast, in conformity to accidental changes of relation, and looking towards an improved accomplishment of its essential ends. Under this extension the Dissenters would be safe. But waving all this, and taking the proposition simply as it stands, it is evident that if it be assumed by our opponents—*That public trustees ought not to be superseded without a proof of negligence or abuse; multo magis,* must it be admitted by them, as implied in their own assumption, and by all as a proposition unconditionally true—*That public trustees, on a proof of negligence or abuse, ought to be superseded.* On the hypothesis therefore of our proving, that the governors of either University have not only neglected or partially abused, but betrayed and systematically frustrated their whole great trust, these doughty champions of the collegial interest must, on their own principle, be, *presto*, metamorphosed into its assailants. Nor is such a proof to seek; it is already on record. To Oxford we limit our consideration, not that an almost equal malversation might not be established against Cambridge, but because we have only, as yet, proved our allegations of illegality and breach of trust, in relation to the former.

The Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis, not only assert that no abuse of trust can justly be alleged against the Universities, (meaning of course in reference to Oxford, the Heads of Houses who are by law solely bound and exclusively competent to prevent, and who consequently have alone the power to tole-

rate and perpetuate abuses,) but that no one has ever dared to hazard such an allegation. 'Is it,' (says the former,) 'can it 'be alleged, that either of the Universities, or that any of the 'Colleges within them, have violated the duties of their corporate 'character, or that they have abused the powers intrusted to them 'for the performance of those duties? My Lords, no man has 'ventured, nor will any man venture, to say any of these things.' And with equal confidence the latter avers that such abuse 'is 'not even alleged.' Defiance like this, from such a quarter, was alone wanted to carry to its climax the history of that official treason of which the University of Oxford has been the prey; for not only has the abuse of trust in this venerable school been denounced by us as unparalleled in the annals of any other Christian institution, but our exposure of it has been so complete that those interested in its continuance—those on whom defence was a necessity, moral and religious, have been unable to allege a single word in vindication.*

It is now above three years and a half since we published a principal, and above three years since we subjoined a supplementary, article on the subject.

In these we stated, that though Great Britain, from the constituency of its unreformed Parliament, was by nature the happy paradise of jobs; yet that in that country the lawless usurpation of which the two great national Universities of England had been the victims, (from the magnitude of the public evil, and the singular character of the circumstances under which it was accomplished,) stands preeminent and alone. With more immediate reference to Oxford, we showed that it was at once conspicuous for the extent to which the most important interests of the public had been sacrificed to private ends—for the unholy disregard displayed in its consummation of every moral and religious tie—for the sacred character of the agents through whom the unholy

* In deference to the common sense and common honesty of the collegial interest, we shall not consider two unparalleled pamphlets, published (by one of its Fellows, we presume) under the name of 'A 'Member of Convocation,' as representing more than the moral eccentricities of an individual. Our exposure is not to be refuted, by regularly quoting, as from us, particular passages we never wrote, and by systematically combating, as our argument, the very converse of every general position we actually maintained.

We are, however, pleased to see that the *Quarterly Review* has been driven to a similar tactic, in attempting to say something in answer to our article on the present subject in its last Number. But we have no room at present to expose its misrepresentations.

treason had been perpetrated—for the systematic perjury it has naturalized in this great seminary of religious education—for the apathy with which the public detriment has been tolerated by the State, the impiety by the Church—and, last not least, for the unacquaintance so universally manifested with so flagrant a corruption.

1. We showed in the first place, *that a great breach of trust had been committed:* that there were two systems of education to be distinguished in the English Universities; a *legal* non-existent *in fact*, and an *actual* non-existent *in law;* and that in Oxford no two systems could be imagined more universally and diametrically opposed—in *ends*—in *conditions*—in *means*.

In the Legal system, the *end*, for the sake of which the University is privileged by the nation, and that consequently imperatively prescribed by the statutes, is to afford public education in the faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts, and to certify —by the testimony of a degree—that this education had in one or other of these faculties been effectually received. In the Illegal, degrees are still ostensibly accorded in all the faculties; but they are now empty, or rather delusive, distinctions; for the only education at present requisite for all degrees, is the private tuition afforded by the colleges in the elementary department of the lowest faculty alone. Of ten degrees still granted in Oxford, all are given without the statutory conditions; and nine are, except for the privileges not withdrawn from them, utterly worthless.

In the Legal system, it is, of course, involved as *conditions*, that the candidate for a degree shall have spent a sufficient time in the University, and this in attendance on the public courses of that faculty in which he purposes to graduate. In the Illegal, when the statutory education in the higher faculties, and the higher department of the lowest, was no longer afforded, these relative conditions, were, though indispensable by statute, replaced, in practice, by empty standing.

The Legal system, as its necessary *mean*, employs in every faculty a cooperative body of select professors, publicly teaching in conformity to statutory regulation. The Illegal, (in which the mutilated remnant of professional instruction is little more than a nominal appendage,) abandons the petty fragment of private education it precariously affords, as a perquisite, to the incapacity of an individual, Fellow by chance, and Tutor by usurpation.

England is thus the only Christian country where the Parson, if he reach the University at all, receives only the same minimum of theological tuition as the Squire;—the only civilized country where the degree, which confers on the Jurist a strict monopoly

of practice, is conferred without either instruction or examination;—the only country in the world where the Physician is turned loose upon society with extraordinary privileges, but without professional education, or even the slightest guarantee for his skill.

2. We showed, in the second place, *by whom* the breach of trust had been committed. The perfidious trustees were the heads of the private corporations or colleges in connexion with the University. The colleges, though endowments limited to the members, are wholly extraneous to the corporation of the University. Their fellows, who often obtain the situation for any other qualification than literary merit, far less their capacity for instruction, are unknown even by name in the academical charters and statutes; and it is only at a recent date, and for private ends, that, by a royal ordinance, the heads of these private corporations were unconstitutionally elevated into the incapable and faithless rulers of the public corporation, to which *qua* college heads they were, and are, wholly foreign. The Caroline statute, procured by the influence of Laud, bestowed on the heads of houses, 1st, the guardianship of the statutes; and, 2d, with the duty of watching over the improvement of the University, the initiative of every new law;—the legislative power remaining always with Convocation, *i. e.* the assembly of all the full graduates in connexion with the University. The academic Legislature, however, declare, that as the Heads and Chancellor are emancipated from the penalties of ordinary transgressors, 'so on them there is laid a weightier obligation of con-'science:' and 'seeing that to their fidelity is intrusted the keep-'ing and guardianship of the statutes, if (may it never happen!) 'through their negligence or inactivity, they suffer any statutes 'whatever to fall into desuetude, and to be, as it were, silently 'abrogated, IN THAT EVENT WE DECREE THEM GUILTY OF VIO-'LATED TRUST AND PERJURY.'

3. In the third place, we exposed the interested *motives* and the paltry *means* which determined, and the *circumstances* which rendered possible, the universal frustration of the constitutive statutes, and consequent suspension of the University; for a University only exists as a privileged instrument of public education.

4. In the fourth place, we proved *that the collegial heads themselves are fully conscious, that the change from the statutory to the illegal system is at once greatly for their private advantage, and greatly for the disadvantage of the University and nation.* For rather than allow its merits to be canvassed by venturing to ask for the actual system a legal sanction, even from a

friendly house of Convocation, these betrayers of their public trust have gone on from generation to generation voluntarily perjuring themselves, and denying the privileges of the University to all who would not be constrained to follow their flagitious example.

Such was the burden of the accusation. The accused were the collegial interest and its heads—the reverend governors of the University—a class of churchmen who now resist the natural right of the Dissenters to education in the national seminaries, on the plea, that Oxford is, in their hands, less a school of learning than of pious orthodoxy, and who heretofore pugnaciously alive on every trivial disparagement of their literary estimation, were now called forth by honour and by sacred duty to vindicate even their moral and religious respectability. In such circumstances, where silence was tantamount to confession, confession to disgrace, what does such unwonted, such unnatural torpidity proclaim?

'——*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.'

This alone can explain or excuse their quiescence. Yet listen to the advocates of these self-confessing culprits. 'My Lords, 'no man has ventured, nor will any man venture to say, either 'that they have omitted to perform the duties for which they 'were incorporated, or that they have abused the powers 'intrusted to them for the performance of those duties.' 'Nemo, 'Hercule, nemo!'

'For who dare deem that Lais is unchaste?'

But in thus ignoring (in ignorance we are bound to believe) before the two Houses of Parliament not only the delinquency, but its exposure, the advocates of the collegial interest did not, we must admit, transcend the general unacquaintance of the Legislature with all that appertained to the constitution and history—the rights and interests of the Universities. Not a single voice was raised in either House to signalize the misstatement and to retort the argument. Indeed the most elementary ignorance of academical relations was manifested in the bill, and pervaded the whole course of the subsequent debates. The bill was preposterous, (we use the word in its proper signification,) and confounded what ought to have been not only distinguished, but contrasted. The Dissenters could only claim admission into the Universities as national schools; but as national schools they had been suspended, and an intrusive private tuition allowed to usurp the place of the public education organized and privileged by law. But instead of first simply demanding *what could not possibly have been refused*, the re-

storation of the Universities to their public and statutory existence, and with which restoration the universal admissibility of the lieges would have followed almost as a corollary; the Bill and its supporters first recognised the conversion of the national Universities into a complement of private corporations, and then of course were fairly defeated in their summary attempt to deal with these private and sectarian colleges as with cosmopolite and Christian schools. It may, indeed it must, before long become a question how far the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge should remain exclusive foundations. This question is, however, one of complicated difficulties from the confliction, in every form and degree, of public expediency and private rights;—difficulties which can hardly admit of an equitable solution by any general measure, but would require a special adjustment and compromise in the case of almost every separate corporation. In some colleges the fellowships could, without injustice, be at once thrown open and unconditionally presented as the rewards of academical distinction; in others this could not be effected perhaps at all, or not without an adequate compensation. But the University and its education are not in the very least dependent on the colleges; and, in so far as these may be desirous of constituting a part of the general academical system, they are completely under the control of the University and State. The colleges, as strictly limited to the members of their own foundations, are, indeed, governed by their private statutes and emancipated from the visitation of the University; but as licensed houses of superintendence and tuition for the academical youth in general, they can either by the University and nation be deprived of their license altogether, or this conceded to them under any conditions that the public corporation or state may find it expedient for the general advantage to impose. In so far as colleges have latterly been opened to independent members they are tantamount to Halls, and Halls were always subject to the regulations of the university. In our last article we were wrong in not taking this distinction; and in admitting that, as the colleges could not be compelled to receive any independent members at all, they could not be prevented from making a selection if they did. But the University has a right to say, the houses we privilege to receive students we authorize every student to enter; the colleges must therefore admit all willing to conform to their economy, or none. And considering them as incorporations, if their fellowships were thrown open as prizes of literary merit, they would of course contribute powerfully to the prosperity of the University; but if, as at present, they continued only to crowd the hive with drones, it would still be the fault of the University if they were suffered any longer to operate as a direct impediment to its utility

by usurping, for their fellows, functions they are rarely competent to perform.

But to return to our argument: To implicate questions of so clear and simple a solution as the right of Dissenters to admission into the national Universities, and the proper mode of rendering that right available, with the difficult and ravelled problems touching the various collegiate foundations of Oxford and Cambridge is, to say the least of it, in every point of view highly inexpedient. It is often easy to drive a wedge where it is impossible to pass a needle. The great measure of a restoration of the *University*, in Oxford and Cambridge, to legal existence and unexclusive nationality could not be resisted; while the comparatively petty measure of opening, *brevi manu*, the English *Colleges* to the Dissenters was successfully opposed. A restoration of the University is, in fact, the only mode through which the Dissenters ought to condescend to accept admission —into Oxford at least. They were plainly told by a member of that University, an active supporter of their rights in Parliament, (Mr Vernon Smith,) that a hunted cur, with a kettle at his tail, was but a type of the manner in which a Dissenter would be baited in an Oxford College under the spirit of the present system. Let that system be changed. Let the tutorial instruction be elevated, the professorial reestablished and improved. Let the youth of the University no longer imbibe only the small prejudices of small men. Let them be again presented with a high standard of erudition and ability. Let the public schools once more collect them in numerous classes to hear the words of wisdom and liberality, and to merge in a generous, sustained, and universal emulation, the paltry passions and contemptible distinctions which the isolation of the College coteries now breeds and fosters. Then will a Dissenter be as sure of civility and respect in Oxford, as in Leyden, Göttingen, Edinburgh, or even Cambridge. But in point of fact, if that be worthy the attempt, the surest way of conquering an entrance into the Colleges is to make the University accessible, and not through them. Let the University again be patent to every sect, and the Halls in the course of restoration; and, like a sulky Boniface, with the fear of a rival hostelry before his eyes, every head of every College will, cap in hand, be fain to waylay the Dissenters at its gate, with bows and smiles, and a 'Walk in, gentlemen!—'Pray, walk in!' Decided symptoms, indeed, of this spasmodic complaisance have already been manifested.

It would be a sign of marvellous simplicity to believe, that the opposition of the Collegial interest to the admission of Dissenters is principally, if at all, determined by religious differences and

religious motives. If this admission were for the temporal advantage of the present usurpers of the University, we should hear no hypocritical clamour about their spiritual obligations. Their conscience is merely a stalking-horse, moved by their interest, and to conceal it. We make no allegations which we cannot prove. They protest, with tragic emphasis, against the admission of Dissenters; because, they say, they are bound by their academic oaths and statutes to exclude them. We are soon to show, that these statutes can be modified or rescinded by the state, and consequently the oath relieved. Their clamour is, therefore, idle. But we shall admit their hypothesis, and prove their hypocrisy notwithstanding. Suppose a legislature to impose two obligations; one comparatively strong, one comparatively weak. If, in these circumstances, a man can habitually violate the former, how shall he be designated should he vociferate against the constitutional repeal of the latter as an outrage on his conscience? But this is not so strong as the case under consideration. The academic legislature of Oxford imposes two such obligations. The stronger, that, to observance of its statutes, is established on a solemn *oath*, which is allowed only to be deliberately taken by members after attaining the age of sixteen. The weaker, that, to a belief in the thirty-nine articles, is established only on *subscription;* and so slight is the obligation held to be by the very authority imposing it, that this subscription is lightly required (not merely of young men of sixteen, as marvellously stated by the Bishop of Exeter and all others in Parliament, but) of children entering the University, at the tender age of *twelve*. Now, with what face can the very men who have done two things—in the first place systematically outraged the stronger and more sacred obligation of the academic oath; and, in the second, done all in their power to attenuate to zero the weaker and less sacred obligation of the academic subscription—with what face can they, when it is proposed by the state, to repeal this subscription, gravely call out against that measure as 'a persecution'—as a compelling them 'to be parties to the desecration of what 'they hold to be most sacred, and to the destruction of what they 'deem to be most valuable in this life, because it is connected 'with the interests of the life to come?'—(*Bishop of Exeter's Speech*, pp. 9, 10, 13.)—Have they not done the former? Has the collegial interest not frustrated every fundamental statute of the University—every statute opposed to its own usurpation of every necessary academic function? Have its Heads not themselves 'desecrated' and compelled all others 'to be parties to 'the desecration of what they hold [or ought to hold] to be most 'sacred, and to the destruction of what they deem [or ought to

'deem' most valuable in this life, because it is connected with the 'interests of the life to come,'—*their solemn oaths?* They have equally done the latter. As we formerly observed,—and that previous to the agitation of the present question of the Dissenters' claim—the Heads have violated not only their moral and religious obligations to the University and the country, but in a particular manner their duty to the Church of England. By law, Oxford is not now unconditionally an establishment for the benefit of the English nation; it has been for centuries an establishment only for the benefit of those in community with the English Church. But the heads well knew that the man will *subscribe* thirty-nine articles which he cannot believe, who *swears* to do and to have done a hundred articles which he cannot, or does not, perform. In this respect, private usurpation was for once more (perversely) liberal than public law. Under the illegal system, Oxford has virtually ceased to be the seminary of a particular sect; its governors impartially excluding all religionists or none. Nor is this all. The natural tendency of the academical ordeal was to sear the conscience of the patient to every pious scruple; and the example of 'the accursed thing' committed and enforced by 'the priests in the high places,' extended its pernicious influence from the Universities, throughout the land. England became the country in Europe proverbial for a disregard of oaths; and the English Church, in particular, was abandoned, as a peculiar prey, to the cupidity of men allured by its endowments, and educated to a contempt of all religious tests.

We are thus convinced that the collegial interest in Oxford have scruples, few and lightly overcome, to the admission of Dissenters, viewed as a measure *per se*. The consequences of that measure alone affright them. In the first place, the Heads could not expect to find in the religionists of other sects, patients equally submissive in swallowing their catholicon of false swearing as members of the church in which they themselves stand high in station and authority; and any controversy on this point would inevitably determine a public enquiry into their stewardship, which they are fully conscious it could not endure. Farewell then to the suspension of the University, and the usurpation of tuition by the college fellows. In the second place, an increased resort to the University would necessarily occasion an increase in the number of privileged houses; and consequently either divide the unconstitutional authority of the heads, or (what is more probable) accelerate its end. The collegial interest, from sordid motives, is thus naturally opposed to the admission of the Dissenters; but if that admission cannot be avoided, the same sordid motives will influence their

conduct under that alternative. Be sure, there will be no strike, for conscience sake, of the fellow-tutors, and the college Heads, as threatened by the Bishop of Exeter and Sir Robert Inglis. The interlopers will be found to stick to their job and wages till turned out to make room for the regular workmen they have illegally expelled. In fact, the Heads have already left their two champions in the lurch. We showed in our last Number how admission into an English University did not constitutionally depend on admission into a college; and thus obviated all rational objection to the Dissenters' claim. But as the restoration of the University and Halls was of more immediate danger to their interest than the admission of Dissenters to the Colleges (the latter being mainly opposed only as a mean towards the former); and as the possibility of absolute exclusion, under circumstances, could no longer be expected: the Heads, throwing to the winds every dread vaticination of their parliamentary organs, prudently determined to choose of two evils the least, and had actually agreed to propose in Convocation a repeal of the academic test. But lest it might ever possibly be imagined that this change of measures was determined by any new light thrown upon their duty, it curiously happened that hardly had the project of repeal been by them resolved on, than the reforming Whigs were dismissed, and the Tory conservatives recalled to power. Forthwith their resolution was rescinded!

But to return:—Will Dr Philpotts and Sir Robert Inglis *conscientiously* deny that a public trust was confided to the Oxford Heads, and that this trust has been by them betrayed? If they cannot, they must either desert their principles, or join with us in calling for a deprivation of these unfaithful stewards.

II. The reasoning from the second place is to the following purport:—All members of the English Universities are bound by the most solemn oaths to maintain and observe the academical statutes;—These statutes prohibit the admission of Dissenters;—Therefore, in the first place, the passing of the Dissenters' Bill in Parliament, by causing a confliction between the law of the state and the law of the University, would constrain the administrators and teachers of Oxford and Cambridge, either to violate their spiritual obligations, or to sacrifice their temporal interests: while, in the second, members of either House of Parliament who are, or have been, members of either University, would, by supporting or not opposing the claim of the Dissenters, incur the guilt of perjury.

This reasoning, though allowed to pass in Parliament, has every vice of which reasoning is capable. It is, in the first place, harmless to those against whom it is directed; and, in the

second, fatal, not only to the special case in question, but to the general cause of those by whom it is employed. We shall consider it in this twofold relation :—1. As an argument against the Dissenters. 2. As an argument on the part of the Collegial interest.

1. The validity of this argument supposes the truth of one or other of two assumptions, both of which are utterly, and even notoriously, false. It supposes either that the sovereign legislature has not the right of making and unmaking the statutes of the national schools, or that a competent authority having once imposed an oath to the observance of certain laws, the same authority cannot afterwards relieve from that obligation, when it abrogates the very laws to which that oath is relative. Of these assumptions the latter is sufficiently refuted by the very terms of its statement, and the former requires only a removal of the grossest ignorance to make its absurdity equally palpable.

It will not be contended that the King, Lords, and Commons, cannot do that to which the King singly is competent. If, therefore, it can be shown that the Crown, alone, has the right either of sole or of paramount legislation in the English Universities, it will not be maintained that this right is null, when exercised by the Crown, plus the two Houses of Parliament. Again; it will not be pretended that Universities have in themselves any native right of legislation, or that they can exercise such right otherwise than as a power delegated to them for public purposes by the supreme authority in the state. But if the supreme authority can delegate it can consequently perform a function: and, therefore, all academical legislation, however absolutely devolved, is of its very nature subordinate to, and controllable by, the authority on which it is dependent for existence. But, in regard to the English Universities, the case is far weaker; there has, in fact, to them been either no delegation at all, or this delegation has been only partial and precarious.

In regard to Cambridge—and to the oaths taken in that University in observance of its statutes, Sir Robert Inglis confines himself—there can be no doubt or difficulty whatever. The Crown has there never delegated, except in mere matters of detail, the power of legislation to any academical body. The whole organic laws of that University flow immediately from the King; and the King may at any moment withdraw all or any of the statutes, and relieve from all or any of the oaths, which it has pleased him to impose. The Royal Statutes minutely determine the academic constitution, the organization of teachers, the mode and the conditions of instruction and exercise; while there is only permitted to the Chancellor and a majority of the Heads of

Houses the interpretation of what in these statutes may be found doubtful or ambiguous (*Stat. Eliz.* cap. 59); and to the Chancellor and *whole* University the privilege of ratifying new laws conducive to the welfare of the institution, but this only in so far as these *Graces* do not derogate from, or prejudice, the statutes established by the Crown (*Stat. Eliz.* cap. 42). Not that the actual state of that University is legal, or the oaths taken by all for observance of the statutes are not there, as in Oxford, broken by all, for the private advantage of the academical rulers. But, speaking of Cambridge, as existing not in *reality* but in *law;* in that seminary, the Crown has only to remove the impediment which it originally placed to the admission of Dissenters; and the University will be at once restored to its natural state of a national, a European school. It may, however, be noticed, as characteristic of the opposition now made to the Dissenters, that the very men who, in Cambridge, coolly take and deliberately *violate* every solemn oath to the observance of the *established* statutes, when contrary to their petty interests, do, when these petty interests persuade, vociferate before God and man, that they are to be robbed either of their salvation or subsistence; because, forsooth, perjury would be imposed on them by the non-enforcement of a non-existent law! Strange, that the throats which thus pleasantly can bolt a camel, should be so painfully constricted at the prospective phantom of a gnat!

In Oxford, although the Crown has permitted to Convocation a greater measure of legislative power than in Cambridge to the Senate; it has done this only in conjunction with, and in subordination, to itself. The King has here always continued to exert the power of original legislation: and that of controlling the acts of the academical body to which it has pleased him to depute the partial and subordinate exercise of this power. The deplorable ordinance by which the ancient and natural constitution of the University was subverted, and its efficiency thereafter gradually annihilated—(we mean the Caroline statute, which conferred on the Heads of Houses the guardianship of the old and the initiative of new laws—*i. e.*, abandoned the welfare of the national school to the perfidy of a private body incompetent to its maintenance, and directly interested in its ruin)—is an example of a royal statute, which, we trust, will, before long, by another royal statute, be repealed. The history of the University does not afford a single instance of the subordinate legislature (the House of Convocation) venturing to reject a statute prescribed by the paramount lawgiver (the King); while all enactments of any general importance, as, for example, the ratification of the code of statutes, were not only rendered valid by the royal confirma-

tion, but these, though formally originating in the University, were usually, in fact, enjoined to the academical legislature by the Sovereign. But not only does the academical legislature of Oxford enjoy no rights available against the state; in point of fact, the body to which alone the legislative power was originally intrusted, does not now exist; the delegation is consequently at an end. The country, the King, and the University confided the right of subordinate legislation in the national school of Oxford to a body of men notoriously qualified to this important function by a certain known and statutory course of public instruction, exercise, and examination. That necessary, that privileged course of education is no longer given; with the qualifying condition, the qualified body is virtually at an end; and, with the actual suspension of the University education, the right of University legislation ought likewise to be suspended. The pretended rights of that perjured interest which now usurps the place of the University, and of the instruments through whom it ostensibly carries on the acts of what in law and reason, no longer exists, are treated with too much deference, when treated with derision.

Thus to the Crown alone, *ex abundantia*, to the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament in conjunction, does the supreme right belong of repealing, as of ratifying, the statutes of either University. What then becomes of the argument, that the repeal of the academic tests by King, Lords, and Commons, as it could not alter the academic statutes to which the members of the two Universities are sworn, would consequently reduce the academical authorities to the alternative of perjury or resignation?

2. But as the principle, (which no moral intelligence can dispute,) that the state should by no act occasion, countenance, or permit the crime of perjury among its subjects, is found wholly irrelevant, as applied by the advocates of the interloping interest in the Universities against the Dissenters; let us try how the same principle will work, when retorted against the very party in whose hands it has proved so ineffectual a weapon.

In the first place, it will be admitted, that it is the common duty of every member of the national legislature to do all that in him lies to obviate the causes, and to quell the perpetration of so grievous a sin in any class or department of the community; and that the obligation of this duty rises, in proportion as the atrocity of the crime, and its contagious virulence are enhanced by the social rank and sacred character of the perjurers. But when a violation,—the most aggravated of the religious bond itself—is committed in the act of sacrificing the greatest of all public trusts on the altar of a private interest, the sufferance of

the perjury and malversation by the national legislature for one unnecessary moment after its exposure, becomes a reproach to every representative of the country who hesitates to raise his voice against the abomination.

Of all nations in the world, past or present, Pagan or Christian, the English is the one infamous for a contempt of religious obligations; and if on any national wickedness the wrath of God is to be visited, we may soon have cause to lament with Jeremiah, that 'because of swearing the land mourneth.' Confining ourselves to episcopal authorities—Bishop Sanderson (in his *Prelections on the Obligations of an Oath*, delivered in the University of Oxford nearly two centuries ago) warns his countrymen, that 'as the harvest of universal perjury is already white 'and ready for the sickle, so perfidious and profane a people 'ought to dread an utter extirpation at the hands of the divine 'justice:' and mainly attributes the grievous calamities of his generation to the endemic crimes of useless swearing and hypocritical perjury. Bishop Berkeley, in his *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, near a century thereafter, enumerates, among the principal causes of our decline, false swearing —'a national guilt which we possess in a very eminent degree; 'there being no nation under the sun, where solemn perjury is so 'common;—in so much that men now-a-days break their fast 'and a customhouse oath with the same peace of mind.' He then calls on the legislature to adopt means towards its prevention; 'for whatever measures are taken, so long as we lie 'under such a load of guilt as national perjury and national 'bribery, it is impossible we can prosper.'

But if the perjury of England stand preeminent in the world, the perjury of the English Universities, and of Oxford in particular, stands preeminent in England.

In Oxford, not only is the nation defrauded of nearly all the benefits, for the sake of which this the most important of all national corporations was specially organized and exclusively privileged; but the moral and religious wellbeing of the people sustains an injury, for which the sorry instruction still attempted in the place affords but a slender compensation. The exclusive privileges which Oxford and Cambridge still retain, render them the necessary or the favoured portals through which, in England, the church and the professions must be entered; and thus the English Universities continue by these privileges to be thronged, when the conditions on which they were conceded are no longer fulfilled. Compared with Oxford as it is, there is not a University in Europe, where the circle of academical instruction attempted is so small; and where the little taught is (in general) taught by

so inadequate a teacher. But if the youth of England can, in Oxford, learn less of speculative knowledge than in any other Christian university, they have, however, here a school of practical morality and religion, such as no Christian university out of England is competent to supply. Oxford is now a national school of perjury. The intrant is made to swear that he will do what he subsequently finds he is not allowed to perform. The candidate for a degree swears that he has done what he has been unable to attempt: and perjures himself by accepting from a perjured Congregation an illegal dispensation of performances indispensable by law. The professor swears to lecture as the statutes prescribe, and he does not. The reverend Heads of Houses, the academical executive, swear to see that the laws remain inviolate, and the laws are violated under their sanction; they swear to be vigilant for the improvement of the University, and in their hands the University is extinguished; they swear to prevent all false oaths, and for their own ends they deliberately incur the guilt of perjury themselves, and anxiously perpetuate the universal perjury of all under their control. The academic youth have thus the benefit of early practice and of high example. They here behold at what account religious obligations are held by the very guardians of the sanctuary; and how lightly their spiritual guides sacrifice to temporal advantage their own eternal interests, and those of all confided to their care. Is it marvellous that England is a by-word among the nations, when the fountains of English morality and religion are thus poisoned at their source? How long is this to be endured?

But, in the second place, it is not only the common duty of every national representative to see that no perjury be tolerated in any quarter, and least of all, in the very well-springs of public religion and morality, the privileged national schools; it is, in a still higher degree, the especial duty of those members of the Legislature, who are also members of either University, to take care that every thing be done by Parliament towards upholding the statutes of these establishments, which they themselves have solemnly sworn to observe. On this ground, Sir Robert Inglis called, in the most emphatic language, on those members of the House of Commons who had taken the academic oaths, to oppose, on the alternative of perjury, the passing of the Dissenters' Bill; and this on the hypothesis, that by no act of the national Legislature could a University statute be repealed, and those relieved of their obligation who had sworn to its observance. We have already shown, that such an hypothesis is null; and shall not attribute to Sir Robert the absurdity of holding, that an oath to obey a code of laws precludes the

swearer from ever cooperating towards its improvement, by the modification or repeal of inexpedient enactments. But if ineffectual against others, is Sir Robert's argument inconclusive against himself? He certainly challenges the retort. 'I know,' he says, 'how unpopular the practice is in this House of ever referring 'to the oaths which every honourable member has taken, but I 'will not shrink from that duty;' and after adjuring them by their religious obligations, he assures his opponents 'that I do 'not quote these oaths in any other spirit than that in which I 'would wish them to address me, if they believed that on any occasion I was incurring the risk of violating any such engagement.' We shall put him to the test.

Sir Robert has solemnly made oath in Oxford, once at matriculation, and thrice at least at the various steps of graduation, '*ad observandum omnia statuta, privilegia, consuetudines et liberates hujus Universitatis;*' and this oath he himself explains as obligating, not merely to a passive compliance with the statutory enactments, but to an active maintenance of their authority. 'It 'binds,' he says, 'the party to maintain, not only the honour 'and dignity of the University, *but even the statutes and ordinances.*'

Now, Sir Robert is far more than a man of sense and honour; yet as a mere man of sense and honour, and referring him for proof to our two articles on the English Universities,* we know and assert that he cannot, and will not deny, 1. That Oxford *de facto*, and Oxford *de jure*, are fundamentally different —nay, diametrically opposite. 2. That all members of the University are sworn to the observance of the statutes thus violated and reversed. 3. That those proceeding to a degree without fulfilling all indispensable conditions, are declared perjured by statute, and no graduate now fulfils even the most important of these. 4. That the heads of houses are appointed to watch over the faithful observance of the statutes, and 'decreed guilty of 'violated trust and perjury, if by their negligence or sloth any 'statute whatever be allowed to fall into desuetude,' and through them every fundamental statute is suspended. 5. That the heads of houses possess the initiative of every legislative enactment, and have yet neither brought, nor allowed to be brought, into convocation, any measure tending to put an end to this state of illegality and universal perjury. These facts (of which we have fully explained the how and why) Sir Robert Inglis will not, we are assured, *as an honourable, not to say religious, man*, deny; for dis-

* In Nos. CVI. and CVIII.

prove them we know he cannot. We call on him, therefore, to fulfil his professions—'to uphold the Universities, and maintain 'their statutes, as bound in the strongest manner by solemn 'oaths.' 'We ask' (his own words) 'the honourable member 'to consider the nature of the oath which he so solemnly took. 'If there be faith in man—if there be any use in religious 'instruction,' any confidence in religious profession, we conjure the representative of Oxford University to lend the valuable aid of his character and talents in restoring that venerable seminary to a state of law and usefulness—to raise it at least from religious opprobrium to religious respectability.

In like manner, and on the same hypothesis—if the Bishop of Exeter would not prove a traitor to his sacred character—if he would 'keep inviolate his academic oath,' and not 'become a 'party to the desecration of what he holds to be most sacred, 'and to the destruction of what he deems to be most valuable in 'this life, because it is connected with the interests of the life to 'come,' he will actively cooperate to the same hallowed end.

But there is another and a more important ally who is bound by the most transcendent duty to lend his aid to the cause—we mean the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the Duke of Wellington. On his installation in that distinguished office, he made public and solemn oath to '*defend and to keep entire* (tueri et 'conservare) *all and each of the statutes*, liberties, customs, rights, 'and privileges of that University without partiality, well, and 'faithfully, *to the best of his ability, and in so far as they should* '*be brought to his knowledge.*' The Chancellor is the supreme magistrate of the public corporation of the *University*; not of the private corporations of the colleges. His oath binds him to maintain the legal integrity of the University, and University alone; he is clothed with power to prevent the breach or frustration of any of its statutes; which, if he knowingly permit, he is proclaimed by academic law 'a perjured violator of his trust,' and the pedestal of his dignity is converted into the pillory of his shame. But we have better hopes of the Duke of Wellington. He is not the man to compromise the interests of his glory to the paltry ends of any; nor will he allow himself, we are assured, to be played as their puppet—their *ame damnée*—by such a body as the Oxford Heads. His speeches on the Dissenters' Admission Bill show him to have been grossly misled in regard to the nature of the academic oath; but his error was then excusable. It is, however, his duty not to remain obstinate in ignorance. This excuse may have been competent to former Chancellors; it is not to the present; and let him study the subject for himself, or let him obtain the opinion of any respectable lawyer, and, sure we are,

the present Chancellor of the University of Oxford will not be on the list of its perjured betrayers.

But, we have heard it said, that, admitting the truth of our allegations, it is for the interest of religion to cloak the offences of its ministers, and the terms, 'perjured violators of their trust,' &c., though appropriate to the offence, and not unsuitable to ordinary offenders, are, at the best, harsh and unseemly when applied to a class of dignified divines. To this, we answer:—

In the first place, these, the severest epithets we use, are those of the statutes themselves, which confer on the heads of houses a public authority to abuse; and are by them prospectively affixed to the very lowest degree of that abuse, of which we have been obliged to characterise the very highest. The statutes apply them to the only breach of trust which the legislature contemplated as possible, the less careful enforcement of some unessential enactment; we, to the deliberate and interested frustration of every fundamental law. In fact, if the thing is to be said at all, unless

'Oaths are but words, and words but wind,'

it can be said in no other, in no milder terms.

In the second place, it is blasphemous to hold that religion is to be promoted by veiling the vices of its ministers; and foolish not to see that these vices are directly fostered by concealment and toleration.

In the third place, so far is the sacred profession of the offenders from claiming for them a more lenient handling of their offence, it imperiously calls down upon their heads only a severer castigation. The holier the character of the criminal, the more heinous the aggravation of the crime. The lesion of moral and religious principle in the delinquent himself, and the baneful influence of his example on society, are in the present instance carried to their climax by the very circumstance that the 'perjured violators of their trust' had clothed themselves with the character of religious teachers; and in virtue of that character alone were enabled to manifest to the world a detestable proof of how diametrically opposite might be the practice and the precept of a priesthood. It is not that one man forswears himself in a smock frock, another in a cassock and lawn sleeves—it is not that an illiterate layman commits in ignorance a single act, and a graduated churchman perpetrates half a lifetime of perjury, with full consciousness of the transgression and its atrocity—it is not that the former gains a dinner and contempt, by cheating government of a few pounds, the latter wealth and consideration by violating his public trust, and defrauding the church, the professions, the country, of their education—it is not that the

one offender may grace the pillory, the other the pulpit and the House of Peers;—these are not surely circumstances that can reverse the real magnitude of the two crimes, either in the estimation of God, or in the eyes of reasonable men. Why, then, repress the moral indignation that such delinquency arouses? Why stifle the expression in which that indignation clothes itself? But though there be no call for such restraint we have imposed it. We have spoken plainly, as in duty bound, but without exaggeration as without reserve.

> ' Dicenda pictis res phaleris sine,
> Et absque palpo. Discite strenuum
> Audire Verum. Me sciente
> Fabula non peragetur ulla.
>
> ' Non est meum descendere ad oscula
> Impura Famæ et fingere bracteas;
> Larvisque luctari superbis,
> Aut nimias acuisse laudeis.'

Nor do we hazard our imputations, if unfounded, with impunity. We do not venture an attack, either agreeable in itself, or where defeat would be only fatal to the defender. We deeply feel that the accusations of a betrayal of trust, self-seeking, and perjury, to whomsoever applied, are of the most odious complexion; and that the accuser, if he fail in establishing his proof, receives, and ought to receive, from public indignation, an almost equal measure of disgrace with that reserved for the accused, if unable to repel the charge. But when this charge is preferred against a body of men, the presumption of whose integrity is founded on their sacred character as clergymen, on their hallowed obligations as the guides, patterns, instructors of youth, and on their elevated station as administrators of the once most venerable school of religion, literature and science in the world; what must be our conviction of its importance, of its truth and evidence, when we have not been deterred from the painful duty of such an accusation, by the dread of so tremendous a recoil!

And in reference to the actual Heads, it is now nearly four years since we first exposed the fact and the illegality of the present suspension of the University, with the treason and perjury through which that suspension was effected, and is maintained. In our exposition we were, however, anxious to spare, as far as possible, the living guardians of the University and its laws, and to attribute rather to an extreme, an incredible, ignorance of their duty, what would otherwise resolve into a conscious outrage of the most sacred obligations. But since that period

the benefit of this excuse has been withdrawn. The Heads cannot invalidate the truth of our statements or the necessity of our inferences; they have, therefore, in continuing knowingly, and without necessity, to hold on their former lawless course, overtly renounced the plea of *ignorance* and *bona fides*, and thus authorized every executioner of public justice to stamp the mark, wherewith the laws, by which they are constituted and under which they act, decree them to be branded.

ART. X.—*Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Steam Navigation to India; with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.* 1834.

THREE routes have been proposed for communicating with India by means of steam-packets: the first, by the cape of Good Hope; the second, by the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Red Sea; the third, by the Mediterranean, Syria, the river Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf.

These three routes have each their advantages and disadvantages, physical, political, and commercial. To examine these was the main purpose of the enquiry before us; and to the extent of this purpose, the information obtained is as complete and comprehensive, as, in the present state of experience, it well can be. There is a fourth branch of the enquiry—the mechanical—the means, in respect of vessels and engines, by which the object in view is to be accomplished. On this branch, we wish that the enquiry had been carried further; that is to say, (for the enquiry is, as far as the questions go, sufficiently comprehensive,) that a greater number of practical witnesses had been examined, to some points on which there is a remarkable diversity of opinion. There is, finally, a fifth branch,—the financial—what the establishment is to cost, and who is to pay for it; on which there is also a great diversity of opinion, ranging between an immense dead charge on the one hand, and a most captivating profit on the other.

The route by the cape of Good Hope has been the subject of one experiment,—the voyage of the Enterprise in 1825.

The course of the Enterprise was within sight of cape Finisterre, between the Canary islands, inside the Cape de Verde islands, and about a hundred miles from the Cape Verde; eastward, to the island of St Thomas, in the bight of Benin; directly southward, to latitude seventeen degrees thirty minutes south, longitude, seven degrees, forty-five minutes east; thence to the cape

of Good Hope; thence to the eastward of Madagascar; then northward, to near the Seychelles; eastward, to the north of Pona Moluba; then to the Andaman islands and Diamond harbour.

The time of the voyage was, in all, 113 days;* the average voyage of a sailing vessel is 120 to 130 days to Calcutta.

The Betsey from Bourdeaux, which sailed at the same time, accomplished the voyage in three days less than the Enterprise; and other sailing vessels have, on other occasions, done it in much less time. The East India Company's ship, Marquis of Wellington, Captain Alfred Chapman, to Calcutta, passed the Lizard Point on the 10th of June, and saw Point Palmyras on the 30th of August, 1829, being eighty-one days from point to point.

This was in a more favourable season than that in which the voyage was made by the Enterprise, and is the most expeditious voyage on record. But we are inclined to think that a sailing vessel, running with the trade winds and the monsoons, must always outrun a steam-vessel in the entire passage; the unavoidable relays and the possible accidents of the latter being considered.

The Enterprise had no relay of coals but at the cape. Captain Johnston, her commander, thought the voyage might be accomplished by steam on an average of eighty-days, with numerous depôts of coals in different directions, so that they should be available in all circumstances of wind; that if a steam-vessel could not conveniently approach one, she might bear up for another.

The most sanguine advocates for this line of steam-navigation, do not anticipate the probability of accomplishing the object in less than seventy days; but, be the time what it may, still it seems highly probable that half the distance can be done in half the time.

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* 'The Enterprise left the land on the 16th of August, 1825, reached 'Calcutta on the 7th December, 1825, that was 113 days (of which she 'was 103 actually under weigh) from the land to Diamond harbour: she 'used both sail and steam. The greatest run by sail in twenty-four 'hours, was 211 miles; the least, 39: the greatest by steam, assisted 'by sail, 225 miles; the least, 80: the greatest heat in the engine room 'during the voyage, was 105 degrees; the air, at the same time, being '84 degrees and a half: the total distance was 13,700 miles; and the 'consumption 580 chaldrons of coals, being nine chaldrons per day for 'sixty-four days, the rest being under sail: the engines were 120 horse 'power; the speed of the engines, in calm weather, was eight knots an 'hour, the log giving nine from the wash of the paddles.'—*Minutes of Evidence, page* 1.

The most direct run which a steamer could possibly make to Bombay, would be 10,700 miles: the actual run of a sailing vessel is seldom less than 14,000, and is sometimes very nearly 17,000 miles. But some deviations there must be; and, if we reduce the distance for a steamer to 12,000 miles, we presume it will be as much as we can reasonably do in the present state of our experience.

A nearly direct course from England to the cape of Good Hope is through the Canary Islands, and by the islands of Ascension and St Helena; but St Helena lies in the direct line of the south-east trade wind, and is therefore only taken by homeward bound vessels. Outward bound vessels usually stand away towards South America, and cross the line between twenty and twenty-four degrees west longitude; but the best course for a steamer would be under the coast of Africa, where she would have the advantage of calms, and land and sea breezes. There are, however, many experienced men, who think that the south-east trade wind would not present a formidable obstacle to a powerful steamer, and would take the direct line, by St Helena, for the outward voyage.

Against the monsoons, (the S. W. at any rate,) we think it impossible that steam-vessels could make the Cape passage at all. If they could stem them, which we doubt, the wear and tear, and the intervals between the relays would be too great. It has been proposed to have sailing vessels fitted with small steam-engines, for the purpose, especially, of working across the calms and variable winds of the Line. There are many objections to this mode of fitting small engines in large vessels. They would occupy some and disarrange much more of valuable space. They would be altogether inefficient, excepting in calms. The slightest press of air, on a ship with all sails spread, at once outstrips the speed of such engines, and a very slight adverse breeze renders them powerless. The same object would be much better attained, by having a few steam tug vessels of great power stationed between the tropics to tow ships across the calms.

With respect to the expense of this route, it must obviously require great power and ample tonnage. The greater portion of the tonnage must be occupied by the machinery and fuel. Add to these the provisions, water, and stores for the crew, and little will be left for passengers, nothing for cargo. We have here at once the elements of a great charge, and a small return. The route of the Cape is clearly the route for sailing vessels with large cargoes of merchandise, but for letters and passengers, which can be conveyed over 200 or 300 miles of land, without any difficulty, or without any inconvenience but the change of conveyance, or

rather with the agreeable diversity, in a sea voyage, of a land excursion, through beautiful and interesting scenes, there seems no earthly reason why steam-packets, which, on the average of the year, would run about equal sea distances within the day in either case, should be employed to carry them 12,000 instead of 6,000 miles, unless there be in the shorter distance serious physical, political, or financial impediments, which more than counterbalance the economy of space and time.

It is unnecessary to say much more on the subject of the Cape passage. Physically, as well as commercially, we think all the advantages of that route are in favour of sailing vessels; politically there are no obstacles to encounter; the ocean is our own highway, and we have no one's leave to ask, and no one to conciliate in the route. We may deposit our coals at the Cape de Verde islands, at St Thomas's, at the Cape, and at Johanna, or the Mauritius, with little fear of annoyance of any kind. But there is the undiminished distance, or only in so far diminished as steamers would not beat to windward, or go out of their way to avoid the calms of the line; and as we cannot in steam-vessels carry cargoes round the Cape, as we can carry nothing but letters and passengers, it seems so infinitely probable, that if we have only half the distance to run, we may do it in half the time, that we may reasonably postpone the further consideration of the Cape passage till we have satisfied ourselves in respect of the other two routes, by each of which the distance from London to India and back again, is less than the distance by the Cape from London to India alone.

We shall now turn to the line of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

A Government steam-packet leaves Falmouth for Malta on the third or fourth day of every month, and makes an average passage of eighteen days, the distance being 2200 miles. The Admiralty will, early in the present year, despatch a monthly branch-packet from Malta to Alexandria, 860 miles, which will make the passage in a week; therefore a month will reach Egypt; but three weeks, or even less, might do it, with more powerful vessels than the Mediterranean packets. The distance would be diminished by crossing France to Marseilles, but without a steam-packet from Marseilles to Alexandria, there would be no saving in time; a journey through France, or through France and Italy, is open to the traveller towards India by the route of the Red Sea. Three days will cross the Isthmus, three weeks more, with proper vessels and proper arrangements, will be sufficient for the 3000 miles of sea from Suez to Bombay, during that portion of the year in which the navigation of the Red Sea is practicable.

Letters having reached Alexandria, will of course proceed with all possible speed to Suez. Passengers who are in haste must keep pace with them; but those who have leisure may await the next packet, and pass the interval on the Nile and in Upper Egypt. It may be presumed, that few travellers, who could spare time, would pass through Egypt without visiting Thebes.

This route has been the subject of five experiments by the Hugh Lindsay steam-vessel, all in the most favourable season, about the middle of the north-east monsoon. There has been no experiment made in the south-west monsoon. The general tenor of the evidence seems to bear out the opinion of Captain Wilson, the commander of the Hugh Lindsay, that it would be impossible during that monsoon, at least during July, August, and September; that is to say, that it is not absolutely physically impossible for a very powerful steam-vessel to do it, but that the time occupied, and the wear and tear would be so great, as to amount to a moral impossibility.

There is no physical difficulty for steam-vessels on this route during one-half of the year, and none in the line from England to India during the whole year round; but from India to England, the Red Sea voyage appears, as has been said, to be all but impossible, during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon.

The Red Sea lies between the 12th and 30th degrees of north latitude. It is a long and comparatively narrow sea, being 1200 miles in length, and not much more than 200 in its greatest breadth, generally much less. Its main line is from N. N. W. to S. S. E., and its mid channel is so even and clear, that notwithstanding its length and narrowness, a straight line between its extreme points, Suez and Babel-Mandel, does not touch the land on either side, and scarcely even an island, rock, or shoal of any kind.

From Babel-Mandel to Bombay, the course through the gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea is east by north, forming nearly a right angle with the course down the Red Sea. Along this line, between Babel-Mandel and Bombay, the north-east and south-west monsoons blow, not in the exact direction their names imply, but nearly east and west.

The mid channel of the Red Sea is clear, but its sides abound with coral reefs. For sailing vessels, it is one of the most dangerous navigations in the world; but steam-vessels can keep the mid channel, and make the passage with little danger. During the height of the south-west monsoon in the Indian ocean, a strong north-west wind blows through almost the whole extent of the Red Sea. The wind changes its line with the change of line of the coasts, and is a fair wind all the way to India, and a foul

wind all the way from it. At this time, and at no other in the year, the Arab vessels leave the Red Sea ports for India. In the height of the north-east monsoon, there is a strong southerly wind in the entrance of the Red Sea, and southerly breezes prevail more or less in the whole line from Babel-Mandel to Suez. The Arab vessels return to the Red Sea in the north-east monsoon only, and those bound to its higher ports, at this particular period of it. They are timid and cautious navigators, creeping along between the coral reefs and the shore, and anchoring under the first headland on the suspicion of a gale.

Before steam-navigation was thought of, the state of the Red Sea navigation was well described by Sir Harford Jones:—'There 'are six months in the year that you cannot get into the Red Sea, 'and six that you cannot get out of it.' There were exceptions, however; now and then a sailing vessel did go in or out in the adverse season; the sea was not absolutely hermetically sealed; but Sir Harford correctly described its general character.

The Roman commerce with India on this line was regulated by a very accurate observation of the seasons. Pliny's description of it is compendious and clear, and shows that the Roman vessels took the same course with the Arab vessels of the present day; and that 'quingenties sestertium,' about L.400,000 Sterling was annually transmitted to India, for which merchandise was returned producing a hundred-fold.*

The principal Red Sea ports accessible from Egypt are Suez and Cosseir. The first is in the upper extremity of the sea, and is seventy miles from Cairo. The second is between 200 and 300 miles lower down, and is 120 miles from Gennah on the Nile.

The port of Berenice, which is about 500 miles south of Suez, and between 200 and 300 miles south of Cosseir, was chiefly used by the Romans as avoiding the great difficulties of the upper navigation; and it is worth while to consider whether this port might not be reestablished for the same reasons.

The almost constant north-west winds that blow down the sea of Suez must always be an obstacle to any extensive commerce in that part of the Red Sea, even if other circumstances were favourable to it. From this very cause the ancient canal which connected the Red Sea with the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, could not have been very serviceable for commerce. The Romans chose the most natural positions for commerce with India, when they chose the ascent of the Nile and the transit to Berenice in preference to the nearer and more obvious route to Arsinoë (Suez.)

* Hist. Nat. t. vi. c. 20.

The steady north-west wind enabled them to sail against the stream of the Nile, and they rowed down with the current against the wind, whilst they would have vainly endeavoured to surmount the parallel distance on the Red Sea. They had a long desert route, about 280 miles, a journey of twelve nights; but in this they seem to have found little inconvenience. They had a port much better than any in the upper part of the sea; and, above all, they found the advantage of not having to return against the steady adverse winds of the sea above Berenice.

From Alexandria we proceed to Cairo, and from Cairo to Suez or Cosseir. There are several routes from Alexandria to Cairo;—by land, by the mouth of the Nile and the open sea, and by the canal of Alexandria.

The land route from Alexandria to Cairo is generally by Damanour, Rhamahneah, and along the river to Cairo; but that which the Indian army returned by, across the country from Damanour to Terreah, is considerably shorter, and fully as practicable: the distance is 140 miles (measured.)

The route from Cairo by the Nile to Rosetta, and by the open sea to Alexandria, is that which has been taken by the majority of travellers in Egypt. There is great delay in this route, unless every thing is pre-arranged. Boats are not always procurable at a moment's notice. The river and the sea require different vessels, and the bar of Rosetta can be passed with safety only in moderate weather, and with men well accustomed to the passage. The length of the route can scarcely be less than 250 miles. Many travellers have been a long time in performing this double voyage, by detention at Cairo and Rosetta, especially the latter, for want of vessels. Four days from Cairo to Rosetta, and one day of twelve hours from Rosetta to Alexandria, is about the time usually employed in the passage. Steam would, of course, greatly abridge it.

The canal of Alexandria, which has been cleared out by the present ruler of Egypt, branches off from the Nile at some distance below Cairo; but it is only navigable during about three months of the high water of the Nile.

From Cairo to Suez are seventy miles of desert, usually traversed on camels; but there are other modes of conveyance to be obtained, namely, dromedaries, donkeys, and more rarely horses; and there will be still other modes if ever Mehemet Ali, or his successor, should complete a railroad, which has been projected on this line. We do not indeed anticipate that it will ever be done; Mehemet Ali is too good a calculator to make it without a tolerable foreknowledge of how it will pay. If there be a great commerce between India and the Mediterranean; if Mehemet

Ali's railroad bring that commerce through Egypt; if sailing vessels can carry large cargoes up the sea of Suez, which the north-west wind blows directly down nearly eleven months of the year; if, being there, they will have cargoes to carry back; if the proprietors of these cargoes will be willing to pay Mehemet Ali a remunerating toll for his railroad; and if Mehemet Ali can very clearly foresee that all these *ifs* will become realities, then Mehemet Ali will make his railroad: but if he can foresee no better result from it than that of carrying coals for the India steam-vessels, which is the principal use to which we have yet heard it destined, we think the sagacious old gentleman will very soon discover that he would be more profitably employed in "carrying coals to Newcastle," than in making a railroad to steam them over the desert.

For the present, however, *en attendant* the railroad, we must be content to cross the desert to Suez much after the same fashion in which it was crossed in the days of Cheops.

Whilst the French were in Egypt, they surveyed the old canal from Suez to the Nile. They thought it would be better, in consequence of the great shallowness of the Mediterranean north of Suez, to reconstruct this canal from Suez to the Nile, to deepen the bed of the river, and to reconstruct the canals of Cairo and Alexandria. They estimated the expense at L.1,200,000 for all the operations which they considered necessary to complete the communications from Suez to the Mediterranean; of which about L.700,000 was for the canal from Suez to the Nile. A great portion of the bed of the old canal is still in existence,—especially a deep hollow, with occasional pools of water, called the Basin of the Bitter Lakes. The communication was from Suez to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which went into the Mediterranean by Pelusium, now called Tineh; that channel is dried up, and the canal of course could not be carried to the same point without opening the Pelusiac branch of the Nile; it goes in an angle from Suez to where the Pelusiac branch crossed from near Cairo to Pelusium. The distance from Suez to the branch which is now dried up is about sixty miles, being not quite so far as Cairo, which is seventy miles. The direct distance from Suez to the Mediterranean is less than 100 miles.

'The direct distance from the north extremity of the Arabic gulf to the nearest point of the Mediterranean is about seventy-five English miles; and to the site of the ancient Bubastis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, almost precisely the same. The length of a canal from sea to sea, following the most suitable ground, would be ninety-three miles; and that of the ancient canal from the Arabic gulf to the Nile was about ninety-two. Some learned moderns, perplexed by the vague and contradictory statements of the Greek and Roman writers respecting this

canal, have called in question its existence altogether, except partially as an aqueduct for irrigation. The French survey, however, has not only put to rest these doubts, but ascertained the precise line which it followed. Of ninety miles of inland water communication of which it consisted, it appears that sixty-five were cut by human labour, and of these sixty-five about one-half yet exists in a state less or more perfect. In many parts it is still so entire that its dimensions can be measured with tolerable accuracy, and little more than cleaning out would be required to render it again navigable.

'The Isthmus of Suez consists, on the north, of a low barren plain, slightly broken by hillocks of drift sand and pools of salt water. It rises gradually as we proceed southward till it terminates in mountainous land on the east and west sides of that arm of the Red Sea, called the Gulf of Suez. But between these ridges of high land, a trough or hollow extends northward from Suez, which is evidently a continuation of the cavity occupied by the waters of the gulf. Its direction may be distinctly traced by a series of lagoons or pools, reaching from the lake Menzaleh to the Red Sea, the southmost of which are called the Bitter Lakes. The bottom of this trough is every where many feet below the high water level of the gulf, except for about three miles at its southern extremity; and even here the soil is so low, that it would be submerged were the waters of the Red Sea to rise three or four feet above their usual elevation.

'From a point in this principal valley, about the middle of the Isthmus, another long valley branches off to the west, and extends to the low grounds which skirt the Nile. The western part is called Wadi (the Arabic word for valley) Tomylat, and the eastern part Wadi Sabahgar. The ancient canal ran through this valley, the bottom of which is likewise many feet below the high water level of the Gulf.

'By a series of levels carefully taken, the surface of the Arabic Gulf at Suez, at high water, was found to be 9,907 metres, (thirty feet six inches French) or thirty-two feet six inches English measure, above that of the Mediterranean at Tyneh in low water. The mean rise of the tide in the Red Sea at Suez was found to be about five feet six inches French, and that of the Mediterranean about a foot. It is evident, therefore, that were a channel cut to the depth of three or four feet through the sandy isthmus which divides the Gulf from the Bitter Lakes, the waters of the Red Sea would flow northward into the basin of these lakes, and then pass on to the Delta and to the Lake Menzaleh, which communicates with the Mediterranean. They would encounter no obstacles in their course, except from certain dikes run across the Wadi to shut out the annual inundation of the Nile. In extraordinary floods, however, the Nile surmounts these barriers. In 1800, it submerged the long valley to the depth of twenty-five feet, in some places, and penetrated to the Serapeum. A rise of the ground here, most probably artificial, stopped its progress, and but for this obstruction its waters would have filled the basin of the Bitter Lakes, and reached to within a few miles of the Red Sea. It may be safely stated, therefore, that there is not a spot in the world where a water communication of equal extent could be made with the same facility, and where human skill would produce so great a change with so

small an effort."—(Maclaren's *account of the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea.* Ap. to Report, *No.* vi., p. 28.)

It seems, indeed, most probable that the waters of the Arabian Gulf were at some very remote period connected with those of the Mediterranean, but that this must have been at a time when what is now the Egyptian Delta was itself a gulf of the sea—a time we conceive anterior, not only to the existence of civil society, but even to that of the human race; though Herodotus assures us that Thebes was an imperial city when Egypt was a swamp.*

The expense of this route is very great: expensive as long sea voyages by steam are at the best, this route is particularly costly, from the difficulty of transporting coals to the Red Sea, and of finding suitable depots for them. The coals of the Hugh Lindsay, which is a vessel of 160 horse power, have cost, on each of her voyages, L.5,000. This expense admits of diminution by systematic arrangements. We shall return to this branch of the subject when we have examined the third proposed route.

The imports and exports between India and the Red Sea are—

Imports from the Red Sea, .	L.217,451
Exports, . . .	287,752

A very insignificant matter in the magnitude of modern commerce; and we do not see how steam navigation is to increase it. The resources of Egypt are developed and drained to the utmost; and the coasts of the Red Sea, with some few exceptions in Abyssinia, are little else but sand and rock. Mr Waghorn indeed talks of taking from the Americans their snug trade in Mocha coffee. We suspect there is little to take; and that little, as a national object, of little value. We should be glad, as a matter of personal taste, to have Mocha coffee accessible: we believe that it has never been imported but by the East India Company, and that not a berry now finds its way to England. Colonial coffee undersells it too greatly. It will not pay; and those who would pay for it have no faith in the sellers. We do not look to any commercial advantage from the steam navigation of the Red Sea.

The European community in India are naturally desirous of establishing a more expeditious means of communication with their friends in Europe than is offered by the trading vessels

* Euterpe, iv.

round the Cape. The mercantile community attaches some importance to an early knowledge of the state of the markets. The current of opinion among them as to the proper means of effecting their object, has run all but unanimously in favour of steam navigation through the Red Sea and Mediterranean. Subscriptions amounting to about L 30,000 were raised for the promotion of this object, at the three Presidencies and throughout the provinces. This sum included some liberal subscriptions from natives of India, princes and others, who could not by possibility feel any interest in the matter. At each of the Presidencies was a managing committee. The Bengal Government encouraged and supported the undertaking.

It was intended, in the first instance, that the communication should be from Suez to Bombay, and that the subscribers should receive from the Bombay Government the loan of the Hugh Lindsay steam-vessel; which happens to be the only steam-vessel in the possession of the India governments which they can bid to go any where and return, with a certainty that it can accomplish its errand. The Government was to find the vessel and establishment, and the committee was to find the fuel. But the Bombay committee being well aware that the fuel for two voyages of the Hugh Lindsay would consume more than the whole of their portion of the fund, insisted on having a little boat of their own, that would cost little money and consume little fuel. The Bengal committee took offence at this proceeding of the Bombay committee, and determined to act independently of them, and send a steam-vessel from Calcutta to Suez. The Bengal Government consented to defray the hire, repairs, and establishment of the Forbes; a much-bepuffed steam-vessel belonging to some private individuals in Calcutta. This vessel, of 400 tons' measurement and 120 horse power, was to become at once the great Hickathrift of the India seas—to do not only all that the coolest heads had doubted of, or pronounced impossible, but much more than had before been dreamed of. In short, she was to go from Calcutta to Suez against the south-west monsoon—she was to start on the first of last May (a date subsequently altered to the fifteenth of April) and reach Suez in a month—that is to say, she was to go in the worst season 5000 miles in the same time which in the best season it had always taken a better vessel to go 3000—she was to carry fuel for 1600 miles (Point de Galle to Socotra) almost in the teeth of the monsoon; and as it was certainly possible that she might burn out all the coals she could safely carry before reaching Socotra, she was to take in tow a collier, from which the coals were to be transhipped by a mechanical contrivance without impeding the way of the vessel!

Any thing wilder than this could not well be imagined; yet a great clamour was raised on this side of the water, that nothing had been done to bring on the mail, which was to be brought, by this hopeful opportunity, to Egypt. 'The Forbes,' said Mr Waghorn, in his examination of the 7th July, 'is now in Egypt:' and when the committee asked him on what ground he said so, he replied, 'because she was to leave on the 15th of April.'

Mr Peacock had said, in his examination of the 9th June,* 'I 'should think nothing will come of this project; I doubt if she 'will ever reach Suez at all.' Certainly she never did. She met with an accident long before she reached Point de Galle, and put back to refit. What the accident was we do not precisely know; but we believe she burst her boiler, and broke her paddle-wheels, through the unforeseen phenomenon of the strength of the monsoon, though she encountered it only in its infancy! Nevertheless, it seems to have been agreed on all hands in Calcutta, that the monsoon had nothing to do with the matter; that there had been in the boiler a flaw, which had been overlooked when the boiler was under repair; and it was determined to send her against the monsoon again on the 15th of August. The intention, not the result, is all that is yet known of this second attempt; and perhaps the patrons of the undertaking in England believe she is now in Egypt.

With the exception of Mr Waghorn, all the nautical men examined by the committee consider the attempt intended to be made by the Forbes as extremely hazardous, or altogether impossible. Mr Waghorn had an ally in Major C. F. Head, who was absolutely chivalrous against the monsoon; he literally blew it out of the water; but as he acknowledged that he had no experience of it himself, and could not adduce in evidence an instance of any vessel which had made a passage to the Red Sea against it in July, August, or September, we must, with all deference to Major Head's testimony in favour of its gentleness and forbearance, consider it proved that the monsoon does not roar exactly like Bottom's Nightingale.

We may now, without much risk of presumption, venture to infer, that if steam navigation is ever to be effectually established between England and India, it will not be by sending a steamer of 120 horse power, with a collier in tow, against the south-west monsoon.

The Forbes having been interrupted in her progress by the accident, whatever it was, that befell her, the Bombay Govern-

* Q. 38.

ment was requested to send the Hugh Lindsay with the despatches; but Captain Wilson being of opinion, that to make the attempt would be to risk the loss of the vessel, and the lives of all on board, he was asked if he would venture to go to the Persian Gulf: he answered in the affirmative, and to the Persian Gulf he went accordingly, thus demonstrating the truth of the opinion which had been previously expressed by the committee, that this navigation is available for steam-vessels all the year round.

We now pass to the consideration of the third proposed route, by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates.

A line, drawn on a Mercator's chart of the world, from London to Bombay, runs a little south of Constantinople, a little north of Aleppo and Bagdad, and just south of Shiraz, and north of Ormus.

This line indicates the shortest practicable route to India, which does not materially deviate from it; and which, crossing the continent of Europe to Constantinople, and proceeding by Aleppo, the Syrian Desert, and the Persian Gulf, gives, of actual travelling, somewhat less than 5000 miles.

The river Euphrates coincides with part of this line. It gives, by its windings, about 300 miles to the travelled distance, more than the route of the Syrian Desert.

If, instead of proceeding to Aleppo across the continent of Europe and by Constantinople, we make a voyage up the Mediterranean to one of the Syrian ports nearest Aleppo—Scanderoon, or Latichea—we shall add 800 miles to the travelled distance from London to Bombay. The Mediterranean and the Euphrates together therefore give 1100 miles more than the direct route from London to Bombay * by Constantinople and the Syrian Desert; but the length of the route will still be 200 miles less than that of the Red Sea.

Now, with respect to the navigation of the Euphrates, the physical question is, whether the Euphrates is navigable for such steam-vessels as will afford comfortable accommodation to passengers?

The political questions are, whether, if it be so, the occupants of its banks are likely to oppose serious obstacles to the progress of the steam-vessels? and whether we are likely, by navigating the Euphrates, to show Russia the readiest way to India?

The commercial question is, whether any new sources of com-

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* In reckoning from London, we include the land distance from London to Falmouth; and reckon the sea distance in all cases from Falmouth.

merce will be opened, or old ones extended, by the introduction of steam navigation on this river?

The committee have evidently taken great pains to investigate all these questions. It is not too much to say that they had before them almost all the information which books and local experience could supply; and they have further collected some very valuable collateral information to illustrate this branch of the enquiry. The evidence of Mr Ogden, the American consul at Liverpool, shows what has been done on rivers where difficulties, as formidable as any that have even been surmised of the Euphrates, have been surmounted by steam-vessels. The following questions and answers are strikingly in point:

5. 'In navigating the Ohio and other rapid and shallow rivers in America, what are the difficulties to be surmounted? The navigation of the western waters of the United States is attended with many difficulties. Besides the general current, averaging about three miles the hour, there are rapids where, in some instances, it runs seven or eight. There are many sand bars and shoals, where boats frequently ground, and are detained until the next rise of water, sometimes three and four months. In the upper waters the floating ice in the spring of the year is frequently destructive; but the danger most to be apprehended is from the snags, which are trees, that from the falling in of the banks are carried down the river until they lodge with their tops resting on the mud or sand, their ends floating at the surface, and sometimes concealed so as to baffle the utmost precaution in avoiding them. In 1831, 32, and 33, sixty-six boats went out of service. Of these fifteen were abandoned as unfit for further use, seven were lost by ice, fifteen were burned, five destroyed by being struck by other boats, and twenty-four snagged.

6. 'Are there not some rapids on the Ohio which render its navigation peculiarly difficult?—There are rapids on the Ohio caused by bars, or, as they are there termed, chains of rock, extending across the river, which, when the water is low, impede, and sometimes stop, the navigation. Boats are constructed of an easy draught of water, twelve or fifteen inches, and when there is that depth on the bars they pass. The Ohio is more easily, and, of course, more frequently affected by rains than the Mississippi. The interruption to navigation is therefore of short duration.

7. 'How are they got over?—Artificial dams have in some instances been constructed, to throw a greater body of water into a single channel; but I am not aware of its having been found of much practical utility. Government has expended large sums of money in removing snags and rafts in the Mississippi, Red River, &c., and great advantages have been derived therefrom.'—*Appendix*, No. xv., p. 46.

It has been said that the river Euphrates cannot be navigated, because, in the upper part of the river, in the low season, the stream passes through ledges of rock, in which the channel is too narrow for boats; and because, in the lower part of the river, in

the high season, the river spreads for miles over marshes, across which the channel is undiscoverable. It has been said too, that it ought not to be navigated, because it would be showing Russia the road to India. These objections, of which the second turns on the supposition of the river being navigable, and the first on that of its being unnavigable, might very well be urged by different persons; but that both should be urged by the same persons seems not a little singular. So it is, however; and we are told in the same breath that the thing is impossible, and that it ought not to be done. If it be impossible, it cannot be done; and instead of showing Russia a road, we shall dissipate one source of alarm by showing that the Euphrates is no thoroughfare.

We shall enquire what the navigation of the Euphrates has been, what it now is, and what it probably may be by analogy with other rivers.

Herodotus mentions the freight of the boats that carried the produce of Armenia to Babylon to be 5000 talents in weight; which would be about 128 tons, the freight of the largest Thames barges. These were boats only for the voyage to Babylon, and were there broken up. They were either coracles on a large scale, or rafts surrounded by, and floated on inflated skins. When they brought a cargo to Babylon, the wood of which they were composed was sold, and the skins were carried back by land on asses, which had been brought down in the boats for that purpose. He speaks of the vessels as being very numerous, but of its being impossible to return by any mode of navigation, on account of the strength of the stream.

Pliny describes the course and navigation of the Euphrates to Babylon, but speaks vaguely of its further course.

The ancients do not seem to have known very well what became of the Euphrates below Babylon. Pliny says it is drawn off into marshes: 'Dexteriori autem alveo, Babylonem quondam 'Chaldeæ caput, petit, Mediamque permeans, item quam Otrin 'vocant, distrahitur in paludes.' V. 20. And Pomponius Mela says it shrinks by degrees into a rivulet, and does not reach the sea: 'Inde ad meridiem avertitur, et primum Syros, tunc Arabes 'ingressus, non perdurat in pelagus, verum ingens modo et navi-'gabilis, inde tenuis rivus, despectus emoritur, et nusquam mani-'festo exitu effluit, ut alii amnes, sed deficit.' Herodotus, indeed, says it is great, deep, and swift, and runs into the Persian Gulf; and Strabo says it is navigated upwards from the Persian Gulf to Babylon; which we have no doubt it has been from the day that Babylon was founded to the present hour. But there are some at this day, 'optimi quidem, sed nec satis eruditi et paulo 'iracundiores viri; ætate jam provectiores, quam ut pravi quid-

'quam dedoceantur vel recti quidquam addiscant;'*—there are some at this day who believe that the Euphrates is lost in marshes, and is not navigable through them; though all who have resided in the country depose to the fact of the actual and uninterrupted navigation. When the abscess over Zadig's eye broke, in opposition to the judgment of the doctor, the doctor wrote a treatise to prove that the abscess ought not to have broken. The Euphrates is as perverse as Zadig's abscess, and we must leave the demonstration of its unnavigability to repose with the equally cogent demonstrations of the permeability of the Polar Sea, and the impossibility of the Niger finding a passage through the mountains that separate it from the Bight of Benin.

The Emperor Trajan descended the Euphrates to Babylon, with a fleet built in the mountains of Nisibis. Freret, and after him Gibbon, say, that Trajan descended the Tigris; but a little attention to the text of Dio, perplexed and imperfect as it is, will show that they are in error; and that Trajan descended the Euphrates.

After the description of the first part of his voyage, we find him at Babylon making arrangements for dragging his vessels over land to the Tigris. Having done this, he went down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf.

The Emperor Julian, in the same manner, descended the Euphrates, with a powerful fleet to Babylon, and the Tigris to the Persian Gulf; having not, however, like Trajan, taken his vessels to pieces, and dragged them over land, but cleared out the ancient canal of Naharmala to float them to the Tigris.

It will be observed that both these expeditions were commenced on the rising water in March or April,—*aquis adulescentibus.* The rocky channels, above Anatho, were then buried under at least twelve feet of water; and the stream would be every where as wide as the Thames at Lambeth, and in many places six or seven times that breadth. Julian's eleven hundred vessels made narrow the most wide river Euphrates: *classis* latissimum *flumen Euphraten* artabat.†

The fortified town of Anatho, on an island of the Euphrates, was silently surrounded by Julian's fleet, in the obscurity of a cloudy night. And the first notice which the inhabitants received of their danger, was by one coming forth in the early morning to draw water, who suddenly perceiving the enemy, raised a dismal shout, which called the defenders to the walls.‡ The citizens

* Porson, in a note on Euripides.

† Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiii. c. 3.

‡ Exin dierum quatuor, itinere levi peracto vesperâ incedente cum ex-

of Anatho were easily persuaded to surrender at discretion; and as easy as Julian found the conquest of Anatho, would any powerful armament, floating down the Euphrates, now find the conquest of the whole line of the river, from mount Taurus to the Persian Gulf. And, whenever such an event shall occur, it will be received with the *ululabilis clamor* of many, who will have shut their eyes to the contingency, as resolutely as the watchmen of Anatho.

We have said enough to show what the navigation of the Euphrates was in ancient times, from Herodotus to Julian, a period of 800 years. We shall pass on to the sixteenth century, at which time the river was much used by travellers from Europe to India.

In the end of 1574, Rauwolf went down the Euphrates from Bir to Babylon. He left Bir with three vessels, which occasionally suffered inconvenience from the shoals; their navigators appearing not to be well acquainted with the river. The Arabs, who sometimes showed a disposition to plunder, were easily scared by a few rifle shots.

Gasparo Balbi descended from Bir to Felugia, on the Euphrates, and on the Tigris from Bagdat to Bussora, from December, 1579, to March, 1580, without any serious impediment.

John Newberrie embarked at Bir in October, 1581, and reached Felugia in fifteen days, without recording any difficulties in his progress.

In the summer of 1583, Ralf Fitch, a London merchant, performed the same voyage; as also did John Eldred.

Sir Anthony Shirley descended in the autumn of 1599; and John Cartwright also performed the voyage about the same period.

In the sixteenth century, therefore, the Euphrates was much used as a high road to India, and was navigable, in every season, from Bir to Babylon.

From that time to the present, the Euphrates has fallen progressively into disuse; not because of any physical changes, which make it less navigable now than it then was, for it has been

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politis mille impositis navibus, Lucilianus, comes imperio principis mittitur Anathon munimentum expugnaturus; quod ut pleraque alia circumluitur fluentis Euphratis. Et navibus ut præceptum est, per opportune dispersis, obsidebatur insula, nebulosa nocte obumbrante impetum clandestinum. Sed postquam advenit lux certa, aquatum quidam egressus, visis subito hostibus, ululabili clamore sublato, excitos tumultuosis vocibus, propugnatores armavit.—Ammianus Marcellinus, *l. xxiv. c.* 1.

navigated, at long intervals, by very modern travellers;* but because, in addition to the diminution of natural wealth, inseparable from a government of the very worst description of fleecing proconsuls, such as the Turkish Pachas, the change of the line of commerce, and in recent years especially, the general decay of Oriental manufactures consequent on the improvements in machinery, and the lowering of wages in Europe, have combined to impoverish all classes of the people, to diminish and almost to destroy the internal traffic, and to increase the proportion of predatory vagabonds to that of the fixed dwellers, who find their interest in respecting property.

On the recent and present state of the Euphrates, a number of witnesses† were examined by the Committee, including several of the East India Company's residents at Bagdat and Bussorah, who

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* For example, Lieut. S. Hunter, 1792:—'I continued my journey across the desert, travelling chiefly in a south-easterly direction, for eleven hours every day, at the rate of 2½ miles an hour, till the 22d instant (February), when I arrived at Gibbah, a large village, built on an island in the Euphrates.

'At this place, I found that the principal inhabitant was a respectable old Shaik named Mahomed Ill Ibrahim, upon whom I waited, and who gave me a most polite reception, expressed a very high opinion of the English, and offered me every assistance in his power.

'As I conceived that much time might be saved by getting a boat at this place, and proceeding to Bussorah by water, I applied to the above named Shaik to assist me in procuring one, which he very readily did, and on the morning of the 23d of February I continued my journey towards Bussorah on the Euphrates.

'My idea respecting the time saved in consequence of going by water, was in the event fully verified; as I reached Bussorah on the 4th of March at noon, whereas, had I proceeded by land, I would, at the rate I usually travelled, have been at least six days longer in accomplishing my journey.'

† We have not space for details, but we shall insert one passage, observing that many others confirm it, and none contradict it; which, we think, settles the difficulty of the marshes of Lemlum:—'1698. During 'the day time do you think these marshes would offer any opposition 'to steam navigation?' 'None at all, except from the difficulty of 'keeping the channel; on the contrary, the stream would be less power-'ful.' 1699. 'Would the passage of a steam-boat be impeded on that 'occasion by the reeds?' 'In the channel of the river there are no 'reeds.' 1700. 'It is sufficiently wide, is it?' 'Oh yes, it is never 'less than fifty yards in this marsh, and during the day time, I appre-'hend you would have no difficulty in keeping the channel.'—*Evidence of G. Colquhoun, Esq.*

could speak from personal experience as to the navigation of the lower part of the Euphrates; several travellers through the countries on its banks; and Captain Chesney, who, in 1830, carefully examined, in the low-water season, 900 miles of the river from El Kaim Tower to Bussorah, and whose minute and comprehensive report on the subject forms a very valuable document in the Appendix to their Report. The result is, we think, correctly embodied in the Committee's eighth resolution:—'It is the opinion of this 'Committee, that the extension of the line of the Persian Gulf, 'by steam navigation on the river Euphrates, has not been 'brought to the test of experiment; but it appears from the 'evidence before the Committee, that from the Persian Gulf 'to the town of Bir, which is nearer to the Mediterranean port of 'Scanderoon than Suez is to Alexandria, there would be no physical obstacles to the steam navigation of that river, during at 'least eight months of the year,—November, December, January, 'and February, being not absolutely excepted, but reserved for 'the results of further experience.'

We think we may now venture to infer that the Euphrates is a navigable river; and that if there be any difficulties in the navigation, they exist only in a portion of the upper part of the river,* during a portion of the low-water season, which is in the middle of the winter.

The difficulties of navigating the Euphrates in the low season, admitting them to the most unfavourable extent, are, nevertheless, not so insuperable as those of the navigation from India to Suez in the south-west monsoon. Of the two lines for the whole year round, that of the Euphrates is physically the most available, because the Persian Gulf is always so. But it seems at any rate clearly proved, that the Euphrates has no difficulties in the summer, and the Red Sea none in the winter; and that so far as physical facilities are concerned, the use of the two lines, each in its respective season, would ensure a regular and expeditious communication with India throughout the year.

In navigating the Euphrates, we should have five different parties to keep in good humour—Turkey; Russia, who is viceroy over her; Mehemet Ali, who is the Sultan's servant and his own master; the fixed Arab tribes; and the wandering Arab tribes. We have noticed all these incidentally; we will now briefly speak of them collectively.

* By the upper part of the river we mean, for the purposes of the present enquiry, the part between Bir and Babylon; by the lower part, the part between Babylon and the Persian Gulf.

Russia has, if not the actual possession, at least the virtual command of the Armenian part of the Euphrates; and consequently the command of ample forests from which rafts could be constructed unlimitedly, to float armaments down both the Euphrates and Tigris, in the season of the floods. Russia, thus provided, hovers over the lower Euphrates like an eagle, and may pounce on her prey whenever she will. She may float down the river and construct a dock-yard at Bussorah. Why give her such a hint? has been asked. We give her no hint. We tell her no more than she knows. It does not suit her to do it now; but it is in her power. The question was asked (Q. 65.), 'Would there not be more danger 'to be apprehended from the Russians from their making use 'of the Oxus and Caspian, than by making use of Bussorah, 'where they would be met by the nation which happens to 'have the preeminence?' And the answer was, we think, correct. 'The preeminence at sea is not a talisman; it is to be kept 'up by constant watchfulness, and the exertion of adequate 'force.' The part of the Euphrates in the vicinity of Bir belongs to Mehemet Ali. He will not oppose us; but his support will not be very cordial, for he will be much better pleased that we should take the line of the Red Sea. Egypt is all his own; Babylonia is not, and never may be. With respect to Turkey, the Sultan has given his firman for the navigation of the Euphrates. This gives some right, though it carries little authority in those countries at present. The chiefs of the fixed Arab tribes may be dealt with, and would accord their protection for a moderate stipend. The wandering Arabs are gangs of thieves; averse to bloodshed; more like pickpockets than banditti. The fixed tribes can coerce them to a great extent. Swivel guns and Congreve rockets would also have great weight with them. We do not apprehend much from them; but they must be acknowledged to be a serious nuisance under the present disorganized governments.

Lord Dundonald says, he would as soon think of bribing all the thieves in England as the Arabs to be honest. We think Lord Dundonald generalizes a little too largely about semi-civilized men. He does not speak from experience of the Arabs specially.

The exports and imports between India and the Persian Gulf are—

Imports from the Gulf, . .	L.435,996
Exports, ...	628,357

This is a more valuable commerce than that of the Red Sea, and is capable of great extension. The resources of the countries

on the Euphrates are by no means fully developed in the present state of misgovernment and disorganization. Steam navigation can only contribute indirectly to the extension of commerce, by introducing settled habits through the medium of giving the governments and people an interest in preserving the peace of the river.

'1655. What would be the effect upon commerce if there were to be a communication opened with the Euphrates to India? It is difficult to answer that question as to how it would bear upon commerce, except by civilizing the inhabitants and increasing their wants. There is a want of population there now; the Turkish government is radically bad; they prohibit the exportation of grain, with a view to prevent famine. They have an idea, that if grain is permitted to be exported, it would become scarce; and there is no driving that idea out of a Turk's head. The consequence of that is, that they do not raise more grain than is sufficient for their own consumption, in a country perhaps the first in the world for raising grain of all kinds.

'1656. Then you think there are limits to the extension of commerce from that route, arising from the nature of the government, do you?—Yes, principally. I see no limit to the commerce of that country, but a bad Government. It is hardly possible to convey any idea of the soil of that country. For instance, I used to cut eight crops of clover in a year.'—(*Evidence of* G. Colquhoun, *Esq.*)

'1579. With regard to the ancient channels of commerce through the Persian Gulf, I visited the Island of Ormus, now a barren rock, opposite the port of Gambroom, and also the Island of Kenn, which is opposite the ancient port of Seraf, another of the routes by which caravans travelled through Persia; but it appeared to me, that, apart from the supply of Persia itself by the caravans which now proceed via Bushire, the Euphrates must afford facilities for water communication, which would, in a great degree, provide for the supply of the markets of Western Asia. Seraf and Ormus were, at former periods, places of considerable resort; but the remains of ancient works near the mouth of the Euphrates, the ruins of canals and towns, would indicate, it may be concluded, that the countries adjacent must have been populous, and the river the medium of a very extensive commerce, which circumstances might again revive. A great deal of colonial produce, such as coffee, silk, &c., finds its way by this route into Western Asia; there are many articles that would be available for such a commerce, and which, though not required in Europe, would exchange on the route for other articles that would be marketable.

'1580. To what do you ascribe the diminution of that commerce? It was diminished, first, by the competition of the trade round the Cape of Good Hope; that was the earliest check given to the great caravan communications, and which led to the withdrawing from the inhabitants of those countries their customary resources of employment, from the towns the profits of the transit trade, from the migratory Arabs the employment of their camels and carriage animals. To this their poverty

and unsettled condition may be ascribed. Notwithstanding the insecurity of the communication by those routes, still there has always been a considerable trade in pearls, Persian tobacco, coffee, cloths, grain, and dates. Their dates are in constant demand. Grain and dates are produced in great abundance on the banks of the Euphrates below Bassora. Horses are exported to India.

'1581. As the commerce of the Persian Gulf is flourishing, will not that of itself be sufficient to excite the commerce of the interior? It must contribute to it; but the establishment of a secure communication would doubtless enlarge it much, by giving confidence to those who are engaged in it.

'1582. Do you think a steam navigation on the Euphrates would be useful in extending commerce? I believe there are many articles of great value and small bulk that might be conveyed by such vessels,—pearls, jewels, silks, shawls, &c., might perhaps be so carried. The conveyance of such commodities, as grain, coffee, wool, or tobacco, must depend on the vessels of the country.'—(*Evidence of* Lieut.-Col. COLBROOKE.)

From this outline, it will be apparent that there was sufficient ground for the conclusion at which the committee arrived, 'That 'there appear to be difficulties on the line of the Euphrates, 'from the present state of the countries on that river, and particularly from the wandering Arab tribes; but that those difficulties do not appear to be by any means such as cannot be 'surmounted, especially by negotiations with the Porte, Mehemet Ali, and the chiefs of the principal fixed tribes; and that 'this route, besides having the prospect of being less expensive, 'presents so many other advantages, physical, commercial, and 'political, that it is eminently desirable that it should be brought 'to the test of a decisive experiment:' and for their recommendation, which was adopted without opposition by the House of Commons, that £20,000 should be applied to the purpose.

In pursuance of this resolution, two iron steam-vessels will be sent in pieces to one of the ports of Syria, and transported through Aleppo to Bir, to be there put together, and launched on the Euphrates. The expedition was expected, and intended to descend the river on the rising waters; but there has been some delay in the preparation of the boats, and the design will scarcely be accomplished at the specified time. This is a serious evil, and frustrates, in a great measure, the views on which the conductor of the expedition, Captain Chesney, undertook, on his own responsibility, and in opposition to the opinion of some who had gone along with him on all other points, (but of course with the approbation of the proper authorities,) to transport the vessels, with their machinery, boilers, and stores—some two or three hundred tons—from the coast of Syria to the upper

part of the Euphrates; in preference to the more easy and natural, though more circuitous route, of sending them round the Cape of Good Hope to Bussorah. In exploring a river, it is assuredly more advisable to begin by ascending than descending it. In the ascent, if a vessel runs on a shoal, the current helps her to back off; if she encounters a rapid, she cannot be involved in it beyond her power to surmount it: if she meets with hostility, she drops back with rapidity upon known ground. In the experimental descent of a river, all these things are reversed. The current forces and fixes her on a shoal; the rapid, if beyond her power, whirls her along inextricably; and from an enemy she can scarcely find security in turning back; she can only hold right onward. It is true the Euphrates is not in the condition of an absolutely unexplored river; and there is not perhaps a river in the old world on which, from recorded testimony, we should anticipate much greater physical security, in floating down on the rising waters; but the descent proves nothing but the facility of floating down; the test of the ascent remains, after all the trouble, inconvenience, and risk, of the land transit and the descent. On the other hand is the saving of time, if the vessels can be launched at Bir, on the rising waters of the spring of 1835; and we believe it is intended that the descent shall have the character of a mission to propitiate the Arabs, and arrange the depôts of fuel. Still, all this might have been done without taking the vessels themselves down the river in the first instance. We must think that, to begin in the manner proposed, is to increase very greatly the difficulty and risk: at the same time, it cannot be denied, that if the experiment so commenced should be attended with perfect success, it will be a great triumph of art and enterprise.

Of the various sea routes towards Europe which are open from Bombay, that of the Persian Gulf being the only one which presents no serious physical difficulties at any period of the year to sailing-vessels, and none whatever to steam-vessels, if the sole object in view were the transmission of Letters, the most natural and obvious method is to send them by steam-boats to Bussorah, and by couriers to Bagdad, Aleppo, Constantinople, and Venice or Vienna. In this way despatches might be conveyed with nearly absolute certainty from Bombay to London in six weeks: 1600 miles of sea would be performed in a week or ten days, and 3400 miles of land would scarcely occupy five weeks. Forced expresses can perform more than 100 miles in the day throughout the entire distance. Of course there must be proper arrangements, due reliefs, and, above all, liberal payment; but no liberality in this way would amount to much, in comparison with the expense of steam-vessels

for similar distances any where, and in the Red Sea especially. But ladies and gentlemen will not, and cannot, ride with forced Arabs and Tartars over the deserts. Therefore, if passengers are to be conveyed in company with the mails, it must be by steam-vessels alone; and for these the obvious continuation of the line from the Persian Gulf is by ascending the river Euphrates into Syria, and crossing to the Mediterranean.

Whatever may be the result of this experiment, in as far as regards the Euphrates, we still think the Persian gulf is the natural line for expeditious communication, and the only line which is available all the year;—whether the letters be sent on by the river or the desert; by Constantinople or by the Mediterranean. The expense will be much less, and the same steam-vessels which carry the mails, can watch the proceedings of the piratical tribes in the gulf, which is the principal duty of the Indian navy.

The nearest point of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean is at the town of Bir, which is 120 miles, by a mountainous route, from the port of Scanderoon. But the nearest route from Bir to Scanderoon is through the city of Aleppo, which adds about eighty miles to the coast journey. The village of Beles, on the Euphrates, nearly 100 miles below Bir, is somewhat nearer than Bir to Aleppo; and would therefore be the proper limit of the ascent of the river, if the route be taken through Aleppo to the Mediterranean. The Welda Arabs (one of the wildest and most ferocious tribes) were said to render the road from Beles to Aleppo impracticable; it is now however understood that Ibrahim Pacha has subdued this tribe, and made the road secure from Beles to Aleppo: but whether Beles or Bir be the final river station, it seems clear, that under present circumstances, the first point in the land journey must be Aleppo.

From Aleppo to the Mediterranean three routes present themselves;—to Scanderoon, already mentioned, to Latichea, and to Antioch.

Scanderoon is the best port; but the climate is insalubrious, or as some express it, and perhaps correctly, pestiferous. The cause of its insalubrity is, that two streams of water, which, with a little assistance from the hand of art, might, through many ages, have ministered to human comfort, have been allowed to diffuse themselves over low ground, and create a pestilential swamp. A very little expense would get rid of the swamp and ensure the comfort and health of the town. Ibrahim Pacha is very willing to get rid of the swamp, and to effect this great improvement by every means in his power, with the single exception of paying for it. Like his father, Mehemet Ali, he is a great improver; but he likes to effect his improvements after his father's fashion,

by the agency of men who can work without tools, food, or pay.* But the supply of such instruments being more deficient in Syria than in Egypt, where 'the slave race of men has worked, for 'idol or for tyrant,' from time immemorial, the draining of the marshes of Scanderoon does not seem to promise either completeness or durability.

Another route through Syria has been talked of, which possesses some recommendations. This is from the Mediterranean port of Beirout to either Anna or Hit on the Euphrates. The principal difficulties of the low water navigation would be avoided by this line. The most direct line, and through the best country from Beirout, is through Balbeck and Palmyra to Anna. The next is through Damascus to Hit. An indirect, but not very devious line to either Anna or Hit, would include all the three points of Balbec, Damascus and Palmyra. The indulgence of liberal curiosity in passing through scenes consecrated by so many classical recollections would not be the only advantage of this devia-

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* 'The canal of Mahmood was commenced in 1819, by the advice, it is said, of Mr Briggs; and Mohammed Ali, with his accustomed activity, immediately proceeded to Alexandria to superintend in person the execution of his design. . . . . Having appointed Ismaël Pasha director of the works, with two beys and four kiasheffs under his orders, the viceroy returned to Cairo. The sheiks of the provinces of Gharbiech, Sharkieh, Mensourah, Kelyoubieh, Ghizeh, Menauf, and Bahyreh, were commanded to furnish each a given number of fellahs, amounting in all to three hundred and thirteen thousand, including women and children. This promiscuous multitude, collected in haste, were marched towards the ground, where they encamped, under the command of the Sheikhs, along the intended line of canal. The government, however, intent on carrying its designs into execution, but indifferent respecting the injury and misery inflicted thereby upon the people, had neglected to provide implements or store of provisions for the workmen. Nevertheless, they were compelled to labour incessantly, from the break of day until night, soldiers being stationed along the line of works, who allowed of no pause or relaxation. The men, destitute of the necessary tools, scratched up with their hands the soft mud, which was removed by women and children in baskets, and placed in heaps on the right and left. Having in many places to excavate considerably below the level of the sea, and no pumps being provided to keep the ground dry, they were compelled to work knee-deep in water; and thus, from the severity of the labour, to which they were unaccustomed, united with ill treatment, and want of food and pure water, twenty-three thousand persons perished in ten months, and were buried in the embankments like dead dogs.'—St John's *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 348.

tion. It indicates, we believe, the sites of the fountains by which the camels—the ships of the desert—steer their course. Damascus being the residence of the British Consul-General, offers the best means of arranging the security of the route both with the Turkish government and the Arab chiefs. In the vicinity of Beirout, coal has been discovered: and at Hit are the great fountains of bitumen which supplied the cement with which Babylon was built, and which it is believed would, if mixed with wood, furnish excellent fuel for furnaces.

Having now examined the three proposed routes, physically, politically, and commercially, we proceed to the mechanical branch of the question;—the means by which the object is in any case to be accomplished; what should be the size and power of the vessels to be employed.

Steam navigation round the Cape, would of course be to Calcutta; it could not be worth while to employ it to Bombay. On the other hand, it can never be worth while to go to or from Calcutta round Ceylon, and through the Persian Gulf. Therefore, the route of the Euphrates can only lead to Bombay. It is a question whether the route of the Red Sea should be extended to Calcutta or confined to Bombay. We are inclined to think, that when once a vessel has run to the south of Ceylon, she had better round the Cape than bear up for the Red Sea. The difference in direct distance is materially changed. The steam navigation of the Red Sea will save half the distance to Bombay, but only a third of the distance to Calcutta, and expense and difficulty increase with the diminution of the saving of distance.

The Earl of Dundonald would have a vessel of 1400 tons capacity and 200 horse power for the route of the Cape. Captain Wilson would have a vessel of 270 tons *measurement* * and 100 horse power for the route of the Red Sea. These are extreme opinions. Few require so large a vessel as the Earl of Dundonald or would be content with so small a one as Captain Wilson.† But before we proceed with this part of the subject, we must disembarrass ourselves of technicalities; and endeavour to present intelligible ideas in the place of the vague terms of measurement and horse power.

The measurement of vessels, in England, is taken from the

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* *Measurement* and *capacity* are very different things. We shall speak of them presently.

† Captain Wilson rather puts up with his small vessel for the sake of economy, than advocates it as the best possible.

length and breadth alone, without taking the depth into account. Almost every where else throughout the world the three elements are taken. It is obvious that the English method must be very defective, and lead to great discrepancies between the nominal and real capacity of vessels. The capacity of merchant sailing vessels is usually more, the capacity of steam vessels is as usually less than the nominal measurement. Some would have the tonnage measured by the displacement—the quantity of water which a vessel displaces on a given draught; but the difference in the weight of the materials would still give different results in the indication of capacity. It is foreign to our present purpose to enter into the question of the best mode of so taking the measurement as to indicate the capacity: we shall content ourselves with saying, that when we speak of tonnage, we mean the actual capacity, and not the technical measurement.

Horse power is another vague and indeterminate expression. Its measure is not every where the same. The measure of a single horse power is the number of pounds weight raised a foot in a minute; but the number of pounds varies at different times and places from 27,000 to 40,000 lbs. Instead of this vague term, or rather in conjunction with it, for it is difficult and not altogether desirable to abrogate a term which has obtained such general use, and which furnishes a ready and compendious, though not minutely accurate standard of comparison,—it is desirable, even in ordinary parlance, to specify the diameter of the cylinder and the length of the stroke.

The pressure on the boiler, and the speed of the piston, (which depends not only on the strength of the steam, but on the mode of working it—expansively or otherwise,) being added to these elements, the effective force of the engine may be calculated with precision. The evidence of Mr Ogden is valuable on this head; but, before we cite it, we shall, for the sake of those who may not be familiar with steam machinery, give an unscientific sketch of the operative power of steam in the steam engine.

Steam is generated in a boiler which has two openings, one on the top with a movable lid or valve,* which fits close upon the opening; another a tube with a movable shutter or valve, through which the steam passes into another vessel (the cylinder).

The atmosphere presses on the movable lid with a force equal

* There are usually two of these valves, but the two do the duty of one, and we speak of one for the sake of simplicity. For the same reason we leave out of view the steam chest of the marine boiler.

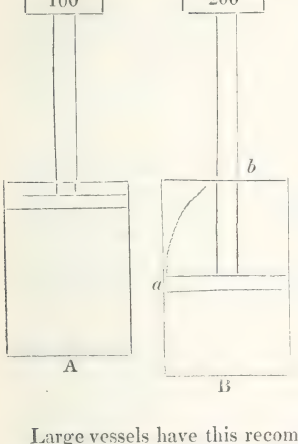
to fifteen pounds on the circular inch. Water boiling at 212 degrees creates steam of which the expansive force under the lid is equal to that of the atmosphere, or fifteen lbs. on the circular inch. The moment the steam is created in sufficient quantity for its expansive force to be compressed by the sides and top, it either passes off through the side tube as fast as it is created, or finds itself an additional escape by lifting the lid. If at this time a weight of four pounds to the circular inch be placed upon the lid, the steam will not lift the lid till its expansive force is greater by four pounds than the pressure of the atmosphere. The steam passing through the tube will have a force of nineteen pounds, and the water will boil at a temperature of 225 degrees. The steam passing into the cylinder through apertures alternately closed and opened above and below, enters above or below an air-tight piston; which by its elasticity it drives up and down alternately into a vacuum, successively reproduced above and below, by the condensation of the steam through the agency of a jet of cold water. Now if the vacuum were absolutely perfect, and there were no friction in the machinery, the elastic and effective force would be the same. But the vacuum is not absolutely perfect, and there is much friction; therefore the effective force falls short of the elastic force by several pounds. Thus if the elastic force be nineteen, the effective force will be ten or twelve, perhaps thirteen in very perfect machinery.

If the steam flow into the cylinder uninterruptedly till the piston is driven to the top or bottom, this is called working full stroke; if the admission of the steam be stopped when the piston has reached the middle of the cylinder, this is called shutting off at the half stroke; the steam which has filled one half of the cylinder expands and completes the stroke by its expansive action, this is called working expansively. This process and the advantages of it are well explained in the evidence of Mr Ogden.

'The stroke of the piston in some of the fastest boats, is as much as 10 or 11 feet, and the connecting rods 13 to 16 feet long; the engine is worked at a much quicker rate than in this country, the piston passing through the space of 500 feet in a minute, at which speed the whole machinery is found to work more smoothly than at a slower. Suppose the boilers of an engine of sufficient size to give a regular supply of steam of five pounds to the inch to two cylinders filling them at each stroke; suppose the effect of this engine in numbers to be 100, in theory it is evident, and practice fully proves, that the heat required to produce a certain quantity of steam of five pounds to the inch will give precisely half that quantity of ten pounds. Now, let us suppose the boilers of sufficient strength to carry ten pounds, and instead of filling the

cylinder at each stroke, that the steam is cut off at one half, the expansive power of the steam will be added to the force of the engine, or that something more than 175 will be the result.

'Suppose steam of five pounds to the inch applied in the cylinder A would raise the weight 100, 10 feet, half the quantity of ten pounds to the inch applied in cylinder B would raise the weight 200, 5 feet, producing exactly the same effect; but the power in A has ceased to operate, and must be got rid of, while that in B, if suffered to expand to the full capacity of the cylinder, will still be able to sustain 100; for the steam, occupying double the space, will exert half the pressure, —that is, it will be five pounds to the inch, having decreased in its force according to the parabola *a b*. Used in a double engine, the full power of the steam will always be in action in one cylinder, while the expansive force is operating in the other.'—(*Appendix*, p. 48.)



Large vessels have this recommendation for long voyages, that double power propels more than double the bulk; and there is of course greater proportional stowage for fuel, and greater space for general accommodation.

Great power has this recommendation, that, though it consumes more fuel in equal times, it consumes less in equal distances against head winds. With small power contending against adverse winds the machinery must be strained to the utmost to make headway; and we believe that there is great wear and tear in the Mediterranean packets, and that this is one of the causes of it. Under ordinary circumstances moderate power does well; but even thus the greater power produces better results with greater facility. But under extraordinary circumstances great power does equally and easily what limited power does either not at all, or at best indifferently, with ruinous over-exertion. It is, in short, the difference between a man and a boy rowing against a powerful current.

Among the most strenuous advocates for limited power is Sir Pulteney Malcolm. His opinion is undoubtedly entitled to great respect. He originated the establishment of the Mediterranean

packets, and has had much experience of their operation. He would give 100 horse power to a steamer of 450 tons. We believe all Glasgow and Liverpool would be unanimous in giving at least 180 horse power to the same tonnage. He explains indeed that he would not employ such low power without Mr Morgan's patent paddles. He says,

'A vessel of 450 tons, with two fifty-horse power engines, will give you, besides her coal, sufficient room for the passengers and her engines, and every thing which is necessary. I consider the great point is to have as small an engine as will answer the purpose. I think, if in the same vessel I were to put two sixty-horse power engines, I may gain a little more speed in bad weather, but I should encumber the vessel, and incur a greater expense'——

'I have said that I consider two fifty-horse power sufficient. I should state that there have been great improvements lately which have increased the speed of steamers, particularly Morgan's paddles, which render two fifty-horse nearly equal to two sixty-horse power. It may, however, be said that they are more difficult to be repaired than the common paddles; perhaps it is so, but if there are counterparts of the pieces on board, there can be no difficulty; and I consider the great advantage to be derived from their use as more than a compensation.'—Q. 1806 and 1810.

Of all inventions for superseding the common paddle, Mr Morgan's is the only one that has answered well in practice. We believe it has answered well. It is in high estimation at the Admiralty; but the owners of private steam-vessels, and engineers, generally give the preference to the common wheel. Captain Wilson, of the Hugh Lindsay, and Mr Ogden, make some observations on this head, which seem to us conclusive. We must, at any rate, see them rebutted by very decisive experience before we would recommend patent paddles for the service of the Indian ocean.

'It is incumbent to show the considerations which have brought the writer to the conclusion that the old paddle-wheels, of arms or radii connected by circles, and with boards secured to the former by hook-bolts, are, and will remain, the best adapted to long sea voyages, or at least to our Red Sea voyage. Any other mode must bring with it greater complication; and complicated parts requiring screws to adjust, shift, or secure them, have this disadvantage, that if made of iron, the exposure to salt water would speedily rust them, causing great difficulty and delay in the operation of shifting, adjusting, or replacing any damaged part; while, if constructed of metal that would not rust, from that very circumstance they would the more readily shake loose, and eight-and-forty hours' steaming against heavy weather, would generally be found sufficient to set them rattling, so great is, and must be, under any mode of construction, the constant straining and heavy beating on the paddles, while dragging a vessel against bad weather. Another disadvantage would

be, that with complicated paddles liable to be shaken out of order by long exposure to heavy weather, they might happen to be deranged in some of the many situations in the Red Sea, where, to have a stop in the engines, would expose the vessel to most imminent danger, and where, in a heavy sea, people could not possibly go into the paddle-boxes to put them to rights. Here is the superiority of the old wheels; whatever their defects, they will stand a continued exposure to weather, which it is impossible those of a more complicated construction could do; and one case only of their carrying a vessel through, under circumstances where a stop would be irretrievable, is sufficient to outweigh all other doubtful advantages.'—(Capt. Wilson's *Observations, Appendix*, p. 109.)

'Much has been said of the loss of power from the angle of incidence at which the floats strike the water when permanently fixed as radii from the centre of the wheel, and many contrivances have been resorted to, to obviate the difficulty.

'This question early attracted my attention, and the result of much investigation and experience is the conviction, that fixed floats are the best that can be used. By a very nice calculation I once made, I was satisfied that the loss of power in a sixteen feet wheel did not exceed six per cent; and I have not seen, in the hundred plans that have been suggested, one, the inconvenience of which, as well as the want of safety, would not double that.'—(Mr Ogden's *Evidence, Appendix*, p. 49.)

The objection to increase the pressure, that it increases the danger of explosion,—which is one great objection to the use of high pressure engines,—has been met by the observation that the greater number of accidents which have happened in America, have been with low pressure engines. This observation is plausible; but it is incorrect in two main points. First, the number of low pressure engines (so called) is greater than the number of high pressure engines; and therefore not the actual, but the proportional, number should be brought into view. Secondly, an American low pressure engine (so called) is very commonly of low pressure only by courtesy. Properly, every thing above an atmosphere is high pressure. With a load on the safety valve of more than 15 lbs. to the circular inch, which makes the elastic force 30 lbs., the boiler is a high pressure boiler. But in America, all condensing engines are called low pressure, whatever be the weight on the safety valve.*

* What is considered high-pressure steam in America?—The term, 'high-pressure,' is used to indicate that engine which is worked against the atmosphere, or without condensation; all condensing engines are called low-pressure.

What pressure are boilers called 'low-pressure' worked to?—I have known steam used as high as twenty pounds to the inch, cut off at half stroke, and condensed so perfectly as to produce a vacuum of twenty-eight inches in the barometer.—(Mr Ogden's *Evidence, Ap.* p. 47.)

The high pressure engine, properly so called, is a machine much lighter and cheaper than the low. It may be made, we think, as safe as the low, if worked by discreet hands; and the saving of space, weight, and money, concur to recommend it; but it is not so efficient as the low; it is not to be relied on under all circumstances: there is greater difficulty in getting up the steam, because the fire must be more intense, and there is greater difficulty in obtaining that intensity, especially in bad weather at sea. A condensing engine will always work at low pressure; but a non-condensing engine will work at high pressure alone. In short, experience seems to have decided in favour of condensing engines.

We conclude in favour of vessels of good capacity (500 or 600 tons), great proportionate power (200 horse power at least), and condensing engines with copper boilers, and of the most perfect possible workmanship.

Next comes the financial part of the question,—what the thing is to cost, and who is to pay for it. Between doing the work efficiently and not doing it at all, there is no advisable medium. Now, to do it efficiently, will certainly cost L.25,000* per annum for every vessel employed on the line of the Red Sea. Supposing, what we conceive impossible, the southwest monsoon to be successfully contended with, and a line of packets, as regular as those of the Mediterranean, to be established on the Indian side of the Isthmus of Suez, this, if a monthly communication, could not be kept up by less than six steam-vessels, if indeed that number would suffice. A quarterly communication could not be carried on by less than two, nor a two monthly communication by less than three, nor a monthly communication by less than six. Therefore, taking each vessel and its two voyages at only L.25,000 per annum, a quarterly communication would cost L.50,000 per annum, a two monthly communication L.75,000 per annum,

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* Such a vessel as we have above supposed would scarcely be delivered at Bombay for less than L.30,000. Now, to state the whole as an annual charge;

A rate calculated to create and perpetuate the property, and to cover capital sunk, interest, insurance, repairs, and renewals, stated by one witness at 33½ per cent., by others at 25 per cent., take the lowest	L.7,500
Establishment and provisions, ...	4,500
Coals for two voyages, (the cost of those of the Hugh Lindsay),	10,000
Agencies and expenses of many kinds, cannot be less than	2,700
	L.25,000

a monthly communication L.150,000 per annum, for the Indian side of the Isthmus. If, as was proposed before the Malta steam-packets existed, steam-vessels were sent to Alexandria for the special service of India, the charge would be not doubled certainly, (for the Mediterranean is less costly than the Red Sea,) but at least half as much more. But if the Mediterranean packets be established for Mediterranean purposes, that half of the way is provided for without additional charge. But the costliness of the India half remains. We have seen what it is likely to be; let us see who is likely to pay for it. If all the letters that pass between England and India were to pass by this line, they must bear a very high rate of postage to pay one-half of the charge; and if they bear a very high rate of postage, we may be sure that only two classes of letters will come by this line, those of very great importance, and those of no importance whatever. The latter may seem to promise an abundant harvest from any numerous community; but they will be limited by the necessity of the case, which will confine this sort of amusement to those who can afford to pay for it. For the ordinary concerns of ordinary men the saving of a month or two, on the one hand, would scarcely weigh against the saving of a rupee or two on the other. We will show, however, what the sanguine in these matters expect from letters; and it will be seen how small a portion of the charge they will, even on the most sanguine calculation, defray;—especially when it is remembered that the Mediterranean packets will not bring them for nothing, and will probably require one-half of the whole receipt.

Major Head* may speak for all the advocates of the measure who are sanguine in their expectations of large returns in postage.

* The data on which I form my returns are, first, the Parliamentary Report that single and double letters passing annually from England to Calcutta, average 176,673; between Madras and England, 92,134; between Bombay and England, 63,400, making a total of 2?4,207. These, of course, are merely taking what would come before the public; but at the Bombay meeting it is supposed that 500,000 letters pass annually between England and India, therefore I have taken half that number; and it was also remarked that they must all find their way into that channel, which of course they must do if it is established. Suppose there are 250,000 single letters passing annually at 2s. 6d. each, which is about one-third, or one-fourth of what they offer to pay in India, that would amount to L.31,250 annually. I have taken the

* 1337.

double letters, law papers, periodicals, &c., for the three Presidencies, at L.10,000. There are 250 corps in India, and as many regimental messes, and about 150 agency houses, and public offices. I believe there are considerably more, but I have not had an opportunity of ascertaining the exact number. I suppose those establishments, independent of private individuals, will each take an English daily newspaper when they can get one at a moderate rate, and by a regular monthly conveyance. The mess I was in took two daily newspapers, besides two weekly newspapers. Now, we will suppose 150,000 newspapers are annually sent to India, and there is a postage of 6d. put upon each, it will amount to L.3750. Then, suppose there is an average of five passengers in each voyage at L.50 each, which will amount to L.6000 more, this will make a receipt of L.51,100. Ceylon is not included in this estimate, and by putting that down at the moderate rate of L.4000, we raise the amount to L.55,000, and upwards. I have just seen a statement, which will give the Committee an idea of the newspapers in circulation in the Indian provinces. The India Gazette has a circulation of 373 daily, 195 weekly, making a total of 568; and the Bengal Hurkaru circulates 726 daily, 228 weekly, making a total of 954. Then I suppose there will be also a considerable profit in the communication with Egypt, where there are a number of European mercantile houses; and all the French, German, Italian, and other European letters, must pass through this channel of communication. They will go to Malta, and there be taken up by the mail.'

There is a good deal of supposition here, and some vagueness. The rate 'they offer to pay in India:'—who are '*they?*' How many of the 'they' are included in the senders and receivers of the supposed 500,000 letters? How many of the 500,000 may be fairly supposed to be received by private soldiers, who pay nothing for them; and by poor persons, who, if they did not correspond as cheaply as they do round the Cape, would not correspond at all? It is an ancient Hindoo prejudice to prefer the longer way without a toll, to the shorter way with one; and with all our superiority to Hindoo prejudices, we would not assert that the Europeans in India are uninfected by this. But it is a part of the plan to make the higher rate uniform on all letters, come by what route they may; so that the cheap correspondence by the Cape will be cut off, and the expected public benefit will be no benefit to the poor, but the contrary. First to prove that the people want a thing, and then to take measures for forcing it upon them, is not exactly a new practice, but it cannot be commended in the present instance.

We do not believe that newspapers, at the rate of 500 a-day, doubled in price by postage, will be sent to India by any conveyance for a century to come.

We now come to passengers. Major Head, we see, allows five to a voyage, at L.50 each. This expectation may be rea-

lized, even twice over, and it will still go but a small way towards reimbursing the cost.

In short, it appears to us that all these expectations of profit are chimerical. The establishment will be always in the condition of Falstaff—its waste will be great, and its means slender. If an expeditious mail be essential to the good government of India, in a degree commensurate with the charge, let the Government establish it, with their eyes open to the charge. If it can be shown to conduce to the benefit of the Ryots of India, the cultivators of the land, whose labours produce the territorial revenue—then the territorial revenue of India may be justly charged with it; but assuredly not otherwise. If it can be shown to strengthen the British hold on India, to promote the integrity of the British Empire, considered as a British interest peculiarly—then the nation at large may be fairly called on to bear its share of the charge. If it promote the interest of the commercial community especially—then the commercial community should bear an especial share of the burden. If it promote the pleasure and the comfort of communicating with distant friends among the European residents of India and their connexions—then that pleasure and that comfort should be paid for by those who enjoy them. We take it, when all these matters are weighed, and duly apportioned, it will not appear that the territorial revenue of India ought to bear the whole, or the largest part, of the burden.

It has been said that it is essential to the good government of India, to the economical government of India, to the safety, indeed, of that country, and the retaining of it in the King's dominion, that every man there should feel that he was immediately under the eye, and within the reach of the Government at home;—that nothing can be done well unless we so conduct the correspondence with India, as to render it possible that the man who commits a wrong shall be punished for that wrong within a short time from its commission. It is not sufficient that he should know he is ultimately responsible; he must be made to feel that he is responsible within no distant period; and that steam navigation, more than any thing else, will conduce to this end.

It seems to us, however, that the home authorities cannot possibly, in the great majority of cases of delinquency in India, be any thing more than a court of ultimate appeal. With some exceptions, the local governments decide; the home authorities confirm or reverse. The government of India is carried on in writing, and the whole of the business that comes before the

Government passes, in the form in which it is recorded, under the revision of the home authorities.

In every complicated case, months of enquiry and deliberation are consumed, and must be consumed both in India and in England. In no case that affects individual character, in no case that involves important public interests, would a judgment be passed without possession of the whole of the records; and therefore, not letters only, but the whole of the India records also, which are very bulky matters, must come by the same conveyance; and the records must keep pace in their dates, with the dates of the letters, or the letters will bring but half tales, on which no measures can be founded. Supposing no time to be unnecessarily lost in either case, the difference of a few weeks in transmission and reply can make but little substantial difference in the effect of the ultimate decision. It is important that the decision should be just; that it should be firmly enforced, and rigidly adhered to. Deficiency in these particulars would be ill compensated by mechanical expedition in a portion of the middle stage of the proceedings. *Ut sit lenta, tamen certè magna ira deorum,* is the ground to be relied on for making responsibility real.

No doubt there are emergencies where prompt communication is of the highest importance; but the packet may sail on the first of the month, and the emergency may arise on the second. Emergencies must be provided for independently.

The plague must not be forgotten in the comparison of the routes to India. It is not a small advantage of the Cape route, that it is free from this scourge. Egypt, and the cities of the Euphrates, are alike liable to it. The Egyptian plague might be avoided if there were a good harbour in the Mediterranean north of Suez, and the land transit were not to Cairo and Alexdria, but to lake Menzaleh. This was considered impracticable by the British agents in Egypt, in reply to some questions asked in 1829; but some of the witnesses before the Committee speak more encouragingly to the point.

The plague cannot be avoided on the route of the Euphrates; but it is less formidable on this line than on the route through Egypt.

Summarily, and in conclusion,—reversing the order of our enquiry, and beginning our summary with the financial branch of the question,—we recommend, to borrow the words of a writer in a Calcutta paper, a very careful consideration of 'the 'means of converting steam into rupees,' before we recommend the 'conversion of rupees into steam.' This point being dis-

posed of, and the choice of the three routes being next to be made, we certainly give the preference to that of the Persian Gulf; as being the easiest, the most certain throughout the year, the most in the line of all our Asiatic interests, and the most economical. And we would have, for the Persian Gulf, steam-vessels of great power, and of the very best description, of 500 or 600 tons measurement, and not less than 200 horse power, built in England; experience having demonstrated that vessels built in India, with engines sent from England, would be twice as costly and half as efficient. We would send them out under steam to Bombay, having deposited coals at the Cape de Verde Islands, at St Thomas's, and St Helena, at the Cape, at Johanna, and at the Mauritius. If one or two experiments should be conclusive against steaming round the Cape, we would work out all following vessels under sail, but we would always build them in England. These vessels would go in one run from Bombay to Bussorah, and from Bussorah to Bombay; and we are satisfied that such vessels would, through the whole year round, run the 1600 miles each way, in a week or ten days. We would provide for contingencies, by having an intermediate depot of coals at Muscat or Bassadore; but we should not contemplate the necessity of often using it.

If it should be determined to adopt the route of the Red Sea, either for the whole year, if practicable, or for that part of the year during which there is no doubt of the practicability, we would do this also with vessels of great power, capable of running the voyage in two stages; but we would not send coals to Suez at all, seeing that they must be sent either by sailing vessels beating up against the wind, in the worst part of the Red Sea, or carried by barges from Alexandria to Cairo, and by camels from Cairo to Suez, involving in either case an enormous charge. We would not send coals to Suez at all, except a small quantity to provide for contingencies, but not to be used unless the contingencies arose. We would have depots at Socotra or Aden, (Socotra, if possible,) and again, either at the Arabian port of Camoran, or the Abyssinian port of Massooah: both are islands, and therefore out of the reach of molestation. From either of those ports such a steamer as we propose would carry coals sufficient to take her to Suez and back, and the chief difficulty and expense of providing fuel would be got rid of.

We do not speak now of the south-west monsoon. We are not adventurous enough to recommend the experiment in that season.

We would try the experiment of the line of the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates throughout the year. At all events, 'the phy-

'sical difficulties on the line of the Red Sea appearing to be con-
'fined to the months of June, July, August, and September, and
'those of the river Euphrates to the months of November, De-
'cember, January, and February, the effective trial of both lines
'would open a certain communication with the Mediterranean in
'every month of the year, changing the line of the steam vessels
'on both sides, according to the seasons.'—(Resolution 10 of the Committee's Report.)

We would use the Llangennech coals, which appear to carry greater power in the same bulk than any other kind of coals; and which are exported very economically direct from South Wales to India.

But both for the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea we should look only to Bombay. There would be no saving of time sufficient to counterbalance the great additional expense and difficulty of running a steamer, on either of those lines, to Calcutta. When a steamer from Calcutta is at Point de Galle, she may as well run on round the cape of Good Hope, and get into the line of the south-east trade-wind. It is not worth while, for so small a consideration as 3000 or 4000 miles, to run to the northward again, and encounter all the risks and inconveniences of the Red Sea and the plague. If we are to carry on steam communication with Calcutta, we should do so by the cape of Good Hope: at least from Calcutta, though not from Bombay, we would give this line a fair trial. We would reject the idea of steam navigation to Calcutta altogether; but if it were determined to have it in some way, we would try it by the Cape. Whatever line we adopt, we would build the vessels in England, and work them out to India; because by so doing we should get better vessels for half the cost. The cost of an Indian-built steamer, as it appears in the Evidence, is enough to alarm the most resolute advocates for Indian steam-navigation. We would build the vessels for the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf in England, and work them out to Bombay; and if the object of steam navigation to Calcutta be kept in view, we would work them out by steam; and thus make them, though destined for other lines, conducive to a series of experiments of steam navigation round the Cape. For Bombay, we should not think of this route; for Calcutta, we should prefer it to the Red Sea; though we repeat, that in consideration of the great increase of expense, and the diminished saving of distance, we should reject the idea of steam communication with Calcutta altogether.

ART. XI—1. *On Church Property.* 8vo. London: 1834.

2. *Speech of H. G. Ward, Esq. M. P., on moving certain Resolutions respecting the Irish Church in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May* 27, 1834. 8vo. London: 1834.

3. *Mirror of Parliament for* 1834.

4. *Animadversions on the Conflicting Interests of the Churches in Ireland as a chief cause of her disturbed state, with the recommendation of a remedy.* By an Irish Landowner. 8vo. London: 1834.

5. *An Essay, Religious and Political, on Ecclesiastical Finance, as regards the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland; interspersed with other Matter not irrelevant to the Subject.* By the Rev. DAVID O. CROLY, Parish Priest of Ovens and Aglis. Second Edition. 12mo. Cork: 1834.

AMONG the important subjects which will probably engage the attention of the Legislature in the ensuing Session, is that question which was the ostensible cause of the secession of four members of the Grey Administration—the question of the appropriation of Church property to secular purposes; and the possible application of the principle to the present state of the Established Church in Ireland. While an enquiry is pending into such circumstances as will illustrate the condition of that Church, we may befittingly investigate the general principles by which, in dealing with those circumstances, the Legislature should be guided: and ere any part of this extensive question is again contested in the Parliamentary arena, we will endeavour to narrow the ground of debate, and review a few of the popular arguments which the most distinguished disputants deemed it not inexpedient to employ. It would be a waste of time to advert to arguments used by any but the leaders of the opposing party; and if we advert to these, it is because such men, by their talents and authority, have invested weak *dicta* with fictitious strength—and because, though *they* may disdain to reproduce such arguments, they will assuredly be used and appealed to by a numerous host of subordinate admirers.

In examining some of these arguments, we have been struck less by their ingenuity than by their weakness; and can scarcely believe that the lurking fallacy should really have escaped the acknowledged acuteness of the very able men who have condescended to employ them. We find arguments eloquently urged, with an apparent unconsciousness, not only that they are unsound, but that, if valid, they would be available, with destructive power,

against other propositions of the orator who used them. Take, for example, the reply of Sir Robert Peel to Mr Spring Rice, on the 2d of June. 'The right honourable gentleman,' says Sir Robert Peel, 'tells us, that if there be an excess of Church property to 'so great an extent as to endanger the existence of that property, 'then the Legislature not only has a right, but is bound to inter-'fere for the purpose of protecting that property. Now, this is 'one of the most dangerous doctrines that can be promulgated, 'not only in reference to the property of the Church, but in re-'gard to all property, ecclesiastical, corporate, or individual. If 'an excess of property is supposed to endanger property, then 'you are to curtail a part in order to secure the remainder. What 'safety can there be for any property, if a Government establishes 'such a principle with reference to an hypothetical case? If this 'principle be applicable to the property of the Church, why is it 'not equally applicable to the property of individuals? Why 'may you not equally justify the confiscation of private property 'in certain cases, on the ground or on the pretence that it is ex-'cessive, and that the security of property is endangered by that 'excess?'

Yet Sir Robert Peel propounded a doctrine equally dangerous, to which these objections are equally applicable. We are told by him, in the very same speech, that the time was come when we must consider 'whether we could not facilitate the propagation of 'divine truth, and extend the means of divine worship, by *a dif-'ferent distribution of the funds of the Established Church*.' This, too, was no hasty admission; for he deliberately repeated, on the 23d of June, 'If you show me any mode by which men, really 'friendly to the Church, and actuated by *bona fide* intentions, of 'contributing to its stability, propose, *by a different distribution 'of Church revenues*, to advance the interests of the Established 'Church, and to extend its influence, I say now, as I said then, 'I am ready to consider that question.'*

Sir Robert Peel has thus given his powerful sanction to the principle of redistribution; and we now ask him, in his own words, and with as much reason as he addressed that question to Mr Spring Rice, 'If this principle be applicable to the property 'of the Church, why is it not equally applicable to the property 'of individuals?' Why may you not equally justify a different distribution of private property in certain cases, on the ground or on the pretence of contributing to its stability?—Why? The answer is plain, and equally applicable to our question as to that

* Sir R. Peel's recent letter to the electors of Tamworth, after accepting the Premiership, contains expressions to the same effect.

of Sir Robert Peel:—Because the property of the Church and the property of individuals are essentially different; because the one is corporate, the other private; because the one is only a life-interest, which the incumbent has no power to bequeath, the other may be the subject of bequest; because the one is held subject to the condition of performing public duties, while to the enjoyment of the other no such conditions are annexed.

'I cannot,' says Mr Hallam, in his *Constitutional History*, 'until some broad principle is made more obvious to me than it 'ever has yet been, do such violence to all common notions on 'the subject, as to attach an equal inviolability to private and 'corporate property. The law of hereditary succession, as 'ancient and universal as that of property itself—the law of tes-'tamentary disposition, the complement of the former, so long 'established in most countries as to seem a natural right, have 'invested the individual possessor of the soil with such fictitious 'immortality, such anticipated enjoyment, as it were, of futurity, 'that his perpetual ownership could not be limited to the term of 'his own existence, without what he would justly feel as a real 'deprivation of property. Nor are the expectations of children, 'or other probable heirs, less real possessions, which it is a hard-'ship, if not an actual injury, to defeat. Yet even this heredi-'tary claim is set aside by the laws of forfeiture, which have 'almost every where prevailed; but in estates held, as we call it, 'in mortmain, there is no intercommunity, no natural privity of 'interest between the present possessor and those who may suc-'ceed him; and as the former cannot have any pretext for com-'plaint, if, his own rights being preserved, the legislature should 'alter the course of transmission after his decease, so neither is 'any hardship sustained by others, unless their succession has 'been already designated, or rendered probable. Corporate pro-'perty, therefore, appears to stand on a very different footing 'from that of private individuals; and while all infringements of 'the established privileges of the latter are to be sedulously 'avoided, and held justifiable only by the strongest motives of 'public expediency, I cannot but admit the full right of the le-'gislature to new-mould and regulate the former in all that does 'not involve existing interests, upon far slighter reasons of con-'venience.'

Such a distinction must be recognised by Sir Robert Peel. He must admit the right of the legislature to new-mould ecclesiastical property, 'upon far slighter reasons of convenience' than would justify an interference with private property; else, why is he willing to consider the question of a different distribution?

From this dilemma, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Stanley, and the other advocates of redistribution, cannot escape:—either there is an essential difference between ecclesiastical and private property, or, in sanctioning a different distribution of the former, they are admitting a doctrine of the most dangerous kind. If there is an essential difference, then all those cogent arguments which consist in representing the appropriation of church property as a precedent dangerous to private property, must fall to the ground. If there is not an essential difference, and the appropriation of the one is a precedent fraught with danger to the other, we maintain that the principle of redistribution is fraught with danger quite as great. The most excitable alarmist cannot predicate worse of the principle of appropriation, than that it would sanction general confiscation; and surely a redistribution of lay property would not deserve a milder name.

We cordially concur with those Tory orators and writers who tell us, that the great question of interference with church property must be contested *in limine*, on the ground of redistribution. Here, and here only, can the champions of inviolability take their stand. At this point only can they defend any thing which can be called 'a principle.' If they desert this bulwark, the question will cease to be one of *principle*, and be thenceforth only a question of *degree*. They must deny all right of interference, and boldly occupy a position, which, severing them from the alliance of the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, Lord Henley, Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel, will place these latter in the ranks of the spoliators. They must condemn, as confiscatory, Lord Henley's and Dr Burton's plans for the augmentation of small livings. They must maintain the immortality of every glaring anomaly, of every revolting inequality, which, pampering on the one hand the great clerical sinecurist, dispensing on the other a scanty pittance to the hard-working curate, has long excited the disapprobation and sorrow of the best friends of the English Church.

Will the champions of the inviolability of church property take their stand on ground like this? Or will they quit a position which they must be conscious is not tenable, and seriously ask themselves, in the language of Bacon, 'Why the Civil State 'should be purged, and restored by good and wholesome laws 'made every third or fourth year in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief, and contrariwise, 'the Ecclesiastical State should still continue upon the dregs of 'time, and receive no alteration?'

It would be a waste of time to contend with those who still

claim for the Church a right of exemption from all interference; and to discuss a principle which its ablest champions have concurred in giving up. 'The true question,' said Bishop Watson, in a charge to his clergy, in speaking of the original appropriation of church property, is, 'whether the uses to which it 'is appropriated are such as an enlightened government can 'approve of; for we by no means contend that every appro-'priation once made, whether beneficial to the community or 'not, must be perpetuated.'

This is the most comprehensive statement of the important question which the legislature will be called upon to consider. But we are content to receive it as exhibited in another and a narrower form; because by so doing, we give to our opponents the benefit of having it stated by the most distinguished arguer on their side. 'The question,' said Sir Robert Peel, 'is simply 'this,—Has Parliament the right—not the abstract legal right—'for who can doubt its right in that sense? But has Parliament 'the moral and equitable right to appropriate church property 'to secular purposes?'

Before we attempt to solve this question, let us clear the ground as well as we are able—let us seek to ascertain the meaning of the terms to be employed, and the nature of that which is to be the subject of discussion. We must ask two preliminary questions—'What is the Church? and what is church property?' Never were there terms which stood more in need of explanation, and on which ambiguity and misconstruction have been more mercilessly inflicted. 'The Church' has many acceptations, and sophistry has loved to juggle and transpose them. It means sometimes a form of doctrine, sometimes the clergy, sometimes endowments, sometimes the place of worship, sometimes an ecclesiastical corporation; and sometimes is truly understood in that comprehensive sense which is set forth in the 19th Article of the Church of England: 'The visible 'church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the 'which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments 'duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those 'things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' In this, its true sense, the term 'Church,' includes the laity as well as the clergy; and it is plain that in this sense it cannot be a corporate body. But neither is it a corporate body, if it is understood to comprise only the clergy. The clergy, collectively, are not a corporation, any more than the laity are a corporation. If they are distinct, so are the laity– if they are privileged, so are the nobility; but they have, like them, no collective corporate existence.

But the Church or Clergy, though not a corporation, comprises within its body many corporations; and hence perhaps the common error. Every dean and chapter is a corporation aggregate —every bishop or parson is a corporation sole—yet each of these is as distinct from any other as are the corporations of Liverpool and London. There is similarity, but no connexion beyond that common bond of discipline, in matters of administration, which produces no community of endowment. It is notorious that practically there is no community of endowment—that the revenues of the bishoprics of London and Durham are as distinct and independent as the fortunes of any two temporal peers—that the stipend of the incumbent of parish A has no more necessary connexion with that of parish B than have the respective rentals of any two neighbouring country squires. This must be notorious; yet people speak of Church property as if these independent endowments all formed a part of one great connected whole, or were all taken from one common fund. It is not so. There is no common fund that can be called Church property. The only species of property which could ever have been so considered was *Tithe*—that property of which so large a portion is now vested in lay hands—and the only time when it could be so considered was antecedent to that period in the thirteenth century when, in compliance with a Decretal of Pope Innocent III., it was forbidden that tithes should be paid otherwise than to the church of the parish to which they belonged. Previously there was (as we are told by Blackstone, who refers to the authority of Selden's learned work on Tithes) 'No appropriation of ecclesiastical dues to any 'particular church; but every man was at liberty to contribute 'his tithes to whatever priest or church he pleased, provided only 'that he did it to some; or if he made no special appointment or 'appropriation thereof they were paid into the hands of the Bishop, 'whose duty it was to distribute them among the clergy, and 'for other pious purposes, according to his own discretion.' Tithes were then Church property; they were a common fund for religious uses; and the Church collectively might have been said to be robbed by the alienation to secular purposes of any portion of that fund. But this state of things has as utterly ceased as has the original fourfold distribution of tithes—one part to the Bishop, another to the incumbent, a third to the repairs and expenses of the Church, and a fourth to the poor—or that subsequent threefold distribution between the poor, the fabric, and the incumbent, by which it was succeeded when the Bishops had become endowed from other sources. All this has ceased; and unless we revert to times anterior to the threefold distribution, we can have no pretence for regarding tithes as the property

of the Church collectively, and as forming part of a common fund.

With still less reason can we regard as part of a common fund that other portion of ecclesiastical property which was derived from individuals by endowment or purchase; and comprised under the general term of *alienations in mortmain*. The application of such alienations was not general, but particular. They were endowments, not of the Church generally, but of a particular benefice or religious house. They were transactions between an individual and an ecclesiastical corporation for the especial benefit of the corporation endowed; and commonly in consideration of masses to be performed for the soul of the donor. Moreover, they were transactions which the Legislature, justly dreading the encroachment of ecclesiastical rapacity, long and perseveringly endeavoured to control, in a manner unparalleled by any interference with similar transactions between private individuals. While by common law any man might dispose of his lands to any other private person, a license from the Crown was (as acknowledged by the constitutions of Clarendon) held necessary to legalize an alienation in mortmain. Clerical ingenuity evaded this obligation, and the ingenuity of the Legislature was repeatedly taxed to control the evasion. Long was the struggle maintained, and the successive statutes in mortmain* bear witness both to the dexterous encroachments of the clergy, and the determination of the Legislature to control, if possible, the conveyance of lands to religious houses, or any ecclesiastical corporation, or their dedication to pious uses.

It appears, then, that neither tithe, nor other ecclesiastical endowments, can now be considered as a common fund, and that the Church in its collective capacity possesses no property at all.

The term 'Church property,' unless we use it as we do lay or private property, solely to denote its general nature, is not applicable otherwise than to the temporalities of a single benefice. In every parish there is a fund set apart for religious uses, and held in trust for the parishioners, of which a small part is committed to the care of the churchwardens, and a greater part to the incumbent, to be applied to his maintenance, under the condition of performing certain duties in return. But, as it is well expressed in the pamphlet on *Church Property*, 'though the Church in every parish has a common fund, there

* See the statute *de religiosis*, 7 Edw. I.; the statute of Westminster, 13 Edw. I.; 18 and 34 Edw. I.; 15 Rich. II.; and 23 Henry VIII.

'is no community between the property of one parish and 'the property of another. Every parish, in respect to its com- 'mon property, is as distinct and separate from every other parish 'as the corporation of London is from the corporation of Bristol. 'There is a community of faith and discipline, but no community 'of temporal goods, in the Church of England. Every parson 'administers the funds of his own parish. There is no aggrega- 'tion of these separate funds into a common stock; no division of 'spoil among churchmen of different parishes. Every clergyman 'collects the church revenue of his own parish, and expends what 'he has thus received.' If, as is truly said, there is no community between the property of one parish and the property of another, whatever inviolability each integral part can claim as Church property, it must possess in its independent capacity. It can derive no aid from other portions of property with which it holds no community. To say that Church property is inviolable, and yet that the property of a Bishopric, or a Rectory, or of a Dean and Chapter, may be taken away and given to some other ecclesiastical benefice, seems an absurdity and a contradiction. Redistribution consists of two distinct acts—the taking from one and the giving to another. The violation of the right of property is involved in the former, and it cannot be altered by the character of the latter. It is idle to plead, that, after the property has been taken away, it is applied in such a manner as its late possessors would approve. This cannot give the right to take it. It would be held a very weak excuse for one who had stolen an intended gift that he had since bestowed it as its owner had designed. There is one species of ecclesiastical property which when in the hands of private individuals is essentially private property, and is entitled to all the protection that private property can claim: We mean *advowsons*. Now, with these redistribution might interfere not less than appropriation to secular purposes. Full compensation to proprietors of advowsons (as in the case of land purchased for a public work) must enter into every equitable scheme of Church Reform affecting the temporalities of the Church; and any different distribution that should impair the value of such advowsons, without granting compensation, would be spoliation of the grossest kind. If Church property is intangible, and is at the same time not a single property, one and indivisible, but a collection of distinct, independent, integral properties comprised in that general term, then each of those integral properties must likewise be intangible. The property of each separate benefice must therefore be intangible; and if so, then to redistribute is to spoliate.

'But,' says a mighty phalanx of Conservative authorities,—'to

'redistribute is *not* to spoliate. *We* should never countenance 'spoliation—and we are favourable to a different distribution of the 'funds of the Established Church.' If this be so, then is not the property of each separate benefice tangible? Is not Church property tangible? If it is tangible may not the State take it? When taken, will it not become the property of the State? And being its property, may it not be applied as the Legislature shall think fit?

This leads us immediately to the question propounded by Sir Robert Peel: 'Has Parliament the moral and equitable right to 'appropriate Church property to secular purposes?' It is admitted by the only opponents with whom it is not futile to contend, that Parliament has the right to appropriate Church property to clerical purposes. By what rules of morality and equity are secular purposes interdicted? Let us ask on what moral and equitable grounds appropriation to clerical purposes is justifiable; and let us see if on the same grounds, appropriation to secular purposes may not be justified. We find the grounds of the former appropriation laid down in the words of the right honourable baronet. They are 'to advance the interests of the 'Established Church,' and 'to extend its influence,' 'to facilitate 'the propagation of divine truth, and extend the means of divine 'worship.'—'I am ready,' he says, 'to promote, by every means 'in my power, the maintenance and extension of the Protestant 'religion in Ireland: and if you show me any mode by which 'men, really friendly to the Church, and actuated by *bona fide* in-'tentions of contributing to its stability, propose by a different 'distribution of Church revenue to advance the interests of the 'Established Church, and to extend its influence, I am ready to 'consider that question.'

We cordially accept the promise contained in the first clause of this sentence: 'I am ready to promote, by every means in 'my power, the maintenance and extension of the Protestant 'religion in Ireland.' But why is this qualified by subsequent restriction to a 'different distribution? Let us suppose that men, really friendly to the Church, and actuated by *bona fide* intentions of contributing to its stability, should propose to advance its interests, and extend its influence, by withdrawing a superfluous portion of its revenues: Why, we ask, shall we not be ready to consider that question also? Suppose, to use the language attributed to Mr Spring Rice—'there be an excess of 'Church property to so great an extent as to endanger the exist-'ence of that property,' and it be proposed to cut off the dangerous excess, and apply it to other purposes—shall we not be ready to consider that question? Suppose there should be rea-

son to apprehend that the existence of *rich* sinecure endowments engenders towards the Established Church hatred and jealousy from without, and produces laxity and supineness within, and that it is perhaps attributable to these causes, that while the population of Ireland has increased, a proportionate increase has not appeared among the members of the Established Church; and that it may therefore be desirable that such sinecures be abated, and all cause of scandal and jealousy be removed:—shall we not be ready to consider this question?' We ask the friend of redistribution by what impediment is he barred from considering whether it may not be advisable to apply not only *his* panacea, with a view to cure the present maladies of the Church, but even to apply remedies still more searching with the same laudable intention?' The object and intention remaining the same, it is surely absurd to embarrass and restrict our consideration of the means. The only reason for so doing would be the proved illegality of certain means, which it was proposed to employ. But this objection is not applicable to the question of appropriating church property to secular purposes. There is no illegality which can operate as a bar to its being considered. It is admitted that the Legislature has an abstract legal right to appropriate Church property to secular purposes—that which is denied, is only its 'moral and equitable' right to do so. What is this moral and equitable right? and wherein does it differ from the legal right? It differs in this—it is not circumscribed by written statutes—it exists in spirit and not in letter—it admits a latitude of interpretation of which the legal right is not susceptible—it presents no definite bar on which a jurist can decide—it appeals to the common sense and good feeling of the community at large, and not to the technical decisions of lawyers. 'Moral and 'equitable right' demands, that the Legislature shall not injure the Church which they have engaged to uphold—and that they shall do whatever is meet for the maintenance of its spiritual interests. It appeals generally to their moral sense; and, to that sense, and to the unfettered exercise of our reasoning faculties, aided by enquiry, it leaves the decision of those important questions—what is injurious—and what is beneficial to the *spiritual* interests of the Established Church. We say the *spiritual* interests of the Church. These must be the *ultimate* object of whatever care the Legislature bestows. The temporal interests may be the more immediate and visible object; but its care of these must always have a tacit reference to the other. The temporalities are the means, and not the end—the scaffolding, and not the building. We presume it will scarcely be denied by any asserter of the inviolability of Church property, that the temporalities of

the Church are subservient to its spiritual interests—that from such subservience they derive the sacredness ascribed to them—that if it be supposed that the Legislature can touch them, it must be with due regard to the primary importance of those spiritual interests; and that if the spiritual and temporal interests could by possibility clash, the temporal should be disregarded and the spiritual preferred. This we presume would be granted even by an Ultra-Tory.* But, in order to guard against whatever might prove inconvenient in this admission, the sticklers for inviolability assume as an axiom that the temporal and spiritual interests never do or can clash,—that they are inseparably connected, so that to uphold the one, is to uphold the other,—so that to invade the temporalities, is virtually to invade religion, by impairing the spiritual well-being of the Church. Now these assertions which are so confidently assumed as the groundwork of argument, not only fall short of an undeniable axiom, but are at least propositions of questionable validity; and, in our opinion, utterly disproved by the history of Christianity. If our limits would permit us to pursue this argument, history would enable us to show that the temporal wealth and power of a Church are found to bear almost invariably a direct proportion to its spiritual weakness. But we do not require this proof at present—we require only that it shall not be assumed as an axiom that temporal and spiritual interests are inseparably connected—but that the possibility of the one being diminished without corresponding injury to the other, may be placed among those questions which they are ready to consider. Grant this, and the process is easy by which we arrive at the desired conclusion. If the temporal and spiritual interests of the Church do not necessarily advance *pari passu*, the one may possibly outstep the other. If the temporalities can outstep the exigencies of the spiritual interests, we must admit the possibility of an excess. If there be an excess, such excess may be hurtful. If it be hurtful, the Legislature which is bound to protect and promote the spiritual interests of the Established Church is bound to remove it, unless prevented by the interposition of legal right. But the

* The Bishop of Exeter in his letter of the 18th of December, to the Archdeacon of Exeter, expresses his 'earnest hope and fervent prayer, (a prayer in which all my clergy will cordially join,) that whatever measures be introduced affecting the establishment of the Church, whether in England or in Ireland, they may be such as shall tend most effectually to promote what you justly call 'the sacred object for which the Church 'is established, the spiritual instruction of all classes of the people.'

Legislature is not fettered by legal right; it is guided only by that rule of moral and equitable right, which enjoins generally the adoption of such measures as are most conducive to the good of the Church. Therefore, this objection vanishing, we conclude that the Legislature is bound to remove any excess in the temporalities of the Church which can be clearly shown to be hurtful.

In this proposition, that the Legislature has power to cut off absolutely and unconditionally any excess in the temporalities of the Church, the appropriation of such excess to any purpose, whether secular or ecclesiastical, is necessarily included. Such excess, when absolutely and unconditionally severed from the Church, becomes absolutely and unconditionally the property of the State, and may consequently be applied to such purposes as the Legislature may direct. With respect to the best application of any surplus sum, there would probably at all times, and among any set of statesmen, be manifold differences of opinion,—and the opponents of appropriation have harmlessly indulged in very needless self-gratulation, on the supposed detection of such differences among the members of the late Government. There may be a diversity of opinion arising very naturally from the latitude which the question admits; but none could reasonably arise from a consideration of the source from which the surplus in question was derived. There is error in retaining a recollection of the source, and recognising in the surplus a separate existence which it has in fact no longer. It is thenceforward part of the public revenue; and is merged in the common stock from whence are defrayed the expenses of the State. To invest it with a fictitious character of distinctness is only to encourage idle fallacies. Some persons advocate a sort of semi-religious appropriation, as if they could not divest themselves of the notion of something sacred in the severed property,—and say, as if this was an unanswerable appeal, 'Surely you would not turn 'against the Church the very property which once belonged to 'it.' No—nor would we turn *against* the Church any other funds which the State may have at its disposal. It is the bounden duty of the State to administer *all* its revenues in such a manner as shall be most conducive to the public good,—*good* in its highest sense, political, moral, and religious. It is childish to assert that a particular portion of those revenues ought to be employed more laudably than any other portion. Let the best use be made of all. The State expends according to the exigencies of different branches of the public service; and not according to preconceived notions of the species of employment to which certain portions of its income ought to be devoted. If the service of religion at any

time demands an outlay of public money, we trust that such outlay will never be withheld—*for assuredly no other service ought to be preferred ;* but whether the money should come out of the proceeds of ordinary taxation, or from alienated property once ecclesiastical, would, as an abstract question, be perfectly immaterial.

We are not insensible to objections founded on the supposed inexpediency of admitting the alienation of Church property, and thereby affording the sanction of precedent to any act of spoliation that might be perpetrated hereafter by a rapacious and dishonest Parliament. It is a question of the deepest importance, but it is distinct from that which we have been discussing ; and is not to be confounded with a consideration of the origin and nature of ecclesiastical property. If there is no other bar to the alienation of Church property than distrust of the future intentions of the Legislature, and the fear of sanctioning rapacity, let this objection be fairly stated, and let its weight be fearlessly examined. If the alleged danger is real ; and if the Legislature can, by recording its opinions, give permanent protection, and establish any effectual obstacle to the equally powerful will of some subsequent Legislature, it would be well that it should interpose. It may then declare on grounds of expediency, and for the sake of example, that property which has been ecclesiastical shall be appropriated only to purposes of a religious nature ; but it cannot alter the character of that property, nor set up the plea of indefeasible right ; nor can it, by vote or resolution, establish a rule which succeeding Parliaments shall be bound to follow. Moreover, let it be observed, that it is only by *abuse* of precedent that a great and beneficial measure can be so wrested as to afford any sanction to an unjust and destructive one—that the possible perversion of good measures and sound principles is no valid objection to the adoption and admission of them—and that we cannot hope to defend Church property by resting its defence on false grounds, and by denying a principle, when we can only deprecate the possible danger of the application. It would be thought monstrous in a court of law to disallow a man's claim to property upon the ground, that, though perhaps it was legally his, it was very doubtful if he would make a good use of it.

We have expressed our opinion that ecclesiastical property, when once alienated, must lose its separate character, and be viewed as a part of the public income. It would therefore be inconsistent to offer any suggestion respecting the best appropriation of such surplus, rather than of any other portion of the revenue. But we will take the present opportunity of offering a few remarks upon the application, not of a particular surplus, but

of so much of the public money as may be deemed requisite, to a religious use, in which we conceive the welfare of Ireland to be deeply interested,—we mean the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy. This is no new and startling proposition. It appears to have been among those golden intentions—(intentions never to be reduced to practice)—which, like Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, once found a distinguished place in the powerful and comprehensive mind of Pitt:—intentions which he abandoned in ill-fated obedience to the misguided conscientiousness of a weaker intellect and a more stubborn will.

We have before us some interesting illustrations of this subject, in a tract written with great vigour and acuteness by Mr Croly, an Irish Roman Catholic priest, on the financial state of the Irish Roman Catholic Church; in which he fearlessly unveils its internal condition, and, detailing the sources from which it is supported, exhibits the influence of that species of support as it affects both the laity and the priesthood. We shall lay his statements before our readers; premising, that though we cannot vouch for their accuracy, we consider testimony of such a kind from such a quarter as eminently entitled to our most serious attention. The Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland are without legal provision, and are dependent for subsistence on voluntary contributions,—voluntary, inasmuch as they are not compellable by law—yet exacted by an authority perhaps more powerful than that of the law,—by custom, by 'terror of public exposure, and the superstitious fear of sacerdotal hostility.' The sources of the priests' income are dues for Confession, for Marriage, for Baptism, for Burial, for Extreme Unction, and for the performance of the Mass. The mode of exacting these dues, says Mr Croly, 'is quite 'arbitrary and capricious. There are salutary regulations in 'every diocese respecting Church dues as well as other points 'of Church discipline—put forth by episcopal and synodical 'authority. Specific sums are laid down as the remuneration to 'be demanded and paid for the performance of such and such 'religious rites;' but, owing to the moderation of these sums, and their inadequacy to supply the wants of the priesthood, the priest, says Mr Croly, 'makes the most he can of his ministry; and multiplies his exactions without any reference to statute law or episcopal authority.' The clergy disregard the diocesan statutes, and their bishops are supine in respect to their enforcement. There is 'nothing in regard to ecclesiastical finance 'but discrepance, capriciousness, and disorganization.'—'Other 'bad consequences,' pursues Mr Croly, 'regarding the clergy 'themselves arise out of the present system of Church support. 'Many among them are constantly endeavouring to overreach 'and undermine each other.'—'The curate does not make a fair

'return to the parish priest, nor the parish priest perhaps to the 'curate; nor the curates, where a number are associated, to one 'another.'—'Church revenue has become a mere scramble,—'every man striving to seize upon a larger share, and deciding 'for himself in the appropriation:' and the consequence, he emphatically adds, is 'a shameful state of clerical demoralization.' He next points out the evil incident to each separate species of exaction. On the direct interest which 'marriage-money' gives the priest in the encouragement of improvident marriages, Mr Croly is singularly silent; but he adverts to other evil consequences,—such as disuse of banns, and consequent increase of clandestine and illegal marriages; and declares, that 'the present 'system of Church finance gives rise to every species of abuse 'respecting matrimony, both in regard to the clergy and the 'laity.'—The demand of Baptism money, he tells us, 'deranges 'the administration of the rite itself, and affords matter of scandal 'at a time when nothing should take place but what would 'afford instruction and edification.' The demand of money for Extreme Unction is also said to lead to scandalous scenes; and 'often when the money is not to be had, bitter words take place 'in the very hearing and presence of the poor dying person.' Dues for Confession and the Mass also engender irreverence and superstition. Of the former, Mr Croly says, 'it transforms 'religious rites into mercantile commodities, which the priest 'prices and turns to his own advantage in the best manner he 'can. He gives and he gets *quid pro quo*. This is the appear-'ance of the thing; and the common people do imagine that 'they pay their money in lieu of getting Confession and Com-'munion. So deeply, indeed, is this persuasion engraven on their 'minds, that they consider themselves exempt from the obligation 'of payment, unless they actually get Absolution and the Holy 'Sacrament; that is, value for their money.' Of the exaction of money for Masses, especially at one particular season,—the Day of All Souls, the 2d of November,—we are told, that 'every 'effort is then made to interest the faithful in behalf of the souls 'in Purgatory; in order to increase the customary contributions 'for Mortuary Masses. Doctrines are frequently advanced on 'those occasions prompted by cupidity, not very consonant to 'reason or the Scriptures; and the congregation is led into 'error in order to replenish the coffers of the priest.'—'In short,' says this Roman Catholic clergyman, 'the entire system at 'present pursued by the Irish Catholic clergy, as to money 'matters, or matters of Church finance, is to make the very most 'of their ministry in gross and in detail; and, regardless of con-'sequences, to render every part and parcel of religion, whether 'we regard the administration of Sacraments, or the celebration

'of Divine Worship, subservient to considerations of self-inte-
'rest.'*

One of the most serious consequences of this lamentable system is the subservience which it engenders. It places the priest in a position where he is tempted to become at once the demagogue and the tool of the ignorant multitude by whom he is surrounded. He is forced, by hard necessity, to acquire an influence; and if the means by which this influence must be attained were always such as deserve our approbation, we should applaud the necessity which so compelled him; but, since the easiest road to influence is to pamper those passions and prejudices which it is the duty of the clergyman to curb and to dispel, we cannot look with satisfaction upon the temptations to which a numerous, and, we believe, in many instances a meritorious body of men, are exposed by the hardships of their present condition. Popularity is a glittering bait, which men are ever too prone to seek through base compliances, even when unprompted by sordid interest; but, add the spur of sharp necessity—add entire dependence upon the unstable humours of those whose favour is to be conciliated, and you raise a temptation much more strong than human weakness can safely be exposed to. We cannot better enforce our view of this subject than by quoting the emphatic language of Mr Croly.

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* In corroboration of Mr Croly's assertions, we may adduce the following remarkable statement from a work recently published by Mr H. D. Inglis, entitled 'Ireland in 1834;' and which, whatever may be thought of it in other respects, has every appearance of being written in an honest and impartial spirit.

'I am sorry to be obliged in this place to record a fact, to which I could not have given credit on any evidence less conclusive than that of *my own eyes*. The Roman Catholic chapel is newly erected, and is yet unfinished; and I am told that the anxiety to obtain funds for its completion gave rise to the enaction of some curious scenes at the door. I went there about ten o'clock, and I certainly did witness a scene of a most singular kind. The gates were shut, and four men stood by; one had a silver salver to receive the larger contributions; two were provided with wooden ladles for the copper offerings, and these they shook in the ears of every one who approached; and one man, *the priest, stood just within* the gate, *armed with a shillelah. No one was admitted who did not contribute.* I saw a man attempt to pass without contributing; and I saw *the priest* push and buffet the man, and at length *strike him several times with his stick*, and knock his hat off his head! This is no matter of hearsay—*I saw it:* and I saw from thirty to forty persons kneeling outside of the gate on the highroad,—poor persons who had not a halfpenny to spare. To be more and more sure that this was the cause of their remaining without, I gave some halfpence amongst them, and saw them admitted.'

'Let us view the conduct of the Irish priests,' says he, 'as instructors of their people. Have they attended to the preaching of the gospel? Have they inculcated the principles of the Catholic religion? Their congregations every where have shown an utter disregard to law and to the constituted authorities;—nothing among them but sedition and insubordination; burning and maiming; murder and massacre—mob-law, in short, the greatest of all curses, the order of the day. What did the priests—the guides and pastors of the people—do under these circumstances? Did they set their faces against this unhappy state of things? Did they preach obedience and subordination? Did they inculcate submission to the authority of law, or aid in preserving the peace and tranquillity of society?—all which they were bound to do as ministers of the gospel, and priests of the Roman Catholic Church. This is a position that cannot be disputed. It has been always the boast of the Roman Catholic Church that she teaches her children to observe the laws, to respect the civil magistrate, and to do nothing inconsistent with the public peace and with individual security. The Irish Catholic priests have not this time past preached these doctrines to the people. It would be too much, perhaps, to say that the priests themselves were the original instigators of the misguided multitude. There is no doubt that many of them acted a prominent part in the business; and the impression on the minds of the common people was, and is, that the priests gave it their full and unqualified sanction. But many of them yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and appeared to give their approbation to that which they in reality condemned. They went with the multitude, instead of guiding the multitude; and suffered religion and morality to be completely turned topsy-turvy. What was the cause of all this? Many causes, no doubt, may be assigned. National and religious prejudices might have had a share—sectarian hatred, cowardice—a general perversity of morals. But can it be said that the present state of clerical dependence for support upon a capricious multitude had no share in determining this unbecoming conduct on the part of the Irish Catholic priesthood? The multitude held the strings of the clerical purse; and wo betide the unfortunate priest who would set himself in opposition to their wishes. As a body they became all-powerful in this respect. The common cry among them was that they would not uphold any priest who would not back them in their proceedings, and instances could be produced where this threat was carried into execution; and upright individuals of the clerical body were made the objects of every species of injustice and persecution. The dread of poverty, and of being cast off by those to whom they looked for subsistence, contributed powerfully to make the body at large become mere time-servers, and overlook the obligations of their sacred ministry. It was a kind of general apostasy, arising from base considerations of self-interest. Accordingly, they either preached or countenanced lawless combination, and suffered the temple to be profaned.

"Discite, pontifices, quid in sancto facit aurum."

Would they have thus deserted the interests of religion, and belied their

own sentiments, if they did not derive their means of subsistence from the casual offerings of this same headstrong and unreflecting multitude? If they had nothing to fear on this head; if they were not necessitated to look for marriage money and confession money, and baptism money, and mass money, and anointing money from farmers, from tradesmen, and from labourers, think ye that they would not admonish the people, according to the maxims of the gospel and the doctrine of St Paul, to obey those that are placed over us, and to be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath but for conscience' sake? or would they have suffered the house of God, which should be a house of prayer, to be turned into a den of thieves? Their state of servile dependence, joined to a number of other untoward circumstances, made them dumb dogs in Israel; caused them to give up or abuse the exercise of the sacerdotal authority; and to be unmindful of the apostles, the prophets, and the law.'

Before we quit the subject of the priesthood, we would add one more remark. Let it be remembered that the divided allegiance which is imputed to the Irish priest, and which is supposed to render him in feeling an alien, rather than a subject of the realm, cannot be used as an available reason against endowment. We would say, on the contrary, it is a plea in its favour. It is idle to assert that the stipendiary priest is likely to be a more dangerous, or a less loyal subject, in consequence of his deriving support from the state, than he who, unendowed and unacknowledged, obtains only the bitter bread of precarious oblations. To assert this would be to say that the clerical character is an anomaly in human nature; and that the clergy are not influenced by the same motives which actuate the rest of mankind.

Mark next the effects of the existing system upon the Roman Catholic laity. And first let us hear the testimony of an Irish Roman Catholic priest, with respect to their mental condition.

'It is a prevailing notion in this country (Ireland) that priests possess the most extraordinary powers imaginable,—that the visible and invisible world are under their control; that they can at their will and pleasure make sick or make well; give prosperity or adversity, damnation or salvation: and yet this extreme credulity of the vulgar does not prevent them—so much are they under the control of their passions—from setting themselves occasionally in opposition to these same all-powerful personages, and braving the fatal consequences of their destructive wrath. They hold the strangest opinions regarding departed souls. They fancy the huntsman, the jockey, the sporting squire, will be riding their favourite horses in the other world; and they are persuaded that when any particular mishap befalls themselves, it is done through the malicious intervention of some deceased persons—their enemies. They in general set more value on trivial observances than on the weighty points of the law. They are extremely addicted to lying, to fraud, and circumvention. Nothing can persuade them but that they ought to hate and exterminate, if in their power, all such as differ from them in religion.

> "Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
> Odit uterque locus, quum solos credit habendos
> Esse Deos quos ipse colat."—Juv. *Sat.* 15.

It gives them great offence to see their priest on friendly terms with Protestants; and such priests as stand in this sort of relationship are, by way of reproach, denominated Protestant priests. They believe in ghosts, fairies, hobgoblins; give credit to dreams and fortune-tellers; practise superstitious observances without number—spells, charms, and incantations.'

We hear this melancholy evidence of the bigotry and intolerance of the Catholic population. Why are they intolerant? They are writhing under a sense of perpetual injustice. The religion of less than a tenth of the population is richly endowed; another sect, the Presbyterian, of almost the same number, is also endowed; the religion of more than five-sixths receives no support from the state at all. The support of the Catholic clergy thus falling upon the Catholic population, the latter are encumbered with an additional burden, from which their Protestant neighbours are exempt. They feel the harsh disparity of condition, and are, not unnaturally, filled with bitterness towards the Church in behalf of which the badge of ascendency has been so long maintained. If, in place of the present system, the Roman Catholic clergy had a respectable provision assigned them by the state, upon the condition that the present exactions from their congregations should thenceforward cease—if the Irish cotter should understand that no part of his scanty earnings can be lawfully received by the priest, under any pretence, for religious services,—we feel convinced that such provision might be truly called a healing measure. But in order to render it a healing measure, it is essential that the Roman Catholic clergy should cooperate cordially with the efforts of the Legislature. They should, on receiving a stipend from the state, renounce distinctly, publicly, solemnly, and without reservation, all claim, title, or willingness to accept those dues and contributions which are their present means of support. They should consent that such renunciation be read from every pulpit, or affixed to the door of every chapel. They should also consent, as did several Roman Catholic Prelates in 1799, to acknowledge a *veto* in the Crown on their clerical appointments; or to accede to such other reasonable securities as may alleviate the fears and jealousies which are entertained by a large proportion of the Protestant population of the United Kingdom. If these conditions are not complied with, the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy will not be practicable—and if we could suppose it practicable, it would not be a healing measure—it would not effect those important ends for which alone it is to be prized. Not as a ques-

tion between sect and sect is such a measure to be considered; but as tending to promote that spirit of harmony and goodwill, without which, though religious parties may wax strong, religious principle must pine and dwindle. We will not attempt to resist by argument the unreasoning impression that such a measure is necessarily inimical to Protestantism—for against the minds which entertain that prejudice, the arms of reason are, for the most part, not available. It is a simpler and more efficacious mode of answer to point to some acknowledged friend of Protestantism, by whom such a prejudice has been openly discarded. 'I am of opinion,' said the Duke of Richmond, on the 6th of June, in the House of Lords, 'that the Catholic clergy of Ireland ought to be paid 'by the state'—and we gladly repeat this recorded expression of concurrence with our opinion, when emanating from an ex-minister, whose secession from office, however we may think the grounds erroneous, must at least evince that he is no lukewarm supporter of the claims of the Protestant establishment.

Yet, while such friends of Protestantism are favourable to this measure, there are those who will tell us that to pay the Roman Catholic clergy, is to acknowledge or establish the Roman Catholic Church: and that the state cannot with propriety endow a sect, the tenets of which it does not approve. We deny the assertion. Endowment is a political measure, not necessarily connected with the religious principles of the governing power. More than one sect cannot, on religious grounds, be approved by the same party; and, if endowment were the test of approbation, throughout the realm only one sect could be endowed. The King of Great Britain cannot at once be Episcopalian and Presbyterian. Approving of the one, he must, in some degree, disapprove of the other; yet both Presbyterianism and the Church of England, are established and endowed in the united kingdom. Their tenets, it is true, do not greatly differ; but diversity, however slight, is incompatible with approval. The Presbyterian in his tenets differs slightly from the Church of England—the Roman Catholic differs greatly: but, to the conscientious believer in the superior purity of his own persuasion, the smaller step is not less impossible than the greater. He cannot be reconciled to either: and of neither can he approve. It cannot be made a question of degree; and therefore, on purely religious grounds, there was no reason why the Roman Catholic Church should not have been established in Ireland, as the Presbyterian was in Scotland. There were strong reasons; but they were political and not religious.

Popery assumed, at successive periods, pretensions incompatible with its safe establishment in any quarter of the realm. It denied the supremacy of the sovereign of these kingdoms—it ad-

vocated the supremacy and justified the interposition of a foreign potentate—it allied itself with absolutism—it opposed itself to liberty—it espoused the cause of an expelled monarch, and of successive pretenders to a disputed crown, and was long adverse to the claims of the family now established on the throne; and for these reasons, and not on account of transubstantiation, purgatory, and the invocation of saints, has it been held impossible to render the Roman Catholic Church a dominant established church in any portion of these realms.

But some will say, by paying the Roman Catholics you are fostering and supporting them—you are perpetuating within the land the existence of a creed, which you ought to wish may, at some future period, disappear. Vain and senseless objection! by which man arrogates to himself the power of controlling by temporal means that which is utterly beyond his grasp. We have not been able to diminish the numbers of the Irish Catholics by denying them the appliances of temporal assistance: as little could we perpetuate the existence of their creed by loading them with our utmost bounty. We would say of their faith, in the language of Gamaliel, 'If it be of man, it will come to nought, but if it be 'of God ye cannot overthrow it.'

As strongly as we advocate the payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy, so strongly do we deprecate the notion of a common fund for religious uses. If it be expedient to reduce the revenues of the Established Church, it would assuredly be inexpedient that reduction should be made with any reference to the endowment of any other sect. If we would abstain from inflaming the too frequent violence of rival sects, by infusing a spirit of mercenary rapacity, let us not encourage the dangerous idea, that one sect may become a pecuniary gainer by the losses of another—that what is taken from the Protestant Establishment is so much clear profit to the Roman Catholic. A greater curse could scarcely be entailed upon a country, already distracted with religious dissensions, than by furnishing its bigotry with the sordid motives which such a mode of endowment would hold forth. Never may the Protestant of the establishment, the Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic be rival partakers of a common fund. If the latter should be paid, let them be paid out of the public revenue, receiving what is deemed meet, without reference to the endowments, past, present, or prospective, of any other denomination of Christians.

There may be some who say, 'We acknowledge the right of 'the Legislature to appropriate church property to secular pur- 'poses—we acknowledge, moreover, that the condition of the 'Irish Church may be such as calls for legislative interference, 'and that if the question were purely an Irish question, and that

'Church were unconnected with any other, there would be no 'danger in dealing with it; but *beware of establishing a precedent* '—beware, lest any measure adopted with reference to the Irish 'Church should be used as a precedent to the future injury of the 'Church of England.'

Respect for precedent is a wholesome counterpoise to the desire of change, and is one of the chief cementing powers which give stability to our institutions; but it may be carried to a superstitious and injurious excess. Where precedent is made a shelter for abuse, or an obstacle to improvement, let us not assume that its value is supreme; but let us weigh the respective advantages of observing or disregarding it. Let us also abstain from hastily assuming that it is a precedent distinctly applicable in the manner asserted by those who appeal to it. There are many false precedents—precedents nominal, but not real—precedents, founded only on similarity of name or of external symbols, —but not supported by an accurate comparison of intrinsic qualities, or an extensive view of circumstances and position.

It is a favourite fallacy among the sticklers for precedent to assume that interference with any part of an institution, is a precedent for interference,—not only with any other part of the same, —but for an interference with any part of any institution that nearly resembles it. It matters not that the institutions in question resemble each other only in those parts which are to remain untouched, and are unlike in those which it is proposed to alter. By these apt sophists the part is readily taken for the whole. A part of the institution is menaced with change—*ergo*, the institution is menaced with change. A cry is raised, 'The institu-'tion is in danger!' and it flies from tongue to tongue, and thousands utter it who believe that the *whole* institution is in danger. The promulgator of the delusion could explain to his echoers that it is not the *whole*, but a *part* that is menaced. But no—dear to factious bigots is the cry that *lies like truth*. To make distinctions is called 'hair-splitting:' to make admissions is deemed cowardly—brevity is the soul of a watchword, and it is pitiful to explain.

There are other institutions similar in some points, different in others—different in concomitant circumstances, but identical in name. A name is all that faction cares for. So again, the bigot lies like truth, and builds up another monstrous fallacy—suppresses the dissimilarity—insists upon the resemblance—cries aloud, 'Beware of a precedent. These institutions are all alike. 'Have they not the self same name?—Have they not this and 'this in common?—If one is altered, all are threatened!'—and well-meaning timidity catches up and repeats the cry which has

first been uttered by designing faction. The credulous and conscientious many, repeating the clamour of the unprincipled few, lend to it the authority of their own sincerity. Honestly believing that their cause is sound, they treat adherence to it as a sacred duty. Many then join them, who, scarcely caring whether the cause be just or not, are glad to gain at an easy rate, a little sanctity in the eyes of men. Thus the ranks are filled; and a cry is raised, in which the deep yell of factious bigotry is mingled with the counterfeit vehemence of time-serving adherents, and the earnest clamours of misguided sincerity; and such is ever the growth and progress of that well-known cry, 'The Church is in 'danger.' In reverting to the occasions on which this cry has been raised, and endeavouring to extract from the language of the clamourers some clear and definite meaning, we shall find that, for the most part, the object of alarm is not so much the proposed measure, as certain ulterior consequences which array themselves in the brains of the alarmists. The specific measure is generally too distinct and palpable for those purposes of terror, in the excitement of which, it is known to partisans as well as to romance-writers, obscurity is a grand ingredient. They conjure up a great, vague, misty, spectral evil, and apostrophize it under the name of a *precedent*. The offensive measure is not perhaps allowed to be mortally deleterious *per se;* but, if permitted to pass, it will become a *precedent* for other more destructive measures which are not yet in contemplation. We commend a regard to ulterior consequences; and think that prospective speculation cannot be carried too far, as long as it is based on acknowledged facts, and conducted with a due regard to the legitimate rules of reasoning: but we condemn this abuse of 'precedent,'—this specious invocation of misinterpreted authority.

Precedents would cease to be stumbling-blocks, if men would carefully bear in mind the narrow limits of their legitimate application. When the assumed basis of a precedent is any one component part of a complicated measure or institution, the precedent is strictly applicable only to the corresponding part of the corresponding measure or institution; and not to any other part, nor to the whole. Nor is it applicable even to the corresponding part, unless the extraneous circumstances which affect it are similar in both cases. If we bear in mind this principle, we shall, without abating a salutary regard for precedent, avoid a superstitious and enthralling use of it. It will no longer alarm and impede us in the removal of deformities and the introduction of improvements. We shall not apprehend danger to the Protestant religion whenever the Legislature lays a finger on any dark corner of ecclesiastical abuse. We shall not think that to remodel

the temporalities of the Church is a step to interference with its doctrines; and shall laugh to scorn the man who tells us that an appropriation of the revenues of the Irish Church is necessarily a prelude to an attack upon the discipline of the Church of England.

The argument which is founded upon fears of a precedent, addresses itself with most force to those who regard the Irish Church as part and parcel of the Church of England. It is true that, by the 5th Article of the Act of Union, it is ruled, 'That the 'Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, 'shall be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be 'called the United Church of England and Ireland; and that the 'doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United 'Church, shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the 'same are now by law established.' But this article, rightly interpreted, does not imply community of interest, but merely enjoins the maintenance of identity *as a sect*, or denomination of Christians. It enjoins the maintenance of *spiritual* identity, and does not refer to *temporalities*. It is remarkable that while 'doc-'trine, worship, discipline, and government,' are expressly named in this article, allusion to *temporalities* is wholly omitted. Let it be remembered, too, that these stipulations are held to refer only to such points as regard the distinctive character of the Church, and not to matters of number and amount. Government by bishops is to be maintained: but the *number* of bishops was not specified. The Legislature has accordingly decided that the number of bishops may be prospectively reduced; and we are not aware that this decision has either nullified the Act of Union, or is an unanswerable reason for a similar reduction of bishops in England. Yet, if the Act precluded all change, to meddle with that which may be included under the terms, 'discipline and go-'vernment,' must be an infringement of greater enormity than to meddle with temporalities of which no mention has been made. The question, whether any legislature can bind its successors 'for ever,' we are content to leave unargued, till we find men of weight and ability who are hardy enough to maintain it.

Trusting that it will be deemed unnecessary to contend at greater length that the Churches of England and Ireland are not so inextricably bound up together by the act of Union that the same measures must be invariably applied to both, let us see how respective circumstances tend to sanction this dread of precedent. The enquiry is eminently calculated to satisfy the calm and reasoning Protestant, that in many respects the Church of Ireland affords no precedent applicable to that of England. In many circumstances they widely differ. They were different in

their origin, different in their growth, and are very different in their present state and practical adaptation to the religious wants of the respective communities for which they are designed.

With their origin the difference began. In England reformation originated with the people. Ostensibly it proceeded from the will of a despot. But we should overrate the power of Henry VIII., and falsely estimate the submissiveness of his subjects, if we imagined that this mighty change was rudely forced upon an unwilling public. The passions of the monarch were an exciting cause, but other causes had preceded. He had only poured the vials of his wrath into a cup which was almost full. He had availed himself of the popular feeling for the gratification of his private wishes. Very long had a spirit of Sectarianism been sapping the foundations of Popery. The lessons of Wickliffe had not been forgotten. His followers, the Lollards, had during a century and a half been acquiring strength and numbers in that dangerous silence which is all that persecution can enforce. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the spirit of enquiry which called forth the energies of Luther had also awakened the dormant energies of this widely spread dissent; and ere the name of Luther was known in England an increased number of Sectarians had suffered for their faith. Meanwhile, the clergy were declining in popularity, even with those to whom they were not obnoxious on religious grounds. Both their wealth and their immunity from civil punishment had long excited the jealousy of the laity; and successive changes of the law in the reigns of Henry VI., VII., and VIII., with respect to benefit of clergy, evince the growing desire to restrict this privilege. To such a height had this feeling grown in the latter reign, that one, Standish, was encouraged to deny the right of ecclesiastics to exemptions from temporal jurisdiction. It was a boldness which in these days we can scarcely estimate; but a boldness justified by the result, for the King and the Parliament supported Standish against the hostility of the Church. Such had become the unpopularity of the clergy early in the reign of Henry VIII., that on the question of a trial, in a temporal court, of an ecclesiastic on a charge of murder, it was alleged by a bishop, as an argument against such procedure, that the life of no clergyman was safe if placed at the mercy of a London jury. Before Catholicism was abjured in England, already were the clergy attacked by violent speeches in the House of Commons; and a bishop, who complained of such language in the Upper House, was reprimanded for his pains. The People and the Parliament were ripe for change; and if they seemed submissive instruments of the Sovereign's will, it was because that will coincided with their own.

It was otherwise in Ireland. The people of Ireland were not ripe for reformation. The doctrines of Wickliffe had never penetrated the Egyptian darkness of that benighted land. A dense ignorance overshadowed it: and with that ignorance the English Government had been greatly chargeable. Had they pursued a generous policy—had they attempted to civilize, to conciliate the native Irish—had they endeavoured to collect all the inhabitants of that country into one undistinguished body of English subjects, instead of excluding the original natives from the pale of English law—ignorance, and its companion bigotry, would not have been found so stubbornly arrayed against the introduction of the reformed doctrines. The clergy did little to civilize the people. They were themselves undisciplined, ignorant, and remiss. Districts occupied by the old natives received scarcely any attention from the Irish Bishops; and to some such districts the appointment, both of prelates and pastors, had sometimes been totally omitted. Such irregularity had existed, that of the very names and succession of some Irish Bishops in the early part of the sixteenth century, Sir James Ware could obtain no memorials. Meanwhile, so ignorant were the inferior clergy, according to the report of Archbishop Browne, in the reign of Henry VIII., that 'they were incapable of performing rightly their commonest 'duties, and utter strangers to the language in which they cele-'brated their mass.' The people cared little for their clergy; but they were devotedly attached to the authority of the Pope. They revered this potentate both as a spiritual and as a temporal chief. He was the only authority in religion they had been ever taught to respect. They had also been taught that Ireland was his *fief*, and that from him was derived the sole legitimate authority that could be exercised over it by the King of England. As for the yoke of ecclesiastical oppression, it had fallen on them as well as upon the English. But in Ireland it was only one of many oppressions, and not the worst. It had not that distinctness and comparative magnitude which attracted the attention of the English laity. It was lost in the herd of grievances. Ignorance and subjection confirmed the apathy of the Irish laity. The clergy were encouraged by this apathy to resist with vehemence all innovation. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, dared to denounce as impious the projects of Henry, summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province, and exhorted them to resist. They could even engage the populace on their side; and at the time when in England public feeling ran so strongly against the clergy that they shrunk from the ordeal of a trial by jury, in Ireland, the bearer of the King's commission—the ostensible assailant of clerical privileges—found his life endangered by

popular fury. A Parliament was convened. It represented not the public feeling, but solely the will of him who summoned it, and it proved as obsequious as the King expected. It renounced the supremacy of Rome, and recognised the supremacy of Henry VIII. It vested in the King first fruits; directed that an English school should be kept in every parish in Ireland; and made other enactments by which the Reformation was *nominally* effected. *Really* effected it was not. Acts might be passed, but they could not be executed. Even in the succeeding reign, bishops were still nominated by the Pope in defiance of the Crown. Even in the reign of James I., (as we learn from the testimony of Sir John Davies,) the dissolution of religious houses enacted under Henry VIII. in Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Fermanagh, had not yet been effected. This stubborn resistance to the authority of Henry suggested to the counsellors of Edward VI. the employment of craft and caution; and when the adoption of a new reformed liturgy was enjoined by proclamation, it was offered not as an *altered* liturgy, but merely as a *translated* one. The trick failed. Dowdal, the successor of Cromer, exposed and treated it with merited scorn, and encouraged the clergy and laity to reject it. No pains had been taken to enlighten that laity; and the *vis inertiæ* of their blind ignorance was successfully employed in opposing innovation. That ignorance was also an impediment to conversion; and a large part of the population were rendered inaccessible to the reformed clergy by possessing no knowledge of the English language.

The Reformation never took root in Ireland during the reign of Edward VI.; and, in the succeeding reign of Mary, it was swept away by the returning tide of Popery, as though it had been written in sand. Elizabeth reestablished it, and by her father's chosen tool—a parliament; but by a parliament which, even in form, was less entitled to be considered an organ of the public voice. In 1560, she convened a parliament to which were summoned representatives from not more than ten counties; and in which the remaining number was made up of burgesses from those towns in which the royal authority prevailed. This packed assembly restored to the crown ecclesiastical jurisdiction—appointed a new oath of supremacy—repealed laws against heresy—enforced the use of the common prayer, with a curious proviso, that when English was not understood, it might be used in Latin—gave to the crown first-fruits and twentieths, and the power of collation by letters patent to vacant sees—and having hastily performed these important functions, in a few weeks it was dissolved. It was found, as before, that though to enact was easy, to enforce was difficult. An extensive resistance was ex-

tensively successful. 'The clergy,' says Leland, 'who refused 'to conform, abandoned their cures—no reformed ministers could 'be found to supply their places; the churches fell to ruin—the 'people were left without any religious worship or instruction. 'Even in places of most civility, the statutes lately made were 'evaded or neglected with impunity.'

Such was the inauspicious origin of the established Church in Ireland. Such was its reception in that country at the time when in England it was popular and triumphant. It was the chosen religion of the people of England—it was forced upon Ireland as a badge of servitude. This marked difference which characterised the origin of the Established Church in the two countries, has prevailed throughout their subsequent existence. In England, Protestantism has ever since lived in the hearts of a vast majority of the people. It has, by its vigorous and steady growth, proved its perfect adaptation to the soil of England, and the sincerity with which it was adopted. If the state of the establishment tends to show that Protestantism in England is the national religion, *dissent* proves it even more. If Protestantism had been forced upon the people of England—if there had been a lurking tendency to revert to Romanism, it would have been exhibited in dissent. But dissent has ever tended, not *towards* Romanism, but further from it. It has been a remnant of that spirit which actuated the Lollards, and effected the Reformation; and it has, at various periods, been stimulated chiefly by suspicions that the Established Church was approximating to the corruptions of the Roman Catholic. In England, Protestantism has grown as though it were indigenous. In Ireland, it has dwindled like a sickly exotic.

A lengthened comparison of the two Established Churches presents a lengthened series of differences. Names are similar, and little else. They are similar (in the words of the Act of Union) in 'doctrine, worship, discipline, and government.' There is a forced resemblance visible in forms; but where is the vitality which ought to render the resemblance perfect? Far from resembling the Church of England, the Church of Ireland is a monstrous anomaly, unparalleled in the civilized world. It is the case of a church of which not only do the temporalities exceed what are required by the spiritual wants of any other religious community of equal extent; but in which these exorbitant temporalities are given to the religion of a small minority. In England, no other sect approaches, within moderate limits, the numbers of the Established Church, which we have no doubt, if a census were made, would be found to comprise more than half the population. In Ireland, the numbers of the

Established Church will probably be found to fall below a tenth. Talk of resemblance! talk of precedent! with differences like these before us. Is the faculty of discrimination to be banished from our councils? Are empty sounds to be preferred to facts? Is similarity of name to be considered, rather than dissimilarity of nature? Are we to be told that any measure effecting a change in the Church of Ireland is a precedent dangerous to the Church of England? Yes,—let it be a precedent when the condition of the Church of England resembles that of the Church of Ireland. If the time shall ever come when one vast, uniform, and organized sect, capable of being included under a single denomination, and incapable, on account of the wideness of its dissent, of being comprehended within the pale of the Established Church, shall comprise an immense and unquestionable majority of the population, and leave the Established Church in a miserable minority—*then*, we say—and *not till then*, let the precedent be applied; and in whatever manner it might be deemed expedient to deal with the existing Church of Ireland, even so, in that distant day, may the State deal likewise with the Church of England. If such a case could possibly occur—(a possibility which we do not anticipate)—if the Established Church should ever so shamefully decline in numbers, in spite of all its vast appliances—if it should ever so broadly display its utter incompetency to fulfil the purpose of a religious establishment, namely, (to use the words of Paley,) 'the preservation and communication of 'religious knowledge'—what could we conclude but that some great defect is inherent in its constitution? What could we judge but that it had proved itself unworthy of the support it had received, and that it ought to be remodelled? 'A religious 'establishment,' says Paley, 'is no part of Christianity, it is 'only the means of inculcating it.' Its authority is founded on its utility; and by its utility it must be judged. We estimate highly the utility of which it is susceptible. It has a tendency to ensure the presence of a learned, sedulous, and independent clergy—learned, because induced by the incentive of a profession to devote much time to theological studies—sedulous, because relieved from the conflicting duties entailed by other modes of maintenance—and independent, because raised above the miserable temptation of seeking to gratify rather than to edify, and of accommodating their doctrines to the humours of their flock. But it would be absurd to contend that these advantages are necessarily derivable from every Established Church, however circumstanced, and wherever placed. If the same Church had been established in every country in Europe, who can doubt that its success would have varied with the circumstances of its position?

and if it was possible to equalise success, it could be done only by modifying the character of the establishments according to existing circumstances. Perhaps, however, in some instances, no modification could produce more than modified success. There might be a vice inherent in the original establishment, which would inflict a perpetual blight upon its subsequent condition. It may have been imposed by force. It may have been the religion of a minority. It may be in a position more beset with difficulties than even that which was adverted to by Bishop Watson, in his Charge to the clergy of the diocese of Llandaff, in 1813. 'Whether,' said that prelate, 'the '*majority* of the members of any civil community have a right 'to compel all the members of it to pay towards the mainte-'nance of a set of teachers, appointed by the majority to preach 'a particular system of doctrines, is a question which might 'admit a serious discussion. I was once of opinion that the 'majority had this right in *all* cases, and I am still of opinion 'that they have it in *many*. But I am staggered when I consider 'that a case may happen in which the established religion may 'be the religion of a *minority* of the people,—that minority, at 'the same time, possessing a majority of the property out of 'which the ministers of the establishment are to be paid.' It may be a case still more anomalous than that by which the Bishop declared that he was 'staggered,'—the case of an established church being the religion of a minority of the people, *not* possessing a majority of the property out of which the ministers of the establishment are to be paid. If so, it will contend with difficulties, which we do not say must absolutely prevent its ultimate success, but which will demand the judicious exercise of more patient and pious zeal, than might be required to uphold the efficiency of other churches. Paley, the defender of ecclesiastical establishments, maintains that most benefit will result to a Christian community from the appointment of a clergy whose faith is that of the majority—of a clergy appointed, not for polemical purposes of confutation and conversion, but to convey to the people religious instruction, in conformity with the doctrines of their own sect. Therefore, he says, it is the duty of the chief magistrate in establishing a religion, to consult the faith of the nation rather than his own. For the sake of religion, —for the sake of *Protestantism*, we must now regret that neither the despotic Henry, nor the equally despotic Elizabeth, should have applied this rule to Ireland. We must ever regret that political circumstances should have rendered it apparently inexpedient to make the Roman Catholic Church the Established Church of that kingdom.

Glorying in our profession of a reformed religion, we say this assuredly from no regard for Romanism; but because we believe that had this been done, a better spirit would have prevailed in Ireland; religion would have been less linked with party; and there would have been no galling sense of oppression and injustice ever ready to sharpen the acrimony of sectarian bigotry in the breasts of millions. The work is done—it cannot be undone. Because it might have been better if Romanism (the religion of the majority) had been established instead of Protestantism (the religion of the minority), it does not follow that, if possible, it would be expedient to reverse their positions *now*. We could not thus repair the ill effects of centuries of a forced ascendency. A reversal differs widely from an original decree; and the furies of discord would now exult in a measure which, if it had been accomplished at the period of the Reformation, would probably have excited no violent emotion of triumph, or of anger, in any portion of the community. We must now bow to the authority of custom and possession. For the sake of internal peace, that jewel of great price, we must permit the modified continuance of a system which we may regret should ever have been adopted. All that can now be done to alleviate the consequences of that original error, —the establishment of a Church which was that of the minority, —is to modify it with a view to improving its efficiency; removing with a careful hand the most glaring causes of offence; rendering it more conformable to the religious wants of its congregations; and abating the scandal of a marked disproportion between the endowments of the Church, and the number of those for whom it was designed. A disregard to numerical proportion was the error which attended the foundation of the Establishment; and *some* attention to numerical proportion is now requisite in any endeavour that may be made to improve it. Yet such attention appears to have been vehemently denounced by one of the most distinguished champions of ecclesiastical temporalities,—a champion whose denunciation we notice, chiefly on account of that adventitious importance which it naturally derives from his honesty, great abilities, and vigorous eloquence. 'This doctrine of proportion,' said Mr (now Lord) Stanley, in his place in Parliament, 'is pregnant with danger. Before you admit this dangerous doctrine, tell me if you can, where, when admitted, it will stop? Admit this doctrine of proportion—admit that where you have only two Protestants of the Established Church in a parish, you have a right to take away the Protestant minister; and then tell me why you have not the same right where there are only twenty, or fifty, or a hundred Pro-

'testants of the same persuasion?' We beg leave to call Lord Stanley's attention to the converse of his alarming hypothesis. It seems, that according to *his* 'doctrine,' where you have only ten Protestants of the Established Church in a parish, you have *not* a right to take away the Protestant minister. If this is Lord Stanley's doctrine, we would say to him in his own words, 'before you admit this doctrine, tell me if you can, where, when 'admitted, it will stop? Admit that when you have only ten 'Protestants of the Established Church in a parish, you have '*not* a right to take away the Protestant minister, and then tell 'us why you are not equally without that right, when there is 'even *one* person of the Protestant persuasion?' This question deserves an answer quite as much as Lord Stanley's. What will that answer be? Will he say 'No: though we have not a 'right to take away the clergyman when there are ten Protes-'tants, yet we have that right when there is only *one*.' Then he admits 'the dangerous doctrine of proportion.' Will he say boldly, 'You have not that right where even *one* Protestant is 'to be found?' Then he is advocating a principle, which, so announced, and from such authority, would be received with satisfaction and derision by the enemies of Protestantism, and with grief and shame by its warmest friends. But we will afford him a better resting-place. '*Three*,' says Tertullian, 'form a congregation.' Suppose that *three* should be the *minimum*:—two persons besides the clergyman should have power to keep the benefice intact. Upon this doctrine, less than 5000 Protestants of the Established Church, (including the Clergy,) properly distributed, would be entitled to maintain the perpetual inviolability of ecclesiastical revenues, which have been estimated to amount to more than L.900,000 per annum. We care not now for the exact amount. It would be sufficient for our argument if it were only half as great—if it were much less than that to which the prudence of its most timid friends has endeavoured to reduce it. If the revenues of the Irish Church were only L.500,000 per annum,—even then, upon this hypothesis, the laity of Ireland, of the Established Church, would be receiving religious instruction at the annual expense of little less than L.200 for each individual.

But we do not require an answer to our question. We proposed it merely as an illustration of the real force of that proposed by Lord Stanley. We deprecate the puerile logic on which each alike is founded. We disclaim this '*ratio ruentis acervi*' as a meet or worthy mode of argument in the discussion of so important a subject. As profitably might we seek to calculate how many

grains of corn a horse could carry, and try to ascertain the point at which the addition of a single grain must make the animal sink beneath its load.

But before we quit this part of the subject we would offer one other remark. If the doctrine of proportion were absolutely rejected—if it were ruled that no degree of diminution in the number of Protestants could affect the temporalities of the established Church,—would not the acknowledgment of such a rule be calculated to produce a most injurious effect upon the zeal and efficiency of that establishment? Would it not engender a security and supineness destructive of that vital zeal without which religion cannot flourish? The sanctity of the clerical profession does not exempt its members from the infirmities of our nature, and from the need of stimulants to exertion. What clergy could withstand the corrupting assurance, that merely through indulgence of the insidious and besetting sins of indolence and inattention, they might, with entire impunity, attain the enjoyment of exoneration from irksome duties, and securely turn the whole establishment into one mass of rich and monstrous sinecures? Never may the time arrive when an unworthy and indolent Protestant clergyman may view with satisfaction the proselytizing labours of the Roman Catholic priest—when he may say in his heart, 'You are welcome to my congregation; in converting 'them to Popery you diminish my labours—I know you cannot 'diminish my stipend.' For our own part we hold it advisable that 'the doctrine of proportion' should be neither absolutely rejected nor absolutely enforced. All must feel that number is a test of utility both past and present; but who, by any certain process of reasoning, even upon the most extensive collection of facts, can pretend to fix the precise lowest number of 'the faith-'ful,' that shall be considered entitled to the undivided services of a minister of their persuasion? It is plainly impossible to draw any numerical line that shall not cause perpetual cavil; that shall not encounter objections which cannot be answered; and convey the invidious impression of an improper disregard for the souls of those who collectively do not constitute the requisite number. When there is 'as much joy over one sinner that repenteth, as 'over a thousand just persons that need no repentance,' who shall venture to say that there is any precise number of the sinful, the conversion of whom would not repay the undivided labours of a Christian pastor? This is a question which will be triumphantly asked—but this is not the real question. We cannot presume to estimate the value of an immortal soul; or say what means of religious instruction might not be worthily devoted to the conversion of one single sinner. This, therefore, is not the ground on

which a numerical line could be defended. The question is not how many persons are sufficient to repay the undivided care of one clergyman: but how many persons will sufficiently occupy his time and attention to excite an interest in the duties of his calling, and save him from the injurious and anti-religious influence of that supineness which a sinecure tends to engender.

Now, in attempting to ascertain what shall or shall not be considered a sinecure, we strongly object to the *sole* adoption of a numerical line. We wish that the line should be indistinct; and would infinitely prefer a complicated standard, incapable of exhibition in a tabular form, and founded on a comprehensive consideration not only of numbers and proportions, but of distance, situation, and such local and other circumstances as can be justly taken into the account. We object to a numerical line, because its effect would be decidedly injurious to that religious harmony and Christian spirit of liberality and good-will, which it is so desirable to promote among the various sects in Ireland. We fear that the exclusive adoption of such a standard would aggravate the spirit of sectarian bitterness, and lend new impulse to proselytizing zeal. It would raise the importance of numerical majorities. It would establish number as the criterion of strength. It would stimulate the priest to such interested exertions for the sake of increasing the number of his flock, as genuine piety never could approve. The slow safe course of conscientious conviction would be abandoned for the easier method of obtaining a proselyte through a direct appeal to his interests or his passions. The means would be disregarded for the sake of the end; and religious conversion would be perpetually defiled by the odious characteristics of a political canvass. It would have even worse effects. If it were established, that because a benefice was found to contain less than a stated number of communicants, it should on that sole account cease to be a separate benefice, but be incorporated with some other—if this were made a rule of action, though with the most explicit understanding that it was applicable only to present circumstances, and would never be re-applied in future—if Protestant benefices were to be dealt with by this sole measure, would not a standard be perpetually afforded, open to the comprehensions of the most ignorant and unreasoning, by which they might ever afterwards be able to ascertain what benefices ought to be extinct, or how nearly they were trembling on the verge of that numerical line which had been once ruled to justify their dissolution?

Not alone for the sake of the Protestant minority, but equally for the sake of the Roman Catholic, do we deprecate the notion

of an arrangement which would engender feelings of the worst description, and be fraught with temptations to violence and crime. We would not that in that ill-fated land of bloody brotherhoods—where the bonds of law have been as flax, and the bonds of crime as iron—the Roman Catholic people should be tempted to think they might do good service to God and their country, if, by intimidation, or by whatever means a secret league might ruthlessly enjoin, they could reduce the number of Protestants in any benefice below that number which had been once ruled to justify its dissolution. It is also a valid objection against a numerical line, that it would occasion a cry for perpetual re-adjustment. There would be perpetual clamour for the fresh application of a principle which had once been sanctioned, whenever circumstances, necessarily fluctuating, appeared to render such a re-application favourable to the wishes of the clamourers.

Not only might the Roman Catholic point out benefices in which the Protestant population had declined, and contend that those should be benefices no longer; but with equal reason might the Protestant contend, that, wherever increase of numbers had raised what was once a benefice above the former line of proscription, such original benefice should be now restored. Thus, from each contending sect there would be ever and anon repeated calls for a fresh census and a fresh adjustment; and the result would be, that restless spirit of agitation and contention, which, if not unfavourable to the growth of sects, is fatal to the growth and spirit of true religion. We are not pleading the cause of a sect;—we are not contending for the ascendency of any church;—we address these remarks to all denominations of Christians;—we hold forth reasons which ought to weigh with the Roman Catholic as well as with the Protestant;—we would not only protect the Protestants against the Catholics, but the Catholics against themselves.

We have offered our opinion of the evil consequences which would result from any measure founded on a sole regard to the numerical amount of any sect. But this is no reason why, in our enquiries into the religious state of Ireland, we should not endeavour to obtain the most accurate information respecting the numbers and proportions of the various sects into which it is divided. It cannot be denied that a knowledge of the numbers of religious communities, and of their increase or decrease, is a valuable addition to our means of forming an accurate judgment respecting their character and condition. It cannot be denied, that if at stated periods during the first four centuries of the Christian era, statements had been made and transmitted to posterity of the numbers who professed the Christian faith, we

should deeply prize such evidence of its progressive victory over expiring Paganism. It cannot be denied that if there had been taken, during the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries, decennial censuses of the numbers of Protestants, these would be instructive records of their increase, and we could better estimate than now the mighty strength of their successful zeal. The Protestant would regard the numerical increase as the sure triumph of truth over error; and even the Roman Catholic must allow that they through whom the faith had prospered had been worthy and diligent labourers in its cause. Should we, in instances like these, admit the importance of numerical details—should we view with interest the statistical records of the increasing strength of European Protestantism,—and shall we refuse to try this test in Ireland, where the same reformed religion by the side of Catholicism exhibits the startling phenomenon of decrease? Shall we take no notice of the striking facts adverted to by Mr Ward, in his speech of the 27th of May? See the return made by a Protestant Bishop to the House of Lords, in 1731, from thirty-seven parishes in the diocese of Ossory, of which the total population was 16,487—that of Protestants 1935. Look, then, at a similar return in 1831, showing the population of the same parishes to be 64,225, and that of the Protestants 1453—proving that while the total population has been almost quadrupled in a hundred years, the number of Protestants has been diminished by one-fifth!

We know that Protestantism has increased throughout Europe —we have evidence of its decrease in one part of Ireland. What is the cause of this strange difference? The most obvious method of solution is to search for other concurrent differences. We search, and a difference is found. Protestantism on the continent has been poor; and wealth, power, and authority were arrayed against it. Protestantism as established in Ireland, has had wealth, power, and authority on its side, and is comparatively the richest church in the world. What shall we infer from this comparison? Are wealth and temporal power, as regarding the Church, the elements of strength or of weakness? Let those who contend they are the elements of strength, and that if you reduce the temporalities you weaken the Church, solve these difficulties if they can. Perhaps they will say, 'We want more facts. Tell 'us not of returns from thirty-seven parishes. What are thirty-'seven out of more than 2000? What are 64,225 out of more than 'seven millions, that we should attend for an instant to a partial 'exhibition of such an insignificant fraction of the whole? Let us 'know all that can be known respecting the state of the Establish-'ed Church, and that of other sects in Ireland. When we have ob-

'tained the fullest and most accurate information of this kind within 'our reach, then shall we be prepared to tell you whether you are 'justified in the injurious inferences you were about to draw from 'a partial view of isolated facts.' Our reply would be, that the proposition was reasonable—that we would not attempt to found an argument upon the partial facts above alluded to—that nothing would be more unfair than to legislate respecting the Church without having previously collected the fullest evidence it was possible to obtain. A Commission of Enquiry, instituted by the late Government, is now on foot, by which, erelong, will be ascertained the respective numbers of Protestants of the Established Church—of Presbyterians—of other Protestant Dissenters, and of Roman Catholics in every benefice and parish in Ireland;—the number and state of schools, the provisions for religious instruction, and, we trust, whatever other circumstances are intimately connected with the moral and political relations of the church. As for the state of the church in times long past, we can only endeavour to collect and compare such records as time has spared us; but, whether such records be abundant or deficient, no deficiency of them can excuse our neglecting to ascertain all that can be known of its present state. Whenever the result of this extensive enquiry shall be laid before the sovereign, the parliament, and the public, we shall return to this subject, and advert to the facts which it reveals. We have hitherto adverted only to the principles by which, in dealing with those facts, we humbly hope the Legislature may be guided. We trust the Legislature will proceed with the caution and moderation which both the magnitude and the difficulties of the subject demand; and beware, lest by any thing they do, they endanger that internal peace, which should be among the primary objects of their care. Let them bear in mind that their comprehensive duty is to watch over the religious welfare of the people of Ireland. We ask them, as Christians, to promote that mild and liberal feeling, which should be alike the attribute of every Christian sect. We ask them, as Protestants, to grant at length to the latent energies of declining Protestantism, some little scope for the exercise of that moral ascendency, which its political ascendency has hitherto suppressed.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the preceding article was written, there has appeared a Pamphlet *On National Property, and on the Prospects of the present Administration and of their Successors*, which strongly and ably supports the measure we have recommended at so much length,—namely, a provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland. This Tract is otherwise so worthy of notice that we should have been glad, if our time and limits had allowed us, to dwell upon it more largely. It displays a reach of thought, and a calm, yet forcible strain of reasoning, not always to be met with in such productions. If written by one already known to the public, his reputation must be high, if this Piece can detract from it;—if by one who now, for the first time, appears as an author, we think we may venture to assure him that the public will be glad again to see him in that capacity. The following extract, which is all we can make room for, will serve to show the coincidence of the author's views with some of those advanced by us in the foregoing article:

'But the Irish people, it may be answered, do not require a 'provision for their clergy; the clergy themselves would not 'accept one. Of course the agitators make no such requisition. 'They ask nothing which would diminish the power which is 'given to them by the crimes of their countrymen, or the wealth 'which is extorted from their ignorance and folly. And for many 'years the voice of Ireland has been heard only in the cries of 'the agitators, either Catholic or Protestant. It is possible that 'the fraud or violence of the real enemies of the country might 'for a time seduce or intimidate a portion of the priests into the 'rejection of a national provision: but there can be no doubt 'that by far the greater part of them would be eager to escape 'from their present precarious subserviency. Any other supposi-'tion imputes to them a mixture of wickedness and self-devotion 'which is scarcely conceivable. It supposes them willing to re-'main in insecurity and degradation, for the express purpose of 'continuing a system, the consequences of which must become 'more and more frightful every day. It supposes them willing 'to be martyrs to mischief; to suffer, in order that evil may come 'of it. Nor do we believe that they would practically have the 'power to refuse. The taxation which they now impose has

'every quality which can render a tax oppressive. It is severe, 'arbitrary in amount, and irregular as to occurrence. It must of 'course be prohibited, under strict penalties, when the national 'provision is given, or the new income would be a mere addition 'to the former one, instead of a substitute; and we have no doubt 'that their congregations would enforce the prohibition by refus- 'ing to pay fees for which there would no longer be any pretext. 'On this point, as on all other questions, as to the probable 'conduct and feelings of the Catholics, both lay and clerical, in 'Ireland, when they shall have been placed in the same situation 'as they are in the rest of Europe, we refer to the feelings and 'conduct of the rest of the European Catholics. In every part of 'Europe, excepting in Ireland, a provision is made for the clergy, 'sometimes by endowment, but generally out of the public in- 'come; and none of the evils to which we have referred, exist. 'The government does not complain of the disaffection of the 'clergy, nor the people of their exactions.

'But the expense of a provision for the Catholic clergy will 'be complained of; and, in order to diminish it, it has been pro- 'posed to employ, in its aid, the surplus, whatever it may turn 'out to be, of the endowment now enjoyed by the Protestant 'Establishment. We will confess that formerly we were in 'favour of this plan, but subsequent events, and subsequent 'reflection, have changed our opinion. The violence of party, 'and the consequently low standard of public morality in Ireland, 'are such, that every concession is, as a matter of course, attri- 'buted, in the first instance, to intimidation. The direct transfer 'of a portion of the revenue now belonging to one church, to 'support another, would not be treated as a mere measure of 'public policy,—as merely the most convenient mode of effecting 'a desirable object,—but as the triumph of one party, and the 'defeat of the other. As neither party would attribute it to jus- 'tice, a word which does not seem to be understood in Ireland, 'it would excite among the Protestants a mixture of anger and 'terror; and among the Catholics, contempt and exultation, 'rather than gratitude, or even esteem. It might be considered 'as the beginning of the complete restoration to the Catholics of 'the whole Protestant endowment; and in the present state of 'society in Ireland, it is to be feared that means might be taken 'to accelerate that restoration, by forcibly diminishing the num- 'ber of Protestants.'—

'But after all, would the expense be large, when compared 'with the object to be effected?—The object is the reconcilia- 'tion of Ireland and England, and the spiritual and temporal

'welfare of six or seven millions of persons. The mere saving 'in the subsequent expense of governing Ireland would be 'more than double the expenditure. Troops are more expen- 'sive than priests. It must be added, that we are not proposing 'a new expenditure,—an expenditure which is to divert the 'resources of the country from productive to what have been 'called unproductive purposes, as is the case when an increase is 'made in the army or navy, or in any other of our public esta- 'blishments. The Catholic priests exist, and are paid. We 'propose that their payment should be borne by the whole 'nation, which would scarcely feel it, instead of falling exclu- 'sively on a portion, and that, the very poorest portion, of the 'community, whom it demoralizes and crushes.'—

'It is possible, however, that we may be told that this mea- 'sure, however right in itself, ought to be opposed, because it 'will be made the foundation of ulterior demands. Of all poli- 'tical sophisms this is the worst. It is the tyrant's plea in its 'naked deformity. If such an argument were admissible, no 'abuse could ever be removed, or ever mitigated. For no con- 'cession can ever be made without giving rise to a hope of some- 'thing more. On this ground Austria is justified in refusing any 'amelioration to Italy, or even Turkey to her Christian subjects. 'The continuance of every oppression is justifiable if mere fears 'of further claims are a justification. The only wise, the only 'moral conduct in an individual or in a government, is to do *all* 'that is right, and to resist *all* that is wrong.'

Note *to the Article in No.* CXXI., *on the* '*Admission of* '*Dissenters to the Universities.*'

In the note, p. 227, the opinion which, from memory, we attributed to Henke himself, we find, on recurring to our authority, to have been published by him; but whether he were the author of the article in which the doctrine is maintained, remains uncertain.

In the same note we were not quite correct (though erring in the best company) in so strongly charging Luther and Melanchthon with '*a compromise of all professed principle*,' in their license to the Landgrave. We now know, from the evidence of their own writings, that both speculatively held that polygamy was lawful to a Christian; and are strongly disposed to believe, that had Munzer and the Anabaptists not brought the doctrine into bad odour, that it would have obtained more than a theoretical approval from the leaders of the Reformation.

ERRATA.

Page 202, line 4, for *University so called*, read *University properly so called*.
—— 211, —— 3 and 19, for *University*, read *Universities*.
—— 217, —— 3, for *complimentary*, read *complementary*, et alibi, wherever the same spelling has been introduced.
—— 218, —— 20, *and Montpellier*, delenda.
—— 219, —— 42, for *Freiberg*, read *Freiburg*.
—— 222, —— 28, for *Melancthon*, read *Melanchthon*, et alibi, wherever the same spelling occurs.
—— 223, —— 9, for *Rosenmuller*, read *Rosenmüller*.
—— —— —— 23, for *were the first*, read *were after Spinoza and other Jewish critics the first*.
—— 226, —— 5, for *Adam*, read *Adam F.....*
—— —— —— —— for *Winteferte*, read *Winther*.
—— 227, —— 11, for *Eurgetes*, read *Euergetes*.
—— —— —— 12, 13, *The——Elbe*, delenda.
—— 228, —— 3, for *the Spirit*, read *the Holy Spirit*.
—— 229, —— 39, for *was*, read *is*.

No. CXXIII. will be published in April.

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